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# CALENDAR FOR 1944

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# Administration of India 1944

British India consists of the 11 Provinces of Assam, Bengal, Bihar, Bombay, Central Provinces and Berar, Madras, North West Frontier, Orissa, Punjab, Sind and the United Provinces, plus the Chief Commissionerships of British Beluchistan, Delhi, Ajmer-Merwara, Coorg, the Andamans and Nicobar Islands, Panth Piploda, and does not include any Indian States

## Reigning Sovereign—His Majesty George the VI

### India Office

*Secretary of State for India*—The Right Hon. Mr. L. S. Amery, (April, 1940).

*Permanent Under-Secretary of State*—Sir Find-later Stewart, G.C.B., G.C.I.E. C.S.I., L.L.D.

*Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State*—The Earl of Munster.

*Advisers to the Secretary of State*—Sir H. Strakosh G.B.E. Sir H. Williamson C.I.E., M.B.E., Sir J. Clay, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., O.B.E., Lt. Col. Sir H. Suhrawardy, O.B.E. Sir J. A. Woodhead, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Dewan Bahadur S. E. Ruganadhan, Sir Courtenay Latimer, K.C.I.E., C.S.I. Sir G. Wiles, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir A. C. Chatterjea, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I.

*High Commissioner of India*—Sir Azizul Huq. Kt. C.I.E.

### Government of India

(Area—1,808,679, Sq. miles with a population of 352,337,773 of people—nearly one-fifth of human race)

#### Viceroy & Governor General

H. E. Field Marshal the Rt. Hon. Viscount Wavell of Syrenaica and Winchester, P.C., G.C.B., G.M.S.I., G.M.I.E., C.M.G.

#### Members of the Executive Council

His Excellency General Sir Claude John Eyre Auchinleck, G.C.I.E. C.B., C.S.I., D.S.O., O.B.E., A.D.C., Commander-in-Chief in India (War).

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Maxwell, K.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., I.C.S. (Home).

The Hon'ble Sir Jeremy Raisman, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S. (Finance).

The Hon'ble Dewan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, K.C.S.I. (Supply).

The Hon'ble Sir Syed Sultan Ahmed D.L., Bar-at-Law (Information & Broadcasting).

The Hon'ble Malik Sir Firoz Khan Noon, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E. (Defence).

The Hon'ble Sir Edward Benthall (War Transport).

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Sir Mohammad Usman, K.C.I.E. (Post and Air).

The Hon'ble Dr. B. R. Ambedkar (Labour).

The Hon'ble Sir J. P. Srivastava, K.B.E. (Food).

The Hon'ble Sir Jogendra Singh (Education, Health and Lands).

The Hon'ble Sir Muhammad Azizul Haque, C.I.E., D.LITT. (Commerce, Industries and Civil Supplies).

The Hon'ble Dr. N. B. Khare M.D. (Indians overseas)

The Hon'ble Sir Asoka Kumar Roy, Bar-at-Law (Law).

*President, Legislative Assembly*—The Hon. Sir Abdur Rahim, K.C.S.I.

*President, Council of State*—The Hon. Sir Maneckji Byramji Dadabhoy, K.C.S.I. K.C.I.E., L.L.D., Bar-at-Law.

### Numerical Strength of Parties

#### (a) IN CENTRAL ASSEMBLY

Congress Party	40
Muslim League Party	25
Non-Party	25
Independent Party	10
Congress Nationalists	11
European Group	9
Officials	20

TOTAL 140

#### (b) IN COUNCIL OF STATE

Independent Progressive Party	10
Congress Party	6
Muslim League	6

TOTAL 22

### Government of Bengal

Area :—82,955 sq. miles ; Population—60,314,000 (Provisional to the nearest thousand).

#### Governor

H. E. The Rt. Hon. Richard Gardiner Casey, P.C., D.S.O., M.C.

## Council of Ministers

Coalition formed on 24th April 1943

- (1) The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin, K.C.I.E. Chief Minister and Minister for Home Department (Including Civil Defence Co-ordination) (*Muslim-Bengal Coalition*)
  - (2) The Hon'ble Mr. Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy, Civil Supplies, (*Muslim-Bengal Coalition*).
  - (3) The Hon'ble Mr. Tulsi Chandra Goswami Finance (*Caste Hindu-Bengal Coalition*).
  - (4) The Hon'ble Mr. Tamizuddin Khan, Education, (*Muslim-Bengal Coalition*).
  - (5) The Hon'ble Mr. Barada Prosanna Pain, Communication & Works, (*Caste Hindu-Bengal Coalition*).
  - (6) The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Saiyed Muazzamuddin Hosain, Agriculture, (*Muslim-Bengal Coalition*).
  - (7) The Hon'ble Mr. Tarak Nath Mukherjee, M. B. E., Revenue (*Caste Hindu-Bengal Coalition*).
  - (8) The Hon'ble Musharruff Hossain, Khan Bahadur, Judicial and Legislative (*Muslim-Bengal Coalition*).
  - (9) The Hon'ble Mr. Khwaja Sahabuddin C.B.E., Commerce, Labour and Industries (Including Post-War Reconstruction) (*Muslim-Bengal Coalition*).
  - (10) The Hon'ble Mr. Premhari Barman, Forest and Excise, (*Scheduled Caste-Bengal Coalition*).
  - (11) The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Maulvi Jalaluddin Ahmed, Public Health and Local Self-Government (*Muslim-Bengal Coalition*).
  - (12) The Hon'ble Mr. Pulin Behary Mullick, Publicity, (*Scheduled Caste-Bengal Coalition*).
  - (13) The Hon'ble Mr. Jogendra Nath Mandal, Co-operative Credit and Rural Indebtedness. (*Scheduled Caste-Bengal Coalition*).
- Parliamentary Secretaries**
- (1) Khan Bahadur Mohammad Ali (*Muslim-Bengal Coalition*).
  - (2) Nawabzada K. Nasarullah, (*Muslim-Bengal Coalition*).
  - (3) Mr. Abdullah Al-Mahmood (*Muslim-Bengal Coalition*)
  - (4) Mr. Serajul Islam (*Muslim-Bengal Coalition*).
  - (5) Mr. Biren Roy (*Caste Hindu-Bengal Coalition*).
  - (6) Khan Sahib Mafizuddin Ahmed (*Muslim-Bengal Coalition*).
  - (7) Mr. Atul Chandra Kumar (*Caste Hindu-Bengal Coalition*).
  - (8) Mr. Rasik Lal Biswas (*Scheduled Caste-Bengal Coalition*)

- (9) Mr. Jatindra Nath Chakraverty (*Caste Hindu-Bengal Coalition*).
- (10) Mr. Syed Abdul Majid (*Muslim-Bengal Coalition*).
- (11) Khan Sahib Hamiduddin Ahmed (*Muslim-Bengal Coalition*).
- (12) Mr. Banku Behari Mondal, (*Scheduled Caste-Bengal Coalition*).
- (13) Khan Bahadur A. F. M. Abdur Rahman (*Muslim-Bengal Coalition*).
- (14) Mr. Fazlul Rahman (*Muslim-Bengal Coalition*).
- (15) Mr. Mesbahuddin Ahmed (*Muslim-Bengal Coalition*).
- (16) Rai Sahib Anukul Chandra Das (*Scheduled Caste-Bengal Coalition*).
- (17) Mr. Yusuf Ali Chowdhury (*Muslim-Bengal Coalition*).

## Party Analysis in the Bengal Legislative

Assembly—(Total Seats—250)

## Government Supporters

1. Muslim League	79
2. Bengal Swarajya Party	5
3. Scheduled Caste party	20
4. European Group	25
5. Labour Party	2
6. Independent	4
7. Indian Christian	1
8. Anglo-Indians	4
	<hr/>
	140

## Opposition

1. Progressive Party	24
2. Krishak Proja Party	17
3. Nationalists	13
4. Congress (Official)	25
5. Congress (Bose Group)	19
6. Indian Christian	1
7. Independent	1
8. Scheduled Caste	8
	<hr/>
	108

(One seat is vacant. The Hon'ble Speaker is not included)

## Party Analysis in the Bengal Legislative Council.

(Total Seats—63)

## Government Supporters

1. Muslim League	23
2. Unattached	7
3. Europeans	6
	<hr/>
	36

## Opposition

1. Progressive Party	7
2. Congress (Bose Group)	5
3. Congress (Official)	6
4. Nationalists	6
5. Unattached	2
	<hr/>
	26

(The Hon'ble President is not included).

Capital and its population—  
Calcutta—21,09,000 (Provisional to the nearest thousand)

Summer Capital and its population  
Darjeeling—25,900 (Provisional to the nearest thousand)

Receipt and Expenditure on  
Revenue Account for the current year—  
Receipts—Rs. 18,43,89,000/-  
Expenditure Rs. 25,80,57,000/-

## Government of the Punjab

(Area—136,330 Sq. miles, Population—28,418,819).

### Governor

H. E. Sir Bertrand Glancy K.C.S.I.,  
K.C.I.E., (Assumed charge April 7, 1941)

### Council of Ministers

A Unionist Ministry with the late Sir Sikander Hyat Khan as Premier was formed on April 1, 1937. Sir Sikander died on December 26, 1942, and the other Ministers resigned. Lt. Col. Malik Khizar Hyat Khan Tiwana was then summoned to assist the Governor in the formation of a Ministry. All the former Ministers were included and a new Minister added. The present Ministry was, therefore, technically formed on December 30, 1942, but virtually it is a continuation of the former Unionist Ministry with a new Premier.

(a) The Hon. Lt. Col. Nawabzada Malik Khizar Hyat Khan Tiwana, (*Muslim-Unionist, Premier*).

(b) The Hon. Rao Bahadur Chaudhri Sir Chhotu Ram, Minister of Revenue (*Hindu-Unionist*).

(c) The Hon. Sir Manohar Lal, Finance Minister (*Hindu-National Progressive*).

(d) The Hon. Mian Abdul Haye, Minister of Education, (*Muslim-Unionist*).

(e) The Hon. Sardar Baldev Singh, Minister of Development, (*Sikh-Punjab United Sikh Party*).

(f) The Hon. Major Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan, Minister of Public works, (*Muslim-Muslim League*).

Political designation of the Ministry—  
*Unionist*.

Date of formation of Ministry—  
December 30, 1942.

### Parliamentary Secretaries :

(a) Mir Maqbool Mahmood, (*Muslim-Unionist*).

(b) Mian Allah Yar Khan Daulatana (*Muslim-Unionist*).

(c) Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan (*Muslim-Unionist*).

(d) Sheikh Faiz Muhammad M. B. E. (*Muslim Unionist*).

(e) Rai Sahib Thakur Ripudaman Singh (*Hindu-National Progressive*).

(f) Chaudhari Tikka Ram, M. B. E. (*Hindu Unionist*).

(g) Sardar Jagjit Singh Man, M. B. E. (*Sikh-Punjab United Sikh Party*).

(h) Sardar Gopal Singh (*Depressed Class Unionist*).

### Parliamentary Private Secretaries.

(a) Syed Amjad Ali Shah, M. B. E. (*Unionist-Muslim*).

(b) Bhagat Hans Raj (*Depressed Class-Unionist*).

(c) Sir William Roberts, Kt. C. I. E. (*Christian-Unionist*).

(d) Mian Sultan Mahmud Hotiana (*Muslim-Unionist*).

(e) Sufi Abdul Hamid Khan (*Muslim-Unionist*).

### Numerical Strength of Parties

The total number of seats in the Legislative Assembly is 175 including the Hon'ble Speaker. They are divided into parties as follows :—

Government Supporters :—Unionist Party 97; Punjab United Sikh Party 17; Independent 3; National Progressive 4; Total 121.

Opposition :—Congress Party 36; Independent Members 17; Total 53.

Capital and its population—Lahore—671,659.

Summer capital and its population—  
Simla—18,349.

Receipts and Expenditure on Revenue Account for the current year :—  
Revenue Estimate Rs. 15.19 lakhs—  
Expenditure Rs. 14.69 lakhs.

## Government of Sind

(Area—46,378 Sq. miles; Population—4,535,608).

### Governor

Sir Hugh Dow, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.,  
(April, 1, 1941).

### Council of Ministers

Coalition—Formed on 10-10-1942

The Hon'ble Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah K.C.S.I., (Premier in charge Finance Department) (*Muslim League*).

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Muhammad Ayub S. Khuhro (Minister-in-charge Revenue, Registration and Co-operative Societies). (*Muslim League*).

The Hon'ble Pir Illahi Bakhsh Nawazali (Minister-in-charge, Education, Excise, Forest, Agriculture, Rural Reconstruction and Labour Department) (*Muslim League*).

The Hon'ble Haji Muhammad Hashim Gazdar (Minister in charge, Home, Legal, Political and Miscellaneous Departments) (*Muslim League*).

The Hon'ble Rao Saheb Gokaldas Mewaldas Rochlani (Minister-in-charge, Public Works Department and Local Self Government Department) (*Hindu Mahasabha*).

The Hon'ble Dr. Hemandas Rupchand Wadhvani (Minister-in-charge, Medical, Public Health, Veterinary and Industries Departments) (*Hindu Mahasabha*).

#### Parliamentary Secretaries

- (1) Khan Bahadur Allah Bakhsh K. Gabole, (*Baloch*).
- (2) Syed Nur Muhammad Shah (*Muslim League*)
- (3) Mrs. Jenubai Ghulamali Allana (*Muslim League*).
- (4) Mr. Muhammad Yusif Khan Chandio (*Muslim League*).
- (5) Seth Lolumal Rewachand Motwani (*Hindu Mahasabha*).

#### Numerical Strength of Parties

Total Seats, 60.

Congress 10; Hindu Independent Party 9; Muslim League 30; Azad Muslim 3; Hindu Mahasabha 3; Europeans 3; Independent 1; 1 seat vacant.

Capital and its Population:—Karachi—386, 655.

Budget for 1944-45—Revenue Receipts Rs. 797 lakhs.

Expenditure on Revenue Accounts—Rs. 608 lakhs.

#### Government of Orissa

(Area—82,000. Sq. miles; Population—87,28,544.

#### Governor

H. E. Sir William Hawthorne Lewis K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., I.C.S., J.P., (April 1, 1941).

#### Council of Ministers

Coalition, formed Nov. 24, 1941, *Personnel*:—

(1) Hon'ble Captain Maharaja Sri Sri Krishna Chandra Gajapati Narayan Deo of Parlakimedi (*Prime Minister*)—*Home Affairs (excluding Publicity) Local Self-Government and Public Works*.

(2) Hon'ble Pandit Godavaris Misra—*Finance, Home Affairs (Publicity), Development and Education*.

(3) Hon'ble Maulavi Abdus Sobhan Khan—*Law and Commerce, Revenue and Health*.

*Parliamentary Secretary*:—Sri Pyarishankar Roy (*Hindu-National Coalition*).

#### Numerical Strength of Parties

Total Seats—60

Congress 31; Nationalist Coalition 26, Independent 2.

Capital and its population, Cuttack 74,297. No Summer Capital.

Receipts and Expenditure:—Receipts

Rs. 212.21 lakhs; Expenditure—Rs. 2,16.02 lakhs.

#### Government of Assam

(Area—87,334 Sq. miles; Population—10,930,388)

Governor—Sir Andrew Gourlay Clow, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., (May 4, 1942);

#### Council of Ministers

Coalition formed August 25, 1942;

#### Personnel:—

(1) Maulavi Saiyid Sir Muhammad Saadullah, M.A., B.L., (*Muslim League*) *Prime Minister*.

(2) Naba Kumar Dutta (*Assam United Party*).

(3) Maulavi Munawwar Ali, B.A. L.L.B. (*Muslim League*).

(4) Hirendra Chandra Chakrabarti, B. A., (*Assam United Party*).

(5) Khan Sahib Maulavi Mudabbir Hussain Chaudhuri, B.L., (*Muslim League*).

(6) Dr. Mahendra Nath Saikia, L.M.P. (*Assam United Party*).

(7) Khan Bahadur Maulavi Sayidur Rahaman, M.A., B.L., (*Muslim League*).

(8) Maulavi Abdul Matin Chaudhuri, B.L., (*Muslim League*).

(9) Miss Mavis Dunn, B.A., B. T., B.L., (*Assam United Party*).

(10) Rupnath Brahma, B.L., (*Assam United Party*). Appointed Minister on August 28, 1942).

No Parliamentary Secretaries.

#### Numerical Strength of Parties

Legislative Assembly:—Total seats—108

Congress—31 (including the Speaker).

Assam United Party—54 (32 belong to *Muslim League Party*). People's Party—10; Independent—4. Total 108.

*Legis. Council*:—Muslim 7—including the President, Mrs Rahman, the rest belonging to the Assam United Party and also the League Party; Europeans 2; Plains Tribal 1; Scheduled Caste 1; Ahom Community 1; Caste Hindu 1 (the latter 4 members belong to the Assam Party); Independents 9 (Marwaries 3 and Caste Hindu 6).

Capital and its Population—Shillong—38, 192. No Summer Capital.

Receipts and Expenditure for current year:—Receipts Rs. 364,20,000; Expenditure Rs. 3,72,29,000.

#### Government of Madras

(Area 1,24,363 Sq. miles. Population—4,98,40,564).

Governor:—Capt. the Hon. Sir Arthur Oswald James Hope, G.C.I.E., M.C.; Assumed charge March 12, 1940,

**Advisory Council**

Advisory Council formed October 30, 1939; Present Personnel:

- (1) Sir D. N. Strathie C.I.E., I.C.S.
- (2) Sir Hugh Hood, K.C.I.E., I.C.S.
- (3) T. Austin, C.I.E., I.C.S.
- (4) S. V. Ramamurty, C.I.E., I.C.S.

**Numerical Strength of Parties**

*Legis. Assembly*: Total Seats 215 (vacant 37) Congress 138; Justice 12; Anglo-Indian 2; Muslim League 12; European 4; Independents 8; National Democrats 2; Total 178.

*Legis. Council*:—Total seats 55 (vacant 15) Congress 22; Justice 4; Muslim League 2; National Democrats 2; Independents 7. Those who have not intimated their party affiliation 3; Total 40.

Capital and its population—Madras; 7,77,481.

Summer Capital and its Population—Ootacamund: 298,850

Receipts: Rs. 21,32,62,000

Expenditure: Rs. 21,22,57,000

**Government of Bombay**

(Area:—76,443 sq. miles; Population—80,849,840.

Governor—Sir John Colville G.C.I.E., T.D. (24 March 1943.)

**Advisory Council**

Council formed Nov. 4, 1939; Present Personnel.

H. F. Knight, Esq., C. S. I., C. I. E. I. C. S. Portfolio: Finance.

C. H. Bristow, Esq., C. I. E., I. C. S. Portfolio: Home.

G. F. S. Collins Esq., C. S. I., C. I. E. I. C. S. Portfolio: Revenue.

H. K. Kripalani, Esq., C. I. E., I. C. S. Portfolio: Education.

**Numerical Strength of Parties**

(a) *In Assembly*—(Total Seats—175) Congress 86; Muslim League 24; Independents 13; Independents Labourers 13; Progressive 12; Peasants and Peoples 6; Peasants and Workers 4; Democratic Swaraj 4; Vacant Seats 13; Total 162.

(b) *In Council*—(Total Seats 30) Congress 10; Muslim League 3; Independents 8; Progressive 1; Democratic Swaraj 3; Liberal 1; Vacant Seats 4; Total 26.

Capital and its population—Bombay City—1,489,883

Summer Capital and its population—Poona—237,560

Receipts—Rs. 1,769, 20,000

Expenditure—Rs. 1,768,74,000

**Govt. of the United Provinces**

(Area—1,12,191 sq. miles; Population—5,63,46,456),

Governor—H. E. Sir Maurice Garnier Hallett, K.C.I.E., C.I.E., I.C.S., (December 6, 1939).

Advisory Council—formed on November 4, 1939. Personnel:—

(1) Dr. Panna Lal, M.A., M.Sc., LL.B. (Cantab), D. Litt. (Agra), Bar-at-Law, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.,—Education, Industries, Local-Self-Government and Public Health.

(2) Sir Tennant Sloan, M.A. (Glas) K.C.I.E., C.S.I., I.C.S.—Home affairs, Finance, Justice and Jails

(3) Mr. A. G. Shirref, B.A., J.P., I.C.S.—Revenue, Rural Development, Agriculture, Forests, Communications and Irrigation. Sir A. W. Ibbotson, M.A., C.I.E., M.B.E., M.C., I.C.S.—Supply

**Numerical Strength of Parties**

(a) *IN ASSEMBLY*—(Total seats—228). Government supporters: Congress 147, Opposition: Muslim League 36, Independent 24, Unattached (generally vote with Opposition) 21—Total 228.

(b) *IN COUNCIL*—(Total seats—60) Government supporters: Congress 14; Opposition: Nationalist 13, Independent 8, Unattached (including 11 who have not intimated Party affiliations) 24: Total—59 (excluding President).

Capital and its population—Allahabad; 2,60,630.

Summer Capital and its population—Naini Tal—21,313.

Receipts and expenditure:—*Receipts*—Rs. 20,26,57,900, *Expenditure*—Rs. 20,18,28,700

**Government of Bihar**

Area—69,848 Sq. Miles; Population—87,985,581.

Governor—H. E. Sir Robert Francis Mudie, C.S.I., C.I.E., O.B.E., I.C.S. (Assumed charge 6, Sept. 1943.)

**Advisory Council**

Council formed Nov. 6, 1939.

**Personnel**

1. E. R. J. R. Cousins C.I.E., I.C.S.
2. R. E. Russell, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.
3. E. C. Ansorage, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.

**Numerical Strength of Parties**

*In Assembly*—(a) Total number of members 147 (excluding 5 seats vacant due to death of members.)

(b) Number of Muslim member (seats) 38 (excluding 2 seats vacant due to death.

(c) Number of members belonging to Congress party 96 (excluding 2 seats vacant due to death of members.

(d) Number of Muslim League party in the Assembly. There is no such recognised party. But there are five members who own allegiance to Muslim League.

*In Council*—(a) Total number of members 29.

(b) Number of seats retained by the Muslim members 8.

(c) Number of members belonging to the Congress Party 10.

(d) Members belonging to the Muslim League Party 2. There is no such recognised party in the Council but two members have informed that they owe allegiance to the Muslim League.

*Capital and its population*—Patna—196,415.

*Summer Capital and its population*—Ranchi—62,562.

Receipts and Expenditure :—Receipts—697 lakhs. Expenditure—636 lakhs.

### Government of C. P. & Berar

*Area*—98,575 Sq. Miles ; *Population*—1,68,97,096.)

*Governor*—H. E. Sir Henry Twynam K.C.I.E., C.I.E., I.C.S. (October 2, 1940).

#### ADVISORY COUNCIL

Council formed Nov. 11. 1939.

*Personnel*—(i) Sir Geoffrey Pownall Burton, K.C.I.E., I.C.S.

(ii) Henry Challen Greenfield, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.

#### Numerical Strength of Parties

Total Seats—112.

Congress Party 69

Independent Party 16

Muslim League Party 9

United Party 5

Independent (Unattached) 9

108

Seats vacant 4

112

*Capital and its population*—Nagpur, 3,01,957.

*Summer capital and its population*—Panchmarhi, 6 696.

Receipts and expenditure :—Receipts—

Rs. 6,39,61,000 Expenditure—Rs.

6,32,57,000

### Govt. of N. W. F. Province

*Area*—30,38,067 Sq. Mile ; *Population*—5,415,666.)

*Governor*—H. E. Sir George Cunningham, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., O.B.E., I.C.S. (March 2, 1937.)

*Muslim League Coalition* ; formed May 25, 1943 ; *Personnel* :

(1) Sardar Mohd. Aurangzeb Khan, Chief Minister.

(2) Samin Jan Khan, Minister of Education.

(3) Raja Abdur Rahman Khan, Minister of Information.

(4) S. Ajit Singh, Minister of Public Works Department.

(5) Sardar Abdur Rab Khan, 'Nishtar', Finance Minister.

#### Parliamentary Secretaries

(1) Sir Syed Jalal Shah ; (2) Khan Sahib Malik-ur-Rehman Khan Kiani ; (3) Khan Nasrullah Khan ; (4) Raja Manochher.

#### Numerical strength of Parties

Total seats—50. Congress—23, Nationalist—3, Muslim League—13, Liberals (Democratic)—2, Independents—3, No party 1. Died, convicted and resigned 5.

*Population of the Capital*—Peshawar City 173,420. Peshawar Cantonment—42453. *Summer Capital*—Nathiaagalli

Estimated revenue receipts—Rs. 2,06,94,000; Estimated revenue expenditure—Rs. 2,14,67,000.

### Federal Court of India

*Chief Justice of India*—The Hon. Sir Patrick Spens, O.B.E. (Appointed in 1943).

#### Judges.

The Hon. Mr. Justice Srinivasa Varadachariar, Kt., (Appointed in 1939).

The Hon. Mr. Justice Muhammad Zafrulla Khan, K. C. S. I. (Appointed in 1941).

### Bengal Judicial Department.

#### High Court—Calcutta.

*Chief Justice*—The Hon. Sir Harold Derbyshire M. C., K. C., Barrister at Law. (12-11-1934).

*Puisne Judges*—The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Torick Ameer Ali, Kt., Barrister-at Law (30-11-1931).

The Hon. Mr. Justice George Douglas McNair, Kt., Barrister-at-Law, (16-11-1933).

The Hon. Mr. Justice Syed Nasim Ali, M. A. B. L., (13-11-1933)

The Hon. Mr. Justice Alan Gerald Russell Henderson, B. A. (Oxon), I. C. S., (12-11-1934).

The Hon. Mr. Justice Rupendra Coomar Mitter, M. Sc., M. L., (12-11-1934)

The Hon. Mr. Justice Nural Azeem Khundkar, B. A., LL.B., Barrister-at-Law, (8-11-1937).

The Hon. Mr. Justice Benegal Narasing Rau, Kt., C. I. E., I. C. S. (16-11-1939)

The Hon. Mr. Justice Noeman George Armstrong Edgley M. A. (Oxon) I. C. S., Barrister-at-Law. J. P. (8-11-1937)

The Hon. Mr. Justice Bijan Kumar Mukherjee, M. A., D. L., (9-11-1936)

The Hon. Mr. Justice Charu Chandra Biswas, C. I. E., M. A., B. L., (1-3-1937)

The Hon. Mr. Justice Ronald Francis

Lodge, B.A., (Cantab) I.C.S., J.P., (17-11-1938)

The Hon. Mr. Justice Frederick William Gentle, Barrister-at-Law, (10-11-1941)

The Hon. Mr. Justice Amarendra Nath Sen, Barrister-at-Law, (7-11-1938)

The Hon. Mr. Justice Thomas James Young Roxburgh, C. I. E., B. A., (Cantab) I. C. S., Barrister-at-Law, J. P. (15-11-1939).

The Hon. Mr. Justice Abu Saleh Mohamed Akram, B.L. (26-9-1943),

The Hon. Mr. Justice Sudhi Ranjan Das, B. A. (Calcutta) LL. B. (London) Barrister-at-Law, (Addl) (1-12-1942)

The Hon. Mr. Justice Abraham Lewis Blank, M. A. (Oxon) I. C. S., Barrister-at-Law, J. P. (Addl) (2-2-1942).

The Hon. Mr. Justice Radhabinod Pal, M. A., D. L., (Offg)

## Bombay Judicial Department

### High Court—Bombay.

*Chief Justice*—Leonard Stone, The Hon'ble Sir, Kt., O. B. E. (1-10-43)

*Puisne Judges*.—Harilal Jekisondas Kania, The Hon'ble Sir, LL. B., Advocate (O. S.), Kt. (19-6-1933).

Navroji Jahangir Wadia, The Hon'ble Sir, B. A. (Bom & Cantab) Bar-at-law, I. C. S., Kt. (6-12-1933).

Harsidhbhai Vajubhai Divatia, The Hon'ble Mr Justice, M. A., LL. B., (19-6-1933).

Albert Sortain Romer Macklin, The Hon'ble Mr. Justice, B. A. (Oxon), I.C.S. (18-6-1935).

Kshitish Chandra Sen, The Hon'ble Mr. Justice, B. A. (Cal. & Cantab.), I. C. S. (4-8-1941).

Mahomedali Currim Chagla, The Hon'ble Mr. Justice, B. A. (Oxon.), Bar-at-law, (4-8-1941).

Narayan Swamiray Lokur, The Hon'ble Mr. Justice, B. A. LL. B. (24-8-1942).

Eric Weston, The Hon'ble Mr. Justice, B. A. (Cantab.), I. C. S. (14-1-1943).

N. H. C. Coyajee, The Hon'ble Mr. Justice, B. A. B. Sc, (Econ), London, Bar-at-law, (1-3-1943).

John Basil Blagden, The Hon'ble Mr. Justice, (Cantab.), Bar-at-law. (14-11-1942)

Ganpat Sakhararam Rajadhyaksha, The Hon'ble Mr. Justice M. A. (Cantab.), Bar-at-law, I. C. S., Addl. Judge. (14-6-1943).

## Madras Judicial Department

### High Court—Madras

*Chief Justice*—The Hon. Sir Lionel Leach (E). Bar-at-law. 10th. Feb. 33.

### *Puisne Judges*

The Hon. Mr. Justice V. Mockett, M.B.E. (E). Bar-at-law.

The Hon. Mr. Justice A. J. King. (E). I.C.S.

The Hon. Mr. Justice S. Wadsworth. (E). I.C.S. Bar-at-law.

The Hon. Mr. Justice K. P. Lakshmana Rao, Diwan Bahadur (B). Advocate.

The Hon. Mr. Justice N. Chandrasekhara Iyer.

The Hon. Mr. Justice C. N. Kuppuswami Ayyar.

The Hon Mr. Justice M. Shahabuddin

The Hon. Mr. Justice K. S. Krishnaswami Ayyainger. (B). Advocate.

The Hon. Mr. Justice B. Somayya. (B). Advocate.

The Hon. Mr. Justice M. Patanjali Sastri. (B). Advocate.

The Hon. Mr. Justice L. C. Horwill. (E). I.C.S. Bar-at-law.

The Hon. Mr. Justice A. C. Happell. (E). I.C.S.

The Hon. Mr. Justice J. A. Bell. (E). Bar-at-law.

The Hon. Mr. Justice K. Kunhi Raman, Diwan Bahadur. (N). B.A., B.L. Bar-at-law.

The Hon. Mr. Justice J. A. Byers. (E). I.C.S. Bar-at-law.

## Behar & Orissa Judicial Dept.

### High Court—Patna

*Chief Justice*—The Hon. Sir Saiyid Fazl Ali, Barrister-at-law. 19-1-1943.

*Puisne Judge*—The Hon. Sir Clifford Monmohan Agarwala, Barrister-at-Law 11-7-1933.

The Hon. Mr. Justice Sukhdev Prasad Varma, Barrister-at-law. 22-1-1934.

The Hon. Mr. Justice Francis George Rowland, I.C.S., 21-8-1936.

The Hon. Mr. Justice Manohar Lal M.A., (Cantab). Barrister-at-law. 3-6-1939.

The Hon. Mr. Justice Subodh Ch. Chatterjee, 28-9-1939.

The Hon. Mr. Justice Herbert Ribton Meredith, I.C.S., 1-10-1940.

The Hon. Mr. Justice James Creig Shearer, I.C.S., Barrister-at-law. 19-1-1943

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Bhuvaneshwar Prashad Sinha. 6-12-43.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice David Ezra Ruben, I.C.S. Addl., 14-8-43.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Saiyed Jafar Imam, Barrister-at-Law, Addl. 25-10-43

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice R. B. Bewor, I.C.S. Addl. 8-11-43.

## C. P. & Berar Judicial Dept.

### High Court—Nagpur

*Chief Justice*—The Honourable Sir Frederick Grille, Kt., I.C.S.



*Puisne Judges*—1. The Honourable Mr. Justice M. A. Niyogi, C.I.E. On leave from 1-11-43

2. The Honourable Mr. Justice R. E. Pollock, I.C.S.

3. The Honourable Mr. Justice Vivian Bose.

4. The Honourable Mr. Justice W. R. Puranik.

5. The Honourable Mr. Justice K. G. Digby, I.C.S.

6. The Honourable Mr. Justice J. Sen.

7. The Honourable Mr. Justice M. R. Bobde—Officiating vice no. 1 from 1-11-43.

### Punjab Judicial Department

#### High Court—Lahore

##### Chief Justice

The Honourable Sir John Douglas Young. 7th May, 1934.

The Honourable Sir Arthur Trevor Harries. 19th January, 1943.

##### *Puisne Judges*

1. The Honourable Mr. Justice Tek Chand, Kt., 27th January, 1927.

2. The Honourable Mr. Justice Dalip Singh, Kt., 4th October, 1926.

3. The Honourable Mr. Justice Monroe. 7th December, 1931.

4. The Honourable Mr. Justice Bhide, 2nd October, 1933.

5. The Honourable Mr. Justice Abdul Rashed. 2nd October, 1933.

6. The Honourable Mr. Justice Din Muhammad. 2nd May 1936.

7. The Honourable Mr. Justice Blacker. 23rd November. 1937.

8. The Honourable Mr. Justice Ram Lal. 9th February, 1938.

9. The Honourable Mr. Justice Sale. 14th November, 1939.

10. The Honourable Mr. Justice Beckett. 23rd September, 1940.

11. The Honourable Mr. Justice Muhammad Abdur Rahaman, Kt. 13th February, 1943.

12. The Honourable Mr. Justice Muhammad Munir. 28th September, 1942.

13. The Honourable Mr. Justice Mehr Chand Mahajan. 27th Sept. 1943

14. The Honourable Mr. Justice Marten, Additional Judge (except from 16-7-1943 to 26-9-43).

15. The Honourable Mr. Justice Dhawan. (Acting from 29-1-1943 to 15-7-1943)

16. The Honourable Mr. Justice Teja Singh. (Acting 1-2-1943 to 15-7-1943.

Additional from 17th Sept., 1943).

### United Provinces Judicial Dept.

#### High Court—Allahabad

*Chief Justice*—Hon'ble Sir Iqbal Ahmad Kt. B.A., LL.B.

*Puisne Judge*—Hon. Sir H. J. Collister, Kt., J.P., I.C.S.

Hon. Mr. Justice J. J. W. Allsop, J.P., I.C.S.

Hon. Mr. Justice Mohammad Ismail, Khan Bahadur, Bar-at-law.

Hon. Mr. Justice K. K. Verma, B.A., LL.B.

Hon. Mr. Justice H.B.L. Braund, Bar-at-law, (on deputation)

Hon. Mr. Justice T. N. Mulla, Rai Bahadur, M.A., LL.B.

Hon. Mr. Justice A. H. de B. Hamilton, J.P., I.C.S.

Hon. Mr. Justice S. K. Dar, B.A., LL.B.

Hon. Mr. Justice R. L. Yorke, J.P., I.C.S.

Hon. Mr. Justice G. P. Mathur, Rai Bahadur, B.A., LL.B. Additional Puisne Judge.

Hon. Mr. Justice P. P. M. C. Plowden, J.P., I.C.S. Acting Puisne Judge.

### Chief Court of Oudh—Lucknow

*Chief Judge*—Hon. Sir George Thomas, Kt., Bar-at-law. (23-7-1938).

*Judges*—Hon Mr. Justice J. R. W. Bennet, I.C.S. (13-7-1940)

Hon. Mr. Justice Ghulam Hasan, (16-9-1940),

Hon. Mr. Justice Lakshmi Shanker Misra, Bar-at-law. (11-5-43).

Hon. Mr. Justice W. Y. Madely, I.C.S. Addl. Judge. (11-5-41).

### Chief Court of Sind

*Chief Judges*—The Hon. Sir Godfrey Davis, Barrister-at-law. (15-4-1940).

*Judge*—The Hon. Mr. Justice Charles M. Lobo, LL.B. (15-4-40).

The Hon. Mr. Justice Hatim Badruddin Tyabji, Barrister-at-law, (15-4-1940).

The Hon. Mr. Justice Dennis Neil O'Sullivan, Barrister-at-law. (14-1-1943).

### Indian States (with Salutes)

(Area—712,508 sq. miles; Population—81,310,845).

#### Assam State

*Manipur*—H. H. Maharaja Sir Chura Chand Singh, K.C.S.I., C.B.E. Maharaja of—

Date of Birth—15th April, 1885

Date of succession—18th September, 1891

Area in Sq. miles—8638 (Approximately)

Population of State—4,45,606

Revenue—Nearly Rs. 9,59,620

Salute in guns—11.

#### Baluchistan State

*Kalat*—His Highness Beglar Begi Mir

Sir Mahmud Khan, G.C.I.E., Wali of—

Date of Birth—1864

Date of succession—1893

Area of State in square miles—73,278  
Population of State—328,281  
Revenue—Rs. 17,78,000 nearly  
Salute in Guns—19.

#### Baroda State

*Baroda*—His Highness Farzand-i-Khas-i-Daulat-i-Inglishia Maharaja Sir Pratapsingh Gaekwar, G.C.I.E. Sena Khas Khel, Shamsher Bahadur, Maharaja of—  
Date of Birth—29th June, 1908  
Date of succession—7th, Feb. 1939  
Area of State in sq. miles—8,164  
Population of State—28,55,110  
Revenue—Rs. 245'23 lacs  
Salute in guns—21.

#### Bengal States

*Cooch Behar*—H. H. Maharaja Jagad-dipendra Narayan Bhup Bahadur, Maharaja of—

Date of Birth—15th December, 19 5  
Date of succession—20th Dec. 1922  
Area of State in sq. miles—131,885  
Population of State—6,39,898  
Revenue—About Rs. 3½ lakhs  
Salute in guns—13.

*Tripura*—H. H. Maharaja Manikya Bir Bikram Kishore Deb Barman Bahadur K.C.S.I., Maharaja of—

Date of Birth—19th August, 1908  
Date of succession—13th August, 1923  
Area of State in sq. miles—4,116  
Population of State—382,450  
Revenue—Rs. 33,42,104 (including the revenue of the zamindaries in British India)

Salute in guns—13.

#### Bihar & Orissa States

*Kalahandi*—H. H. Maharaja Pratapkesori Deo, Maharaja of—

Date of Birth—5th October '19  
Date of succession—19th September '50  
Area in sq. miles—3,745  
Population—5,99,751  
Revenue—Rs. 6,43,000  
Salute in guns—9

*Mayurbhanj*—Maharaja Sir Pratap Chandra

Bhanj Deo, K.C.I.E. Maharaja of—  
Date of Birth—18th February, '01  
Date of succession—23rd April, '28  
Area in sq. miles—4,243  
Population—9,89,887  
Revenue—Rs. 34 lacs  
Salute in guns—9

*Patna*—H. H. Maharaja Rajendra Narayan Singh Deo, Maharaja of—

Date of birth—31st March '12  
Date of succession—16th January '24  
Area in square miles—2,511  
Population—16,32,220  
Revenue—Rs. 11,02,251  
Salute in guns—9

*Sonpur*—H. H. Maharaja Sing Deo, K.C.I.E. Maharaja of—  
Date of birth—28th June 1874  
Date of succession—8th August '02  
Area in square miles—906  
Population—226,751  
Revenue—Rs. 3,74,500 nearly  
Salute in gun—9

#### Bombay Presy. States

*Balasinar*—H. H. Babi Shri Jamiat Khanji Monavvar Khanji Nawab Saheb Bahadur, Nawab of—  
Date of birth—10th November 1894  
Date of succession—31st December '15  
Area in square miles—189  
Population—32 525  
Revenue—Rs. 3,50,000 nearly  
Indian State Forces—Cavalry—60, Infantry—177, Guns—10  
Salute in guns—9

*Ransda*—H. H. Maharawal Shri Indrasinhji Pratapsinhji, Raja of—  
Date of birth—16th February 1888  
Date of succession—21st Sept. '11  
Area in square miles—215  
Population—40,125  
Revenue—Rs. 7,98 000 nearly  
Salute in guns—9

*Baria*—Lt. Col. His Highness Maharawal Shree Sir Ranjitsinhji, K.C.S.I., Ruler of—  
Date of birth—10th July 1886  
Date of succession—20th Feb. '08  
Area in sq. miles—813  
Population—1,89,206  
Indian State Forces—Cavalry (Irregular) Strength 17; 1 Company Ranjit Infantry, Strength 153; 1 Plantoon Militia, Strength 50  
Salute in guns—9

*Bhor*—H. H. Meherban Srimant Raghunathrao Shankarrao, Pant Sachib of—  
Date of birth—20 September 1878  
Date of succession—17th July '22  
Area in square miles—925  
Population—130,420  
Revenue—Rs. 600,000 nearly  
Salute in guns—9

*Cambay*—H. H. Nawab Mirza Hussain Yawar Khan Saheb Bdr. Nawab of—  
Date of birth—16th May '11  
Date of succession—21st January '15  
Area in sq. miles—392  
Population—87,761  
Revenue—Rs. 10,00,000 nearly  
Indian State Forces—119 Infantry; 166 Police Forces; 15 Body guards.  
Salute in guns—11

*Chhota Udepur* (Mohan)—H. H. Maharawal Shri Natwarsinhji Fatehsinhji, Raja of—  
Date of birth—16th November '06

Date of succession—29th August '23  
Area in sq. miles—88,034  
Population—1,62,145  
Revenue—Rs. 13,08,248  
Salute in guns—9

**Danta**—H. H. Maharana Shri Bhavani-  
sinhji Hamirsinhji, Maharana of—  
Date of birth—12th September 1899  
Date of succession—20th November '25  
Area in sq. miles—347  
Population—19,541  
Revenue—Rs. 1,75,000 nearly  
Salute in guns—9

**Dharampur**—H. H. Maharana Shri  
Vijoyadevi Mohandevji, Raja of—  
Date of birth—3rd December 1884  
Date of succession—26th March '21  
Area in sq. miles—704  
Population—1,12,031  
Revenue—Rs. 8,50,000  
Salute in guns—9

**Idar**—H. H. Maharajadhiraja Shri  
Himmat Singhji Sahib Bahadur  
Date of birth—2nd September 1899  
Date of succession—14th April '31  
Area in sq. miles—1,669  
Population—3,07,798  
Revenue—Rs. 24,68,000 nearly  
Salute in guns—15

**Janjira**—H. H. Nawab Sidi Muhammad  
Khan Sidi Ahmad Khan, Nawab of—  
Date of birth—7th March '14  
Date of succession—2nd May '22  
Area in sq. miles—379  
Population—1,10,388  
Revenue—Rs. 11,00,000  
Salute in guns—11

**Jawhar**—Shrimant Yeshwantrao "Maharaj,"  
Raja of—  
Date of birth—11th December '17  
Date of succession—11th December '27  
Area in sq. miles—308  
Population—65,291  
Revenue—Rs. 5,20,000  
Salute in guns—9

**Khairpur**—H. H. Mir Faiz Mahomed  
Khan Talpur, Mir of—  
Date of birth—4th January '13  
Date of succession—December '35  
Area in sq. miles—6,050  
Population—227,168  
Revenue—Rs. 25'24 (lacs)  
Indian State Forces—Khairpur "Faiz"  
Light Infantry, 215; Khairpur Camel  
Transport Corps, 72  
Salute in guns—15

**Kolhapur**—Col. H. H. Shri Sir Rajaram  
Chhatrapati Maharaj, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.,  
Maharaja of—  
Date of birth—30 July 1897  
Date of succession—6th May '22  
Area in sq. miles—3,217'1

Population—9,57,157  
Revenue—Rs. 126,86,527  
Salute in guns—19

**Lunawada**—Lieut. H. H. Maharana Shri  
Virbhadrasinghji, Saheb of—  
Date of birth—8th June '10  
Date of succession—2nd October '30  
Area in sq. miles—388  
Population—95,163  
Revenue—About Rs. 5,50,000  
Dynastic Salute—9 guns

**Mudhol**—H. H. Srimant Raja Bhairavsinh  
(minor), Raja of—  
Date of birth—15 October '29  
Date of succession—9th November '37  
Area in sq. miles—369  
Population—62,832  
Revenue—Rs. 4,85,000 nearly  
Indian State Forces—Mudhol Sajjan Singh  
Infantry—115  
Salute in guns—9

**Rajpipla**—Captain H. H. Maharana Shri  
Sir Vijaya Singhji Chhatrasinhji, K.C.S.I.  
Date of birth—30 January 1890  
Date of succession—26th September '15  
Area in sq. miles—1,517'50  
Population—2,48,068  
Revenue—Rs. 24,32,000  
Indian State Forces—Rajpipla Infantry  
152; Rajpipla Bodyguard 25  
Salute in guns—13

**Sachin**—His Highness Nawab Sidi  
Muhammad Haider Muhammad Yakut  
Khan, Mubarez Daula, Nusrat Jung  
Bahadur, Nawab of—  
Date of birth—11th September '09  
Date of succession—19th November '30  
Area in sq. miles—57'80  
Revenue—Rs. 4,00,00/-  
Indian State Forces—Sachin Infantry 80  
Salute in guns—9

**Sangli**—Captain H. H. Raja Shrimant  
Sir Chintamanrao Dhundirao alias  
Appasaheb Patwardhan, K.C.I.E., Raja of—  
Date of birth—14th Feb. 1890  
Date of Succession—15th June 1903  
Area in sq. miles—1,136  
Population—2,93,498  
Revenue—Rs. 16,80,244  
Salute in guns—9

**Sant**—Maharana Shri Jorawarsinghji  
Partapsinhji, Raja of—  
Date of birth—24th March 1881  
Date of succession—31st. August 1896  
Area in sq. miles—394  
Population—83,531  
Revenue—Rs. 435,826  
Salute in guns—9

**Savantvadi**—(Minor) H. H. Raja Bahadur  
Shrimant Shivram Savant Bhonsle  
Date of birth—13th August '27  
Date of succession—5th July '37

Area in sq. miles—930  
Population—2,52,170  
Revenue—Rs. 6,13,478  
Salute in guns—9

*Central India States*

**Ajaigarh**—H. H. Maharaja Sawai Bhupal Singh Bahadur, Maharaja of—  
Date of succession—7th June '13  
Date of birth—13th November 1866  
Area in sq. miles—802  
Population—84,790  
Revenue—Rs. 500,000 nearly  
Salute in guns—11

**Alirajpur**—H. H. Maharaja Pratap Singh, K.C.I.E., Maharaja of—  
Date of birth—12th Sept. 1881  
Date of succession—14th February 1891  
Area in sq. miles—836  
Population—112,754  
Revenue of the State—Rs. 5,35,000  
Salute in guns—11

**Baoni**—H. H. Azam-ul-Umara Iftikhar-ud-Daulah Imad-ul-Mulk Sahib-i-Jah Mihin Sardar Nawab Mohammad Mushtaq-ul-Hasan Khan Sardar Jung,  
Date of birth—7th February 1896  
Date of succession—28th October '11  
Area in sq. miles—121  
Population—25,256  
Revenue—Rs. 2,25,000  
Salute in guns—11

**Baraundha (Pathar Kachar)**—Raja Gaya Parshad Singh, Raja of—  
Date of birth—1865  
Date of succession—9th July '09  
Area in sq. miles—218  
Population—15,912  
Revenue—Rs. 45,000 nearly  
Salute in guns—9

**Barwani**—His Highness Rana Devisinghji  
Date of birth—19th July '22  
Date of Succession—21st April '30  
Area in sq. miles—1,178  
Population—1,76,632  
Revenue—Rs. 11,04,510  
Salute in guns—11

**Bhopal**—Lt.-Col. H. H. Iftikhar-ul-Mulk Sikandar Saulat Nawab Haji Muhammad Hamidulla Khan Bahadur, G.C.I.E., G.C.S.I., C.V.O., Nawab of—  
Date of birth—9th September 1894  
Date of succession—17th May '26  
Area in sq. miles—7,000  
Population—700,000  
Revenue—Rs. 62,00,000 nearly  
Indian State Forces—Bhopal (Victoria) Lancers—141; Bhopal Sultania Infantry—772; Bhopal Gohar-i-Taj Own Company—164  
Salute in guns—19

**Bijawar**—H. H. Maharaja Govind Singh Minor, Maharaja of—  
Date of Birth—17th June '34

Date of succession—11th Nov. '41  
Area in sq. miles—973  
Population—1,20,928  
Revenue—Rs. 3,55,271  
Salute in guns—11

**Charkhari**—H. H. Maharajadhiraja Sipahdar-ul-Mulk Armardan Singh Ju Deo Bahadur, Maharaja of—  
Date of birth—29th December '03  
Date of succession—6th October '20  
Area in sq. miles—880  
Population—123,405  
Revenue—Rs. 8,26,000 nearly  
Salute in guns—11

**Chhatarpur**—H. H. Maharaja Bhawani Singh Bahadur, Maharaja of—  
Date of birth—16th August, '04  
Date of succession—5th April, '32  
Area in sq. miles—1,130  
Population—1,61,267  
Gross Revenue Nearly—Rs. 12,00,000  
Indian State Forces—412  
Salute in guns—11

**Datia**—Major H. H. Maharaja Lokendra Sir Govind Singh Bahadur, K.C.S.I.,  
Date of birth—21st June 1896  
Date of succession—5th August '07  
Area in sq. miles—911  
Population—148,659  
Revenue—Rs. 19,00,000 nearly  
Indian State Forces—Datia 1st Govind—Infantry—200  
Datia Govind Infantry (B Company)—117  
Salute in guns—15

**Dewas (Senior)**—His Highness Maharaja Sir Vikramsinha Rao Puar, K.C.S.I., B.A., Maharaja of—  
Date of birth—4th April '10  
Date of succession—21st December '37  
Area in sq. miles—449,50  
Population—89,479  
Revenue—Rs. 7,00,000  
Salute in guns—15

**Dewas (Junior Branch)**—H. H. Maharaja Sadashivrao Khase Saheb Pawar, Maharaja of—  
Date of birth—13th August 1887  
Date of succession—4th February '34  
Area in sq. miles—419  
Population—70,513  
Revenue—Rs. 6,83,000  
Salute in guns—15

**Dhar**—Lieut. H. H. Maharaja Anand Rao Puar Saheb Bahadur, Maharaja of—  
Date of birth—24th November, '20  
Date of succession—1st August '26  
Date of Investiture—16th March, '40  
Area in sq. miles—1,799,34  
Population—2,53,210  
Revenue—Rs. 3,00,000  
Indian State Forces—Dhar Light Horse 66; Dhar Infantry (Laxmi Guard) 263  
Salute in guns—15

**Indore**—H. H. Maharajadhiraja Raj Rajeshwar Sawai Shri Yeshwant Rao Holkar Bahadur, G.C.I.E., Maharaja of,  
 Date of birth—6th September '08  
 Date of succession—26th February '26  
 Area in sq. miles—9,902  
 Population—over 15,00,000  
 Revenue—Rs. 1,21,81,100  
 Indian State Forces—Indore Holkar Escort—141, Indore 1st Battalion, Maharaja Holkar's Infantry Companies "A" & "B"—380  
 Indore Holkar Transport Corps—266  
 Salute in guns—19  
**Jaora**—Lt. Col. H. H. Fakhrud-Daulah Nawab Sir Mohammad Ifukhar Ali Khan Bahadur, Sulat-i-Jang, G.B.E., K.C.I.E., Nawab of—  
 Date of birth—17th January 1883  
 Date of succession—6th March 1895  
 Area in sq. miles—601  
 Population—1,16,738  
 Revenue—Rs. 16,00,000  
 Salute in guns—13  
**Jhabua**—H. H. Raja Udai Singh, Raja of  
 Date of birth—6th May 1875  
 Date of succession—26th April 1895  
 Area in sq. miles—1,336  
 Population—123,932  
 Revenue—Rs. 3,50,000 nearly  
 Salute in guns—11  
**Khilchipur**—Raja Rao Bahadur Sir Durjansalsing, K.C.I.E., Raja of—  
 Date of birth—26th August 1897  
 Date of succession—19th January '08  
 Area in sq. miles—273  
 Population—45,025  
 Revenue—Rs. 2,24,000  
 Salute in guns—9  
**Maihar**—H. H. Raja Sir Brijnath Singhi Deo Bahadur, K.C.I.E., Raja of—  
 Date of birth—22nd February 1886  
 Date of succession—16th Dec. '11  
 Area in sq. miles—407  
 Population—68,991  
 Revenue—Rs. 5,00,000 (nearly)  
 Salute in guns—9  
**Nagod**—(Unchehra)—H. H. Raja Mahendra Singhjee Deo Bahadur, Raja of—  
 Date of birth—5th February '16  
 Date of succession—26th Feb. '26  
 Area in sq. miles—501.4  
 Population—87,911  
 Revenue—Rs. 3,00,000 (nearly)  
 Salute in guns—9  
**Narsinghgarh**—H. H. Raja Sir Vikram Singhji Sahib Bdr. K.C.I.E., Raja of—  
 Date of birth—21 Sept. '09  
 Date of succession—23rd April '24  
 Area in sq. miles—734  
 Population—1,24,281  
 Revenue—Rs. 7,09,291 (nearly).  
 Salute in guns—11  
**Orchha**—H. H. Saramad-i-Rajaha-Bundelkhand Shri Sawai Sir Vir Singh Dev

**Bahadur, K.C.S.I. Maharaja of**—  
 Date of birth—14th April 1899  
 Date of succession—4th March '30  
 Area in sq. miles—2,080  
 Population—314,661  
 Revenue—Rs. 13,00,000 (nearly)  
 Salute in guns—15  
**Panna**—H. H. Maharaja Mahendra Sir Yadvendra Singh Bahadur, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Maharaja of—  
 Date of birth—31st January 1894  
 Date of succession—20th June '02  
 Area in sq. miles—2,596  
 Population—2,12,130  
 Revenue—Rs. 9,50,000 nearly  
 Salute in guns—11  
**Rajgarh**—H. H. Raja Rawat Bikramaditya Singh Bahadur (minor), Raja of—  
 Date of birth—18th December '36  
 Date of succession—Do Do  
 Area in sq. miles—963  
 Population—1,48,609  
 Revenue—Rs. 8,63,200  
 Salute in guns—11  
**Ratlam**—Major-General H. H. Maharaja Sir Sajjan Singh, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., K.C.V.O.  
 Date of birth—13th January 1880  
 Date of succession—29th Jan. 1893  
 Area in sq. miles—693  
 Population—1,26,117  
 Revenue—Rs. 10 lacs  
 Indian State Forces—Shree Lokendra Rifles—Authorised Strength—161  
 Salute in guns—13 permanent, local 15  
**Rewa**—H. H. Maharaja Dhiraj Sir Gulab Singh Bahadur, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Maharaja of—  
 Date of birth—12th March '03  
 Date of succession—31st October '18  
 Area in sq. miles—13,000  
 Population—18,20,306  
 Salute in guns—17  
 Revenue—Rs. 60,00,000  
**Sailana**—H. H. Raja Sahib Sir Dileep Singhji Bahadur, K.C.I.E., Raja of—  
 Date of birth—18th March 1891  
 Date of succession—14th July '19  
 Area in sq. miles—297  
 Population—40,228  
 Revenue—Rs. 3,00,000  
 Indian State Forces—1. Cavalry 30; 2. Infantry 44; 3. Police 130  
 Salute in guns—11  
**Samthar**—H. H. Maharaja Sir Bir Singh Deo Bahadur, K.C.I.E., Raja of—  
 Date of birth—26th August 1864  
 Date of succession—17th June 1896  
 Area in sq. miles—180  
 Population—33,216  
 Revenue—Rs. 3,50,000 nearly  
 Salute in guns—11  
**Sitawan**—H. H. Raja Sir Ram Singh, K.C.I.E., Raja of—

Date of birth—2nd January 1880  
 Area in sq. miles—201  
 Population—26,549  
 Revenue—Rs. 2,55,076  
 Salute in guns—11

*Gwalior State*

Gwalior—H. H. Maharaja Mukhtar-ul-Mulk, Azim-ul-Iqtidar, Rafi-ush Shan, Wala Shikoh, Motasham-i-Dauran, Umdat-ul-Umra, Maharajadhiraja Alijah, Hisamus-Salta-nat George Jayaji Rao Scindia, Bahadur, Srinath, Mansur-i-Zaman, Fidwi-i-Hazrat-i Malik-Muazzam-i-Rafi-ud-Darjat-i-Inglstan, Maharaja of—

Date of birth—26th June '16

Date of succession—5th June '25

Area in sq. miles—26,367

Population—3,523,070

Revenue—Rs. 241'81 lacs nearly

Indian State Forces—

Gwalior 1st Yayaji Lancers—526

" 2nd Alijah "—526

" 3rd Maharaja Madho Rao

Scindia's Own Lancers—526

" 1st Maharani Sakhya Ray's

Own Battalion—763

2nd Maharaja Jayaji Rao's

Own Battalion—765

3rd Maharaja Scindia's Own

Battalion—772

" 4th Maharaja Bahadur Battalion

—772

" 7th Scindia's Battalion (Train-  
ing)—488

" Mountain Battery—260

Scindia's House Artillery—138

" Sappers Artillery—178

" Pony Transport Corps—479

Salute in Guns—21

*Hyderabad State*

Hyderabad—Lt-General H. E. H. Asaf Jah Muzaffar-ul-Mulk wai Mamalik, Nizam-ul-Mulk Nizam-ud-Daula, Nawab Sir Mir Usman Ali Khan Bahadur, Fateh Jang, Faithful Ally of the British Government, G.C.S.I., G.B.E., Nizam of—

Date of birth—6th April 1886

Date of succession—29th August '11

Area in sq. miles—100,465

Population—17,877,986

Revenue—Rs. 894'98 lacs

Indian State Forces—Hyderabad 1st

Imperial Service Lancers. 544

Hyderabad 2nd Imperial Service  
Lancers, 544

Salute in guns—21

*Jammu & Kashmir State*

Jammu & Kashmir—Lieut-General H. H. Raj Rajeshwar Maharajadhiraj Maharaja Shri Harisinghji Bahadur, Indar Mahindar. Spar-i-Saltanat-i-Englishia, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., K.C.V.O., LL.D., Maharaja of—

Date of birth—September 1895

Date of succession—September '25

Area in sq. miles—84,471

Population—40,21,616

Revenue—Rs. 257'92 lacs

Indian States Forces—

1. 1st Line Troops (Fighting Service)  
Jammu and Kashmir Body Guard

Cavalry—653

2. 1st Jammu & Kashmir Mountain

Battery 314

3. 2nd Jammu & Kashmir Mountain

Battery 262

4. 1st " " " Infantry 679

5. 2nd " " " Rifles 690

6. 3rd " " " " 679

7. 4th " " " Infantry 690

8. 5th " " " Light " 679

9. 6th " " " " 772

10. 7th " " " " 690

11. 8th " " " " 679

12. 9th " " " " 679

1st Line (Troops Administrative Service)

13. J. & L. A. T. C. 365

14. Jammu & Kashmir Infantry

Training Battalion 1969

15. Jammu & Kashmir Army

Training School 26

16. Auxiliary Service

17. Jammu & Kashmir Military

Transport 299

18. Jammu & Kashmir State Band 68

19. " Fort Dept. 117

20. Military Veterinary Corps 21

21. Military Medical Corps 40

Salute in guns—21

Banganapalle—H. H. Nawab Saiyid Fazle

Ali Khan Bahadur, Nawab of—

Date of Birth—9th November '01

Date of succession—22nd January '22

Area in sq. miles—275

Population—44,631

Revenue—Rs. 3,53,758

Salute in guns—9

Cochin—H. H. Sir Kerala Varma, Maharaja of—

Date of birth—29th Vrischigon 1039 M. E.

Date succession—13th April '41

Area in sq. miles—1480

Population—1,422,875

Revenue—Rs. 1,21,46,238

Indian State Forces—34. Officers and  
370 men

Salute in guns—17

Pudukkottai—H. H. Sri Brihadamba Das

Raja Rajagopal Tondaiman Bahadur,

Date of birth—23rd June '22

Date of succession—24th October '28

Area in sq. miles—1,179

Population—4,38,348

Revenue—Rs. 20,74,000 nearly

Salute in guns—11

Travancore—H. H. Sir Padmanabha  
Dasa Vanchi Pala Rama Varma

Kulasekhara Kiritapati Manney Sultan  
 Maharaja Raja Ramraja Bahadur  
 Shamsheer Jang, G.C.I.E., Maharaja of—  
 Date of birth—7th November '12  
 Date of succession—1st September '24  
 Area in sq. miles—7,661'75  
 Population—6,070,018  
 Revenue—Rs. 280'73 lakhs  
 Salute in guns—19; Local 21  
 Mysore—H. H. Maharaja Sri Chamaraja  
 Wadiar Bahadur, Maharaja of—  
 Date of birth—18th July '19  
 Date of succession—8th September '40  
 Area in sq. miles—29,493  
 Population—73'29 lakhs including Civil  
 & Military Station, Bangalore  
 Revenue—Rs. 4,65,68,000 nearly  
 Indian State Forces—Mysore Lancers  
 495; Horse 138; Bodyguard 125;  
 1st Infantry 772; 2nd Infantry 1180;  
 Palace Guard 500  
 Salute in guns—21

*Punjab States*  
 Bahawalpur—Major His Highness Rukn-  
 ud-Daula, Nusrat-i-Jang, Saif-ud-  
 Daula, Hafiz-ul-Mulk, Mukhlis-ud-  
 Daula, Wa-Muinud-Daula Nawab Al-  
 Haj Sir Sadiq Muhammad Khan V  
 Abbasi, Bahadur, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I.,  
 K.C.V.O. Nawab Ruler of—  
 Date of birth—30th September '04  
 Date of succession—4th March '07  
 Area in sq. miles—22,000  
 Population—Over one million  
 Revenue—Rs. 1,40,00,000 nearly  
 Indian State Forces—Bahawalpur 1st  
 Sadiq Infantry; Bahawalpur 2nd  
 Haroon Infantry; H. H. the Nawab's  
 Own Body Guard Lancers  
 Salute in guns—17  
 Bilaspur—(Kahlur)—H. H. Raja Anand  
 Chand, Raja of—  
 Date of birth—26th. January '13  
 Date of succession—18th Nov. '27  
 Area in sq. miles—448  
 Population—1,10,000  
 Revenue—Rs. 3,00,000 nearly  
 Salute in guns—11  
 Chamba—H. H. Raja Lakshman Singh,  
 the Ruler of Chamba State (minor)  
 Date of birth—8th December '24  
 Date of succession—7th. Dec. '35  
 Area in sq. miles—3,127  
 Population—16 89,38  
 Revenue—Rs. 9,00,000 nearly  
 Salute in guns—11  
 Council of Administration appointed by  
 the Government to carry on Minority  
 Administration. President—Lt.-Col.  
 H. S. Strong, G.I.E. Vice-President &  
 Chief Secretary—Dewan Bahadur  
 Lala Madho Ram. Member—Rai  
 Bahadur Lala Ghanshyam Dass.  
 Faridkot—Lt. H. H. Farzand-i-Saadat

Nishan-i-Hazrat-i-Kaisar-i-Hind Barar  
 Bans Raja Har Indar Singh (Bahadur,  
 Date of birth—29th January '15  
 Date of succession—23rd December '18  
 Area in sq. miles—643  
 Population—164,346  
 Revenue—Rs. 17,00,000 nearly  
 Indian State Forces—Faridkot Sappers-  
 Headquarters 8. (Field Company)  
 Sappers & Miners 129. Bodyguard  
 Lancers 27. Infantry 112. Band 35  
 Salute in guns—11  
 Jind—Colonel H. H. Farzand-i-Dilband  
 Rasikh-ul-Itikad Daulat-i-Inglishia  
 Raja-Rajgan Maharaja Sir Ranbir  
 Singh, Rajendra Bahadur, G.C.I.E.  
 G.C.S.I., Maharaja of—  
 Date of birth—11th October 1879  
 Date of succession—7th March 1887  
 Area in sq. miles—1,259  
 Population—308,183  
 Revenue—Rs. 28,00,000 nearly  
 Salute in guns—13  
 Kapurthala—Colonel His Highness  
 Farzand-i-Dilband Rashik-ul-Itkad  
 Daulat-i-Inglishia Raja-i-Rajgan  
 Maharaja Sir Jagatjit Singh Bahadur,  
 G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.B.E., Maharaja of—  
 Date of birth—24th November 1872  
 Date of succession—5th September 1877  
 Area in sq. miles—652  
 Population—3,78,380  
 Revenue—Rs. 34,00,000 roughly  
 Salute in guns—13  
 Loharu—Capt. H. H. Nawab Mirza Amin-  
 ud-Din Ahmed, Fakhar-ud-Daula  
 Khan Bahadur, Nawab of—  
 Date of birth—23rd March '11  
 Date of succession—30th Oct. '22  
 Area in sq. miles—222  
 Population—27,892  
 Revenue—Rs. 1,33,000 nearly  
 Salute in guns—9  
 Malerkotla—Lt.-Colonel H. H. Nawab  
 Sir Ahmad Ali Khan, Bahadur, K.C.S.I.,  
 K.C.I.E., Nawab of—  
 Date of birth—10th September 1881  
 Date of succession—23rd August '08  
 Area in sq. miles—168  
 Population—80,322  
 Revenue—Rs. 15,61,000 nearly  
 Indian State Forces—Sappers—Head-  
 quarters 16; Lancers (Bodyguard) 40;  
 Infantry 226; Field Company Sappers  
 & Miners 295  
 Salute in guns—11  
 Mandi—Major H. H. Raja Sir Joginder  
 Sen Bahadur, K.C.S.I., Raja of—  
 Date of birth—20th August '04  
 Date of succession—28th April '13  
 Area in sq. miles—1,200  
 Population—2,07,465  
 Revenue—Rs. 12,50,000 nearly  
 Salute in guns—11

**Nabha**—H. H. Farzand-i-Arjmand,  
Aqিদat-Paiwand-i-Daulat-i-Inglishia,  
Barar Bans, Sarmut Raja-i-Rajagan  
Maharaja Pratap Singha Malvendra  
Bahadur, Maharaja of—

Date of birth—21st. September '19

Date of succession—February '28

Area in sq. miles—928

Population—263,334

Revenue—Rs. 24 05,000 nearly

Salute in guns—13

**Patiala**—Dr. H. H. Farzand-i-Khas

Daulat-i-Inglishia Mansur-ul-Zaman,

Amir-ul-Umra Maharajadhiraj Raj

Rajeshwar Shri Maharaja-i-Raigan

Shri Yadavindra Singhji LLD.,

Mahendra Bahadur, Maharaja of—

Date of birth—7th January '13

Date of succession—23rd March '38

Area in sq. miles—5,932

Population—1,625,520

Revenue—Rs. 1,57,00,000

Indian State Forces—

Combatants: Non-Combatants

1. 1st Rajindar Lancers	475	178
2. 2nd Patiala Lancers	212	85
3. War Strength 2nd P. Lrs	60	0
4. P. H. A.	90	28
5. 1st R. S. Infantry	732	66
6. 2nd Yadavendra "	685	61
7. 3rd P. S.	662	51
8. 4th Patiala "	662	51
9. Training Battalion	635	45
10. Patiala Transports Corps	99	33
11. S. M. Vety. Hospital	5	9
12. Army Trg. School	39	10
13. Patiala Wireless Section	46	6
14. Deputy Company	227	10

4609 633

Salute in guns—17

**Sirmur (Nahan)**—H. H. Lt. Maharaja  
Rajendra Prakash Bdr. Maharaja of—

Date of birth—10th January '13

Date of succession—Nov. '33

Area in sq. miles—1,141

Population—1,48,568

Revenue—Rs. 10,00,000 nearly

Indian State Forces—Sappers—Head-  
quarters 5; Band 23; No. 1 Company  
142, No. 2 Company 155; State Body-  
guard Lancers 31

Salute in guns—11

**Suket**—H. H. Raja Lakshman Sen, Raja of  
Date of birth—1894

Date of succession—13th Oct. '19

Area in sq. miles—420

Population—54,328

Revenue—Rs. 2,67,000 nearly

Salute in guns—11

**Bashahr**—H. H. Raja Padam Singh,

Date of birth—1873

Date of succession—5th August '14

Area in sq. miles—3,820

Population—86,077

Revenue—R. 3,34,600 nearly

Salute in guns—9

### *Rajputana States*

**Alwar**—H. H. Shri Sewai Maharaj Tej

Singhji Bahadur, Maharaja of—

Date of birth—19th March '11

Date of succession—22nd July '37

Area in sq. miles—3217

Population—7,49,751

Revenue—About Rs. 40,00,000

Indian State Forces—1. Jey Paltan

Infantry 865; 2. Pratap Paltan Infantry

331; 3. Alwar Mangal Lancers 158; 4.

Garrison Force 28

Salute in guns—15

**Banswara**—H. H. Rai-i-Rayan Maharawal

Sahib Shri Sir Pirthi Singhji Bahadur,

K.C.I.E. Maharawal of—

Date of birth—15th July 1888

Date of succession—8th January '14

Area in sq. miles—1,946

Population—2,99,913

Revenue—Rs. 8,17,726

Salute in guns—15

**Bharatpur**—Lt. Col. H. H. Maharaja Sri

Brajindra Sawai Sir Krishna Singh

Bahadur, Bahadur jang, K.C.S.I.,

Date of birth—4th October 1899

Date of succession—27th August 1900

Area in sq. miles—1,982

Population—4,96,437

Revenue—Rs. 34,25,000 nearly

Indian State Forces—Jaswant House-

hold Infantry—772; 2nd Ram Singh's

Own Infantry—353; 3rd Baretha

Infantry—353

Salute in guns—17

**Bikaner**—General H. H. Maharajadhiraj

Rajeswar Narendra Shiromani Maha-

rajah Shri Ganga Singhji Bahadur,

G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.C.V.O., G.B.E., K.C.B.,

A.D.C., L.L.D., Maharajah of—

Date of birth—13th Oct. 1880

Date of succession—31st Aug. 1887

Area in sq. miles—23,317

Population—12,93,000

Revenue—Rs. 1,58,11,000

Indian State Forces—

Ganga Risala (Camel Corps) 532

Sadul Light Infantry 773

Dungar Lancers

(including H. H.'s Body Guard 342

Bijey Battery 245

Camel Battery 20

Artillery Training Centre 158

2nd Battalio, Bikaner State Infantry 697



3rd Battalion, Bikaner State Infantry 362  
 Training Battalion 413  
 Motor Machine Gun Sections 100  
 Salute in guns—Personal 19, Permanent 17.

**Bundi**—His Highness Hadendra Siromani  
 Deo Sar Buland Raj Maharajadhiraj  
 Saheb Bahadur, G.C.I.E.

Date of birth—8th March 1893  
 Date of succession—8th August '27  
 Area in sq. miles—2,220  
 Population—2,49,374  
 Revenue—Rs. 15,50,000  
 Salute in guns—17

**Dholpur**—Lt. Col. H. H. Rais-ud-Daula  
 Sipahdar-ul-Mulk Maharajadhiraja  
 Sri Sawai Maharaj-Rana Sir Udaibhan  
 Singh Lokindar Bahadur Diler Jang  
 Jai Deo, K.C.S.I., K.C.V.O., Maharaj-  
 Raja of—

Date of birth—25th February 1893  
 Date of succession—29th March '11  
 Area in sq. miles—1,200  
 Population—2,30,188  
 Revenue—Rs. 17,50,000 nearly  
 Indian State Forces—Dholpur Narsingh  
 Infantry 164; Dholpur Sappers and  
 Miners 75  
 Salute in guns—15

**Dungarpur**—H. H. Rai-i-Rayan Mahi-  
 mahendra Maharajadhiraj Maharawal  
 Sri Lakshman Singhji Bahadur,  
 K.C.S.I., Maharawal of—

Date of birth—7th Mar. '08  
 Date of succession—15th Nov. '18  
 Area in sq. miles—1,460  
 Population—2,74,282  
 Revenue—Rs. 8,00,000  
 Salute in guns—15

**Jaipur**—H. H. Saramad-i-Rajaha-i  
 Hindustan Raj Rajindra Sri Maha-  
 rajadhiraja Sir Sawai Man Singh  
 Bahadur, G.C.I.E., Maharaja of—

Date of birth—21st August '11  
 Date of succession—7th September '22  
 Area in sq. miles—16,682  
 Population—26,31,775  
 Revenue—Rs. 1,85,00,000 nearly  
 Indian State Forces—Jaipur Infantry—772  
 Jaipur Lancers—526; Trpt. Corps—570  
 Salute in guns—17

**Jaisalmer**—H. H. Maharajadhiraj Raj  
 Rajeshwar Param Bhattarak Sri  
 Maharawalji Sir Jawahir Singhji Deb  
 Bahadur Yadukul Chandrabhal  
 Rukan-ud-Daula, Muzzafer Jang,  
 Bijaiman K.C.S.I., Ruler of—

Date of birth—18th Nov. 1882  
 Date of succession—26th June '14  
 Area in sq. miles—16,062

Population—93,246  
 Salute in guns—15

**Jhalawar**—H. H. Dharmadivakar Praja-  
 vatsal Patit-pawn Maharaj Rana Shri  
 Sir Rajendra Singh Ji Dev Bahadur,  
 K.C.S.I. Maharaj Rana of—

Date of birth—15th July 1900  
 Date of succession—13th April '29  
 Area in sq. miles—813  
 Population—1,22,375  
 Salute in guns—13

**Jodhpur**—Air Commodore His Highness  
 Raj Rajeswar Saramad-i-Rajai-Hind  
 Maharajadhiraj Shri Sir Umaid Singhji  
 Sahib Bahadur, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., K.C.V.O.,  
 A.D.C., LLD., Maharaja of—

Date of birth—8th July '13  
 Ascended the throne—3rd October, '18  
 Area—36,071 sq. miles  
 Population—21,34,848  
 Revenue—Rs. 157,71,521

Indian State Forces—  
 Jodhpur Sardar Rissala—508; Jodhpur  
 Training Squadron—147; Jodhpur Sar-  
 dar Infantry, including Training Coy,  
 (163) and State Military Band (39)—  
 864; 2nd Jodhpur Infantry—669; Jodh-  
 pur Mule Troops—80; Fort Guard—94;  
 Salute in guns—17

**Karanli**—H. H. Maharaja Sir Bhompal  
 Deo Bahadur Yadukul Chandra Bhal,  
 K.C.S.I., Maharaja of—

Date of birth—18th June 1866  
 Date of succession—21st August '27  
 Area in sq. miles—1,242  
 Population—1,52,413  
 Estimated Gross Revenue—6,23,000  
 Salute in guns—17

**Kishengarh**—H. H. Umdae Rajhac  
 Baland Makan Maharajadhiraja Maha-  
 raja Sumair Singhji Sahib Bahadur,  
 (Minor) Maharaja of—

Date of birth—27th January '29  
 Date of succession—24th April '39  
 Area in sq. miles—853  
 Population—1,04,155  
 Revenue—Rs. 7,50,000  
 Salute in guns—15

**Kotah**—Colonel H. H. Maharao Sir Umed  
 Singh Bahadur, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.B.E.,  
 Maharao of—

Date of birth—15th September 1872  
 Date of succession—11th June 1889  
 Area in sq. miles—5,684  
 Population—6,85,804  
 Revenue—Rs. 5368 lacs  
 Salute in guns—19

**Pratabgarh**—H. H. Maharawat Sir Ram-  
 singhji Bahadur, K.C.I.E., Maharawat of  
 Date of birth—'05

Date of succession—'29

Area in sq. miles—889

Population—91,967

Revenue—Rs. 5,82,000 nearly

Salute in guns—15

**Shahpura**—H. H. Rajadhiraj Umaid Singhji, Raja of—

Date of birth—7th March 1876

Date of succession—24th June '32

Area in sq. miles—405

Population—61,173

Revenue—Rs. 336 762 nearly

Salute in guns—9

**Sirohi**—H. H. Maharajadhiraj Maharao Sir Sarup Ram Singh Bahadur,

G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Maharao of—

Date of birth—27th Sept. 1888

Date of succession—29th April '20

Area in sq. miles—1,994

Population—2,33,870

Revenue—Rs. 11 48,771

Salute in guns—15

**Tonk**—H. H. Said-ud-daula Wazir-ul-Mulk Nawab Hafiz Sir Mohammad

Sadat Ali Khan Bahadur Sowlat-i-

Jung, G.C.I.E., Nawab of—

Date of birth—13th February, 1879

Date of succession—23rd June '30

Area in sq. miles—2,553

Population—3,53,687

Revenue—Rs. 19,30,000 B. C. nearly

Salute in guns—17

**Udaipur (Mewar)**—Lt. Col. H. H. Maharajadhiraja Maharana Shri Sir Bhopal

Singhji Bahadur, G.C.S.I., Maharana of—

Date of birth—22nd February 1884

Date of succession—24th May '30

Area in sq. miles—12,753

Population—1,925,000

Revenue—Rs. 80,00,000 nearly

Salute in guns—19

#### *Sikkim State*

**Sikkim**—H. H. Maharaja Sir Tashi Namgyal, K.C.I.E., Maharaja of—

Date of birth—1893

Date of succession—5th Dec. '14

Area in sq. miles—2,818

Population—81,721

Revenue—Rs. 4,33,000 nearly

Salute in guns—15

#### *United Provinces States*

**Benares**—H. H. Maharaja Vibhuti Narayan Singh Bahadur, (minor), Maharaja of—

Date of birth—5th November '27

Date of succession—5th April, '39

Area in sq. miles—875

Population—451,327

Revenue—Rs. 30,42,921 nearly

Salute in guns—13 (Local 15)

**Rampur**—Captain H. H. Alijah Farzand-i-Dailpazir-i-Daulat-i-Inglishia Mukhlis-

ud-Daula Nasir-ul-Mulk, Amir-ul-Umara, Nawab Sir Saiyid Mohammad Raza Ali Khan Bahadur Mustaid Jung, K.C.S.I., Nawab of—

Date of birth—17th Nov. '06

Date of succession—20th June '30

Area in sq. miles—892'54

Population—464,919

Revenue—Rs. 51,00,000 nearly

Salute in guns—15

**Tehri (Garhwal)**—Lt. Colonel H. H. Maharaja Narendra Shah, K.C.S.I., of—

Date of birth—3rd Aug. 1898

Date of succession—25th April '13

Area in sq. miles—4,502

Population—3,18,432

Revenue—Rs. 18,30,000 nearly

Indian State Forces—Tehri H. Q.

Infantry and Band—100

Tehri Pioneers Narendra—101

„ Sappers and Miners—129

Salute in guns—11

#### *Western India States*

**Bhavnagar**—Lt. H. H. Sir Krishnakumarsinghji Bhavsinghji, K.C.S.I., Maharaja of—

Date of birth—19th May '12

Date of succession—18th July '19

Area in sq. miles—2,961

Population—5,00,274

Revenue—Rs. 109,68,620

Indian State Forces—Bhavnagar Lancers

—270 ; Bhavnagar Infantry—219

Salute in guns—13

**Cutch**—H. H. Maharajadhiraj Mirza Maharao Shri Sir Khengarji, Sawai Bahadur, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E. Maharao of—

Date of birth—23rd Aug. 1866

Date of succession—1st Jan. 1876

Area in sq. miles—3,249.5

Population—5,00,800

Revenue—Rs. 31,00,000 nearly

Salute in guns—17 Perm. 19 Local

**Dhrangadhra**—Major H. H. Maharaja Shri Ghanshyamsinhji Ajitsinhji, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Maharaja of—

Date of birth—31st May 1889

Date of succession—February, '11

Area in sq. miles—1,167

Population—95,946

Revenue—Rs. 25,00,000 nearly

Salute in guns—13

**Dhrol**—H. H. Thakor Saheb Shri Chandrasinhji Saheb, Thakor Saheb of—

Date of birth—28 Aug. '12

Date of succession—20th Oct. '39

Area in sq. miles—282'7

Population—27,689

Revenue—Rs. 289,281

Salute in guns—9

**Gondal**—H. H. Maharaja Shri Bhaga-

vatsinhji Sagramji G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.,  
Maharaja of—

Date of birth—24th Oct. 1865  
Date of succession—14th Dec. 1869  
Area in sq. miles—1,024  
Population—2,05,846  
Revenue—Rs. 50,00,000 nearly  
Salute in guns—11

Junagadh—Captain H. H. Nawab Sir  
Mahabatkhanji, Rasulkhanji K.C.S.I.,  
G.C.I.E., Nawab of—

Date of birth—2nd Aug. 1900  
Date of succession—22nd Jan. '11  
Area in sq. miles—3,335.9  
Population—545,152  
Revenue—Rs. 1,00,00,000  
Indian State Forces—Junagadh Lancers  
—173: Junagadh Mahabatkhanji  
Infantry 201  
Salute in guns—15

Limbdī—Thakor Saheb Shri L. Ohhatra-  
salji Digvijaysinhji, Thakor Saheb of—  
Date of Birth—19th Feb. '04  
Date of succession—6th Jan. '41  
Area in sq. miles—343.96  
(exclusive of about 207 sq miles in  
the Collectorate of the Ahmedabad).  
Population—44,000 nearly  
Revenue—Rs. 7,00,000 nearly  
Salute in guns—9

Morvi—H. H. Maharaja Shri Lakhdhirji  
Waghji, G.B.E., K.C.S.I., Maharaja of—  
Date of birth—26th Dec. 1876  
Date of succession—11th Jan. '22  
Area in square miles—822  
Population—112,023  
Revenue—Rs. 50 lacs nearly  
Salute in guns—11

Nawanagar—Lt. Col. H. H. Maharaja Jam  
Shri Sir Digvijaysinhji Ranajitsinhji  
Jadeja, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., A.D.C., Maha-  
raja Jam Sahib of—  
Date of Birth—1st Sept. 1895  
Date of succession—2nd April '33  
Area in sq. miles—3,791  
Population—5,04,006  
Revenue—Rs. 94,00,000 nearly  
Salute in guns—15

Pala pur—Lt. Colonel H. H. Nawab Shri  
Taley Muhammad Khan Bahadur,  
G.C.I.E., K.C.V.O., Nawab Sahib of—  
Date of birth—7th July 1883  
Date of succession—28th Sept. '18  
Area in sq. miles—1,774.64  
Population—3,15,855  
Revenue—Rs. 11,64,987  
Salute in guns—13

Palitana—H. H. Thakor Saheb Shri Baha-  
dursinhji Mansinhji K.C.I.E., K.C.S.I.,  
Thakor Saheb of—  
Date of birth—3rd April '00  
Date of succession—29th Aug. '05

Area in sq. miles—288  
Population—62,150  
Revenue—Rs. 9,00,000 nearly  
Salute in guns—9

Porbandar—Captain H. H. Maharaja Shri  
Sir Natwarsinhji, Bhabsinhji K.C.S.I.,  
Maharaja Rana Saheb of—  
Date of birth—30 June '01  
Date of succession—10th Dec. '08  
Area in sq. miles—642.25  
Population—1,46,648  
Revenue—Rs. 26,00,000 nearly  
Salute in guns—13

Radhanpur—H. H. Nawab Saheb Murta-  
zakhan Jorawarkhan Babi Bahadur  
Nawab of—  
Date of birth—10th Oct. 1899  
Date of succession—7th April '37  
Area in sq. miles—1,150  
Population—70,530  
Revenue—Rs. 8,00,000 to 10,00,000  
Salute in guns—11

Rajkot—H. H. Thakor Saheb Shri Pradu-  
mnasinhji, Thakor Saheb of—  
Date of birth—24th Feb. '13  
Date of succession—17th August '40  
Area in sq. miles—2824  
Population—1,03,083  
Revenue—Rs. 13,40,872 nearly  
Salute in guns—9

Wadhwan—H. H. Thakore Saheb Shri  
Surendrasinhji, Thakore Saheb of—  
Date of birth—4th January, '22  
Date of succession—27th July '34  
Area—242.6 sq. miles excluding the area  
in the British India District of  
Ahmedabad.  
Population—50,934  
Revenue—Rs. 6 lacs  
Salute—Permanent 9 guns

Wankaner—Captain H. H. Maharana  
Shri Sir Amarsinhji, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.,  
Maharana Rajsaheb of—  
Date of Birth—4th January 1879  
Date of succession—12th June 1881  
Area in sq. miles—417  
Population—55,024  
Revenue—Rs. 7,67,000  
Salute in guns—11

## Indian States (without Salute)

### Baluchistan State

Las Bela—Mir Ghulam Muhmmmed  
Khan Jam of—  
Date of birth—December 1895  
Date of succession—March '21  
Area in sq. miles—7,132  
Population—50,696  
Revenue—Rs. 3,78,000 nearly

### Bihar & Orissa States

Athgarh—Raja Sreekoran Radhanath

**Bebarta Patnaik, Raja of—**  
 Date of birth—23th Nov. '09  
 Date of succession—22nd June '18  
 Area in sq. miles—168  
 Population—55,508  
 Revenue—Rs. 1,76,000

**Athmalik—Raja Kishor Chandra Deo**  
 Date of birth—19th November '04  
 Date of succession—3rd November '18  
 Area in sq. miles—730  
 Population—59,749  
 Revenue—Rs. 1,81,000 nearly

**Bamra—Raja Bhanuganga Tribhuman Deb, Raja of—**  
 Date of birth—25th February, '14  
 Date of succession—1st January '20  
 Area in square miles—1,988  
 Population—1,34,721  
 Revenue—Rs. 5,81,000 nearly

**Baramba—Raja Sree Narayan Chandra Birbar Mangraj Mahapatra, Raja of—**  
 Date of birth—10th January '14  
 Date of succession—20th August '22  
 Area in sq. miles—142  
 Population—52,924  
 Revenue—Rs. 1,03,000 nearly

**Baud—Raja Narayan Prasad Deo of—**  
 Date of birth—14th March '04  
 Date of Succession—10th March '13  
 Area in sq. miles—1,264  
 Population—124,411  
 Revenue—Rs. 2,72,000 nearly

**Bonai—Raja Indra Deo, Raja of—**  
 Date of birth—6th January 1884  
 Date of succession—19th February '02  
 Area in sq. miles—1,296  
 Population—63,178  
 Revenue—Rs. 2,36,000 nearly

**Daspalla—Raja Kishore Chandra Deo**  
 Date of birth—16th April '08  
 Date of succession—11th Decemehr '13  
 Area in square miles—568  
 Population—53,833  
 Revenue—Rs. 1,41,993

**Dhenkanal—Raja Sankar Pratap Mahendra Bahadur, Raja of—**  
 Date of birth—5th November '04  
 Date of succession—16th Oct. '18  
 Area in square miles—1,463  
 Population—2,33,691  
 Revenue—Rs. 5,13,000 nearly

**Gangpur—Raja Bhawani Shankar Sekhar**  
 Date of birth—14th May 1898  
 Date of succession—10th June '17  
 Area in square miles—2,492  
 Population—3,09,271  
 Revenue—Rs. 6,76,000 nearly

**Hindol—Raja Bahadur Naba Kishor Chandra Singh Mardraj Jagadeb, M.R.A.S., F.R.S.A., Raja of—**  
 Date of birth—14th June 1891

Date of succession—10th February '06  
 Area in sq. miles—312  
 Population—48,896  
 Revenue—Rs. 1,45,000

**Keonjhar—Raja Shri Balabhadra Narayan Bhanj Deo, Ruler of—**  
 Date of birth—26th December '05  
 Date of succession—12th August '26  
 Area in sq. miles—3,217  
 Population—529,783  
 Revenue—Rs. 15'56 lakhs nearly

**Khandpara—Raja Harihar Singh, Mardraj Bhramarhar Ray, Raja of—**  
 Date of birth—26th August '14  
 Date of succession—26th December '22  
 Area in sq. miles—244  
 Population—64,289  
 Revenue—Rs. 1,22,000

**Kharsawan—Raja Sriiram Chandra Singh**  
 Date of birth—4th July 1892  
 Date of succession—6th February '02  
 Area in sq. miles—157  
 Population—44,805  
 Revenue—Rs. 1,18,000 nearly

**Narsinghpur—Raja Ananta Narayan Mansingh Harichandan Mahapatra**  
 Date of birth—9th September '08  
 Date of succession—5th July '21  
 Area in sq. miles—207  
 Population—48,448  
 Revenue—Rs. 129,000

**Nayagarh—Raja Krishna Chandra Singha Mandhata, Raja of—**  
 Date of birth—15th August '11  
 Date of succession—7th Dec. '18  
 Area in sq. miles—552  
 Population—1,61,409  
 Revenue—Rs. 3,92,210

**Nilgiri—Raja Kishore Chandra Mardraj Harichandra, Raja of—**  
 Date of birth—2nd Feb. '04  
 Date of succession—6th July '13  
 Area in sq. miles—284  
 Population—73,109  
 Revenue—Rs. 2,14,589

**Pal Lahara—Raja Muni Pal, Raja of—**  
 Date of birth—26th November '03  
 Date of succession—18th April '13  
 Area in sq. miles—452  
 Population—23,229  
 Revenue—Rs. 75,000 nearly

**Rairakhol—Raja Bir Chandra Jadumani**  
 Date of birth—1894  
 Date of succession—3rd July '06  
 Area in sq. miles—833  
 Population—31,225  
 Revenue—Rs. 75,000 nearly

**Ranpur—Raja Birbar Krishna Chandra Mahapatra, Raja of—**  
 Date of birth—About 1887  
 Date of succession—12th July 1899

Area in sq. miles—203

Population—41,282

Revenue—Rs. 65,000

**Seraikella**—Raja Aditya Pratap Singh  
Deo, Ruler of—

Date of birth—30th July 1887

Date of succession—9th Dec. '31

Area in sq. miles—4.19

Population—156,374

Revenue—Rs. 418,000 nearly

**Talcher**—Raja Kishore Chandra Birbar  
Harichandan, Raja of—

Date of birth—9th. June 1880

Date of succession—18th December 1891

Area in sq. miles—399

Population—86,482

Revenue—Rs. 8,97,668 gross

*Maratha States—(Bombay Presy)*

**Akalkot**—Meherban Shrimant Vijayasingh  
Fatehsingh, Raja Bhonsle, Raja of—

Date of birth—13th Dec. '15

Date of succession—4th April '23

Area in sq. miles—498

Population—92,605

Revenue—Rs. 7,58,000 nearly

**Aundh**—Meherban Bhavanrao alias Bala  
Sahib, Pant Pratinidhi of—

Date of birth—24th Oct. 1868

Date of succession—4th November '09

Area in sq. miles—501

Population—88,762

Revenue—Rs. 3,33,278-12-1

**Phaltan**—Major Raja Shrimant Malojirao  
Mudhojirao alias Nana Sahab Naik  
Nimbalkar, Raja of—

Date of birth—11th September 1896

Date of succession—17th October '16

Area in sq. miles—397

Population—58,761

Revenue—Rs. 8,56,000

**Jath**—Lt. Raja Shrimant Vilayasingh  
Ramrao Dasse Raja of—

Date of birth—21st July '09

Date of succession—14th August '28

Area in sq. miles—981

Population—91,099

Revenue—Rs. 4,25,000

**Jamkhandi**—Meherban Shankarrao  
Parashramrao alias Appasaheb  
Patwardhan, Raja Sahab of—

Date of birth—5th Nov. '06

Date of succession—25th Feb. '24

Area in sq. miles—524

Population—1,14,282

Revenue—Rs. 10,06,715

**Kurundwad (Senior)**—Meherban Ohinta-  
manrao Bhalchandrarao alias Balasaheb  
Patwardhan, Chief of—

Date of birth—18th Feb. '21

Date of succession—10th September '27

Area in sq. miles—182.5

Population—88,760

Revenue—Rs. 3,76,000 nearly

**Kurundwad (Jr.)**—Meherban Madhavrao  
Ganpatro alias Bhausaheb Patwar-  
dhan, Chief of—

Date of birth—6th Dec. 1875

Date of succession—29th July, 1899

Area in sq. miles—114

Population—34,288

Revenue—Rs. 2,88,000 nearly

**Miraj (Sr)**—Narayanrao Gangadharrao  
alias Tatyasaheb Patwardhan,  
Chief of—

Date of birth—6th September 1898

Date of succession—11th Dec. '39

Area in sq. miles—342

Population—93,938

Revenue—Rs. 4,41,000 nearly

**Miraj (Jr)**—Meherban Sir Madhavrao  
Harihar alias Baba Sahab Patwardhan,  
K.C.I.E., Raja of—

Date of birth—4th March 1889

Date of succession—16th Dec. 1899

Area in sq. miles—196½

Population—40,686

Revenue—Rs. 3,68,515 nearly

**Ramdurg**—Meherban Ramrao Venkatrao  
alias Rao Sahab Bhawe, Chief of—

Date of birth—16th Sept. 1896

Date of succession—30th April '07

Area in sq. miles—169

Population—33,997

Revenue—Rs. 2,69,000 nearly

**Savanur**—Captain Meherban Abdul  
Majid Khan, Diler Jang Bahadur,  
Nawab of—

Date of birth—7th Oct. 1890

Date of succession—30th January 1893

Area in sq. miles—70

Population—16,830

Revenue—Rs. 1,69,000 nearly

*Mahi-Kantha States*

**Ghodasar**—Thakor Shri Fatehsinghji  
Ratansingji Dabhi, Thakor Sahab of—

Date of birth—7th. Aug. '09

Date of succession—31st May '30

Area in sq. miles—16

Population—6,708

Revenue—Rs. 51,000

**Nol**—Thakor Shivesinghji, Thakor of—

Date of birth—31st December '10

Date of succession—18th. Oct. '27

Area in sq. miles—19

Population—3,349

Revenue—Rs. 41,000 nearly

**Katosan**—Thakor Takhtasinhji Karan-  
sinbji Thakor of—

Date of birth—9th Dec. 1870

Date of succession—January '01

Area in sq. miles—10

Population—4,818

Revenue—Rs. 51,000 nearly

**Khadai**—Sardar Shri Fatehsinhji Raj-sinhji, Thakor Shri of—

Date of birth—1899

Date of succession—7th February '12

Area in sq. miles—8

Population—2,825

Revenue—Rs. 35,000 nearly

**Malpur**—Raolji Shri Gambhirsinhji Himatsinhji—

Date of birth—27th Oct. '14

Date of succession—23rd June '23

Area in sq. miles—97

Population—16,582

Revenue—Rs. 1,10,000 approx.

**Pethapur**—Thakor Fatehsinhji Gambhirsinhji, Thakor of—

Date of birth—3rd Oct. 1895

Date of succession—1896

Area in sq. miles—11

Population—3,938

Revenue—Rs. 34,000 (nearly)

**Varsoda**—Thakor Joravarsinhji of—

Date of birth—17th April '14

Date of succession—18th July '19

Area in sq. miles—11

Population—3,424

Revenue—Rs. 33,000 nearly

**Vijayanagar**—Rao Shri Hamir-sinhji

Date of birth—3rd January '04

Date of succession—27th June '16

Area in sq. miles—135

Population—12,000 (approx)

Revenue—Rs. 1,00,000 nearly

#### *Rewa Kantha States*

**Bhadarwa**—Shrimant Thakur Sahab Shree Natvarsinghji Ranjitsinhji, Thakor of—

Date of birth—19th November '03

Date of succession—26th April '35

Area in sq. miles—27 (excluding several Wanta villages under Baroda State)

Population—13,520

Revenue—Rs. 1,14,000 nearly

**Jambugodha**—Meherban Rana Shri Ranjitsinhji Gambhirsinhji, Thakore Sahab of—Parmar Rajput. He enjoys full Civil and Criminal powers

Date of birth—4th January 1892

Date of succession—27th September '17

Area in sq. miles—143

Population—11,385

Revenue—Rs. 142,000

**Kadana**—Rana Shri Chatrasalji, Thakor of

Date of birth—28th January 1879

Date of succession—12th April 1889

Area in sq. miles—130

Population—15,370

Revenue—Rs. 1,32,000 nearly

**Nasvadi**—Thakor Ranjitsinhji, Thakor of—

Date of birth—24th March '05

Date of succession—13th Sept. '27

Area in sq. miles—1950

Population—4,197

Revenue—Rs. 33,000 nearly

**Palasni**—Thakor Indarsinhji, Thakor of—

Date of birth—16th Aug. 1885

Date of succession—30th May '07

Area in sq. miles—12

Population—1,766

Revenue—Rs. 22,000 nearly

**Sihora**—Thakor Mansinhjee Karansinhjee

Date of birth—14th November '07

Date of succession—13th June '28

Area in sq. miles—19 (approx)

Population—5300

Revenue—Rs. 36,000 nearly

**Uchad**—Thakor Mohomadmia Jitawaba

Date of birth—15th October 1895

Date of succession—24th June '15

Area in sq. miles—8'50

Population—2,330

Revenue—Rs. 41 000 nearly

**Umetha**—Thakor Ramsinhji Raisinhji

Date of birth—19th August 1894

Date of succession—1st July '22

Area in sq. miles—24

Population—5,355

Revenue—Rs. 73,000 nearly

#### *Central India States*

**Altpura**—Rao Harpal Singh, Rao of—

Date of birth—12th Aug. 1882

Date of succession—26th March '22

Area in sq. miles—73

Population—14,580

Revenue—Rs. 70,000 nearly

**Bakhtgarh**—Thakur Rai Singh, Thakur of

Date of birth—3rd October 1889

Date of succession—30th May '12

Area in sq. miles—66

Population—10,414

Revenue—Rs. 74,000 nearly

**Garauli**—Diwan Bahadur Chandrabhan

Singh, Chief of—

Date of birth—2nd April 1883

Date of succession—20th Dec. 1883

Area in sq. miles—31

Population—4,965

Revenue—Rs. 36,000 nearly

**Jobat**—Rana Bhimsing, Rana of—

Date of birth—10th November '15

Date of succession—20th May '17

Date of getting Ruling Powers—14th March '36

Area in sq. miles—131,20

Population—20,945

Revenue—Rs. 81,550

**Kachhi-Baroda**—Maharaj Benimadho Singh

Date of birth—3rd October '04

Date of succession—13th June '06

Area in sq. miles—34,53

Population—5000  
 Revenue—Rs. 71000/-

**Kathiware**—Rana Thakur Sahib  
 Onkarsinhji, Rana of—  
 Date of birth—5th December 1891  
 Date of succession—8th June, '03  
 Area in sq. miles—70  
 Population—6096  
 Revenue—Rs. 44,890

**Kothi**—Raja Bahadur Sitaraman Pratap  
 Bahadur Singh, Raja of—  
 Date of birth—26th July 1892  
 Date of succession—8th August '14  
 Area in sq. miles—169  
 Population—20,087  
 Revenue—Rs. 70,000 nearly

**Kurwai**—Nawab Sarwar Ali Khan of—  
 Date of birth—1st December '01  
 Date of succession—2nd October '06  
 Area in sq. miles—142  
 Population—19,851  
 Revenue—Rs. 2,64,000 nearly

**Mota Barkhera**—Bhumia Nain Singh of—  
 Date of birth—7th November '07  
 Date of succession—4th June '12  
 Area in sq. miles—39  
 Population—4,782  
 Revenue—Rs. 53,000 nearly

**Multhan**—Dharmalankar, Dharm-bhushan,  
 Dharm-Divaker, Shreeman Maharaj  
 Bharat Sinbji Sahib, Chief of—  
 Date of birth—1893  
 Date of succession—26th August '01  
 Area in sq. miles—100  
 Population—11,804  
 Revenue—Over Rs. 1,00,000

**Nimkhera**—Bhumia Ganga Singh, Bhumia  
 Date of birth—'11  
 Date of succession—27th March '22  
 Area in sq. miles—90  
 Population—5,358  
 Revenue—Rs. 62,000 nearly

**Paldeo**—Chaubey Shiva Prasad, Jagirdar of  
 Date of birth—1st March '08  
 Date of succession—3rd Oct. '23  
 Area in sq. miles—53'14  
 Population—9,038  
 Revenue—Rs. 50,000 nearly

**Piploda**—Rawat Mangal Singh, Rawat of  
 Date of birth—7th September 1893  
 Date of succession—11th Nov. '19  
 Area in sq. miles—35  
 Population—9,766  
 Revenue—Rs. 1,14,000

**Sarila**—Raja Mahipal Singh, Raja of—  
 Date of succession—11th Sep. 1898  
 Area in sq. miles—35,28  
 Population—6,081  
 Revenue—Rs. 1,00,000 nearly

**Sarwan**—Thakur Mahendra Singh  
 Date of birth—6th November '09

Date of succession—23rd April '21  
 Area in sq. miles—71  
 Population—7,199  
 Revenue—Rs. 60,000 nearly

**Sohawal**—Raja Bhagwat Raj Bahadur  
 Singh, C.I.E., Raja of—  
 Date of birth—7th August 1878  
 Date of succession—23rd Nov. 1899  
 Area in sq. miles—213  
 Population—38,078  
 Revenue—Rs. 1,04,000 nearly

**Tori Fatehpur**—Dewan Raghuraj Singh,  
 Jagirdar of—  
 Date of birth—28.1.1895  
 Date of succession—7.4.'41  
 Area in sq. miles—36  
 Population—6,269  
 Revenue—Rs. 31,000 nearly

*Central Provinces State*

**Bastar**—Maharaja Pravir Chandra Deo  
 Date of birth—25th June '29  
 Date of succession—28th Feb. '36  
 Area in sq. miles—13,725  
 Population—6,34,915  
 Revenue—Rs. 13,20,699

**Chhulkhadan**—Mahant Bhudhar Kishore  
 Das of—  
 Date of birth—April 1891  
 Date of succession—30th Sept. '03  
 Area in sq. miles—154  
 Population—26,141  
 Revenue—Rs. 1,22,000

**Jashpur**—Raja Bijay Bhushan Singh Deo  
 Date of birth—11th Jan. '26  
 Date of succession—8th Feb. '26  
 Area in sq. miles—1,923  
 Population—2,23,632  
 Revenue—Rs. 3,62,342

**Kanker**—Maharajadhiraj Bhanupratap  
 Deo Chief of—  
 Date of birth—17th September '22  
 Date of succession—8th Jan. '25  
 Area in sq. miles—1,429  
 Population—122,928  
 Revenue—Rs. 3,88,100

**Kawardha**—Thakur Dharmraj Singh  
 Chief of—  
 Date of birth—18th August '10  
 Date of succession—4th Feb. '20  
 Area in sq. miles—805  
 Population—72,820  
 Revenue—Rs. 2,93,175 nearly

**Kharagarh**—Raja Birendra Bahadur  
 Singh, Raja of—  
 Date of birth—9th November '14  
 Date of succession—22nd October '18  
 Area in sq. miles—931  
 Population—157,400  
 Revenue—Rs. 5,80,000 nearly

**Korea**—Raja Ramanuj Pratap Singh Deo  
 Raja of—

Date of birth—8th December '31  
 Date of succession—November '09  
 Area in sq. miles—1,647  
 Population—90,500  
 Revenue—Rs. 7,00,199

**Makrai**—Raja Drigpal Shah Hathiya Rai of  
 Date of birth—24th September '04  
 Date of succession—30th October '18  
 Area in sq. miles—155  
 Population—12,503  
 Revenue—Rs. 2,01,000 nearly

**Nandgaon**—Mahant Sarveshwar Das, of—  
 Date of birth—30th March '06  
 Date of succession—24th June '13  
 Area in sq. miles—871  
 Population—1,47,919  
 Revenue—Rs. 7,91,000

**Raigarh**—Raja Chakradhar Singh, Raja of  
 Date of birth—19th August '05  
 Date of succession—23rd August '24  
 Area in sq. miles—1486  
 Population—2,41,634  
 Revenue—Rs. 6,46,000 nearly

**Sakti**—Raja Liladhar Singh, Raja of—  
 Date of birth—3rd Feb. 1892  
 Date of succession—4th July '14  
 Area in sq. miles—133  
 Population—41,595  
 Revenue—Rs. 1,20,000 nearly

**Sarangarh**—Raja Bahadur Jawahir Singh,  
 Date of birth—3rd Dec. 1888  
 Date of succession—5th Aug. 1890  
 Area in sq. miles—540  
 Population—1,17,781  
 Revenue—Rs. 3,14,000 nearly

**Surguja**—Maharaja Ramanuj Saran Singh,  
 Deo C.B.E., Maharaja of—  
 Date of birth—4th Nov. 1895  
 Date of succession—31st Dec. '17  
 Area in sq. miles—6,055  
 Population—5,51,307  
 Revenue—Rs. 7,58,500 nearly

**Udaipur**—Raja Chandra Chur Prasad  
 Singh Deo, Raja of—  
 Date of birth—5th June '23  
 Date of succession—8th Dec. '27  
 Area in sq. miles—1,052  
 Population—71,124  
 Revenue—Rs. 3,22,000

#### *Madras States*

**Sandur**—Raja Srimant Yeshwantha Rao  
 Anna Saheb, Rao Sahib, Hindu Rao  
 Ghorapade, Mamlukamadar Senapati  
 Raja of—  
 Date of birth—15th November '08  
 Date of succession—5th May '28  
 Area in sq. miles—167  
 Population—11,684  
 Revenue—Rs. 2,03,000

#### *Punjab States*

**Dujana**—Jalal-ud-Daul Nawab Mohammad

**Iqtidar Ali Khan Bahadur, Mustaqil-**  
 i-Jan, Nawab of—

Date of birth—20th Nov. '12  
 Date of Succession—21st July '25  
 Area in sq. miles—100  
 Population—25,833  
 Revenue—Rs. 1,65,000 nearly

**Kalsia**—Raja Ravi Sher Singh Sahib  
 Bahadur, Raja Sahib of—  
 Date of birth—30th October '02  
 Date of succession—25th July '08  
 Date of Investiture with } 6th April '22  
 full ruling powers : }  
 Area in sq. miles—192  
 Population—59,548  
 Revenue—Nearly Rs. 3,50,000

**Pataudi**—Nawab Muhammad Iftikar Ali  
 Khan Bahadur, Nawab of—  
 Date of birth—7th March '10  
 Date of succession—30th Nov. '17  
 Area in sq. miles—53  
 Population—81,097  
 Revenue—Rs. 1,40,000

#### *Simla Hill States*

**Baghal**—Raja Surendra Singh, Raja of—  
 Date of birth—14th March '09  
 Date of succession—13th Oct. '22  
 Area in sq. miles—124  
 Population—25,099  
 Revenue—Rs. 1,00,000 nearly

**Baghat**—Raja Durga Singh, Raja of—  
 Date of birth—15th Sept. '01  
 Date of succession—30th Dec. 1941  
 Area in sq. miles—36  
 Population—9,595  
 Revenue—Rs. 1,10,000

**Bhajji**—Rana Birpal, Rana of—  
 Date of birth—19th April '06  
 Date of succession—9th May '13  
 Area in sq. miles—96  
 Population—14,263  
 Revenue—Rs. 99,000 nearly

**Jubbal**—Rana Sir Bhagat Chandra Bahadur  
 K.C.S.I., Ruler of—  
 Date of birth—12th Oct. 1888  
 Date of succession—29th April '10  
 Area in sq. miles—298  
 Population—28,500  
 Revenue—Rs. 8,50,000 nearly

**Keonthal**—Raja Hemendar Sen, Raja of—  
 Date of birth—21st January '05  
 Date of succession—2nd Feb. '16  
 Area in sq. miles—116  
 Population—25,599  
 Revenue—Rs. 1,30,000 nearly

**Kumharsain**—Rana Vidyadhar Singh,  
 Date of birth—1895  
 Date of succession—24th August '14  
 Area in sq. miles—97  
 Population—12,227  
 Revenue—Rs. 75,000 nearly



**Nalagarh**—Raja Jogindra Singh, Raja of—  
Date of birth—1870  
Date of succession—18th Sept. '11  
Area in sq. miles—256  
Population—52,737  
Revenue—Rs. 2,71,000 nearly

**Tiroch**—Thakur Surat Singh, of—  
Date of birth—4th July 1887  
Date of succession—14th July '02  
Area in sq. miles—75  
Population—4,219  
Revenue—Rs. 1,30,000 nearly

*Western India States*

**Bajana**—Malek Shri Kamalkhan Jivankhan,  
Chief of—  
Date of birth—6th December '07  
Date of succession—2nd. Feb. '20  
Area in sq. miles—183,12  
Population—14,017  
Revenue—Rs. 1,82,424 average

**Bantwa-Manavadar**—Babi Ghulam  
Moyuddinkhanji Fatehdinkhanji,  
Chief of—  
Date of birth—22nd December '11  
Date of succession—October '18  
Area in sq. miles—221'8  
Population—14,984  
Revenue—Rs. 8,46,000 nearly

**Chuda**—Thakore Shri Bahadursinghji,  
Jarovarsinhji, Thakur of—  
Date of birth—23rd April '09  
Date of succession—20th January '21  
Area in sq. miles—782  
Population—11,338  
Revenue—Rs. 2,11,000 nearly

**Jasdan**—Darbar Shree Ala Khachar,  
Chief of—  
Date of birth—4th November '05  
Date of succession—11th June '19  
Area in sq. miles—296  
Population—36,632  
Revenue—Rs. 6,00,000 nearly

**Kotda-Sangani**—Thakore Shri Pradyumna-  
Sinhji  
Date of birth—5th December '20  
Date of succession—23-2-'30  
Date of Installation—10-12-'40  
Area in sq. miles—90  
Population—12,165  
Revenue—Rs. 1,50,000 nearly

**Lakhtar**—Thakore Saheb Shri Balavir-  
sinhji, Karansinhji, Thakore Saheb of—  
Date of birth—11th January 1881  
Date of succession—8th August '24  
Area in sq. miles—247,438  
Population—21,123  
Revenue—Rs. 4,49,000

**Lathi**—Thakore Saheb Shri Pralhadshinhji,  
Thakore of—

Date of birth—31st March '12  
Date of succession—14th October '18  
Area in sq. miles—41'8  
Population—8,35  
Revenue—Rs. 1,86,000

**Malla**—Thakor Shri Raisinhji Modji, of—  
Date of birth—14th February 1898  
Date of succession—20th Oct. '07  
Area in sq. miles—103  
Population—12,660  
Revenue—Rs. 3,02,000

**Muli**—Thakor Shri Harichandrasinhji, of—  
Date of birth—10th July 1899  
Date of succession—3rd December '05  
Area in sq. miles—133'2  
Population—16,390  
Revenue—Rs. 1,57,000 nearly

**Patdi**—Desai Shri Raghuvirsinhji, of—  
Date of birth—8th Jan. '26  
Date of succession—25th Oct. '28  
Area in sq. miles—39'4  
Population—2,508  
Revenue—Rs. 1,14,000

**Sayla**—Thakor Saheb Shri Madarsinhji,  
Vakhatsinhji, Thakor Saheb of—  
Date of birth—28th May 1868  
Date of succession—25th Jan. '24  
Area in sq. miles—222'1  
Population—13,351  
Revenue—Rs. 2,54,000

**Thana Devil**—Darbar Shri Vala Amra  
Laxman, Chief of—  
Date of birth—28th Nov. 1895  
Date of succession—12th Oct. '22  
Area in sq. miles—94'2  
Population—11,348  
Revenue—Rs. 3,00,000 nearly

**Tharad**—Waghela Bhumsinhji Dolatsinhji  
Thakor of—  
Date of birth—28th Jan. '00  
Date of succession—19th Feb. '21  
Area in sq. miles—1,260½  
Population—52,839  
Revenue—Rs. 99,000 nearly

**Vadia**—Darbar Shree Suragwala Saheb  
Chief of—  
Date of birth—15th March '06  
Date of succession—7th Sept. '30  
Area in sq. miles—90  
Population—13,749  
Revenue—Rs. about 2 lacs

**Zainabad**—Malek Shri Aziz Mahomed  
Khanji Zainkhanji, Talukdar of—  
Date of birth—21st June '17  
Date of succession—26th January '23  
Area in sq. miles—30  
Population—3,456  
Revenue—Rs. 1,200,000 nearly

# Chronicle of Events

January 1944

Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee, addressing a Press Conference at Lahore, remarked: "Food should not be made a sport of politics.—Economic problems cannot be solved unless the political deadlock disappears."

The Marwari Association, Calcutta, sent a telegram to the Viceroy, expressing great concern at the lathi charge on the peaceful Hindu Mahasabha procession at Amritsar.

An A. P. I. message stated that in December 1943, seven ships carrying 43,000 tons of wheat arrived in India with expectations of further shipments.

The annual Conference of University Labour Federation (London) demanded a change in the British Government's policy towards India.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President, All-India Muslim League, in an interview at Karachi said: "There is no change on the part of the Hindus towards the demand of Muslim India."

The Indian Science Congress concluded its session in New Delhi.

Mr. John Sargent, Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, surveyed the position of education in India and set forth a place of national education.

The Secretary of State for India, Mr. L. S. Amery, had a full discussion on the food situation in India and especially in Bengal, with the National Executive Committee of the Labour Party.

The Central Food Department despatched to Bengal more than 380,000 tons of foodgrains.

The Session of the All-India News Paper Editors' Conference began in Madras, with Mr. S. A. Brelvi as the President.—Addressing the Conference, the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri appealed to the audience to give no rest to the Government until they released Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawharlal Nehru.

A Press Note from New Delhi, stated: "The Government of India wish to state categorically that no foodgrain or their products...have left India since July 1943."

The total defence and supply expenditure brought to account in India's books amounted to Rs. 1,641 crores.

The Special Durbar in connection with the investiture of H. H. the Raja of Padukottah was held with great pomp and ceremony at Padukottah.

The Governor-General in Council nominated Sir Feroz Khan Noon to be a representative of India in the War Cabinet.

The Secretary of State for India was asked in the House of Commons about the employment of women in mines.

Mr. R. G. Casey assumed office as Governor of Bengal.

An "India demonstration" organized by the Midland Council of the India League was held in Birmingham.

"Independence Day," (January 26) was observed in the various parts of India.

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President, All-India Hindu Mahasabha, in a communication from Bombay, stated inter alia: "It is only for the anti-Hindu policy of the League that the League Ministries are clinging to their posts and have no higher patriotic goal before them."

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu was served with a notice under the D. I. Rules at Lahore, restraining her activities.

The Secretary of State for India, in reply to a suggestion to increase the pensions of Civil servants, said: "His Majesty's Government are considering the grant of increase in lower ranges of pensions to mitigate really severe hardship."

Food rationing came into force in Calcutta and in some suburban municipalities.

1st. In a New Year broadcast from the Calcutta Station of A. I. R., Mr. P. B. Mullick, Minister, Publicity Department, Bengal Government reviewed the efforts made by official and non-official agencies to fight famine and disease in the past year.

Sir Arthur Hope, Governor of Madras, in a New Year message from Madras said: "Today will be the fifth New Year's Day of this world-wide war, and as we look back on the year 1943 we have many reasons to rejoice."

The All-India Economic Conference resumed its session in Madras. There was a discussion on the question relating to Currency expansion during the war.

Mr. W. H. Kirby, Rationing Adviser to the Government of India, at a Press Conference at Ahmedabad, said: "Food Control and rationing would not stop with the war. It was a well tried weapon and would be maintained in some form or other."

2nd. Sir S. Radhakrishnan, welcoming the delegates to the twelfth All-India Oriental Conference at Benares, said: "In our country to-day the Oriental Conference can be of immense value. By a scholarly appreciation of India's historical culture, by a proper estimate of the interaction of the different races and religions we can bring about a renaissance based on the integrity of Indian Culture."

Dr. Hemandas Wadhvani, Public Health Minister, (Sind) in an interview at Karachi, condemned those responsible for the lathi charge made on innocent processionists. He said: "The Punjab Government must appoint an Inquiry Committee forthwith and bring those responsible for this unhappy occurrence to book."

Marshal Chiang Kai-Shek, in a New Year address (from Chungking) to members of the Chinese Government, said: "While Chinese military operations before 1943 had been coordinated with those of the Allied Nations against Japan, in 1944, there would be only one war strategy."

Dr. Shyamaprasad Mookerjee, addressing a Press Conference at Lahore, observed: "We maintain along with the rest of Nationalist India that food should not be made a sport of politics, but we are convinced, economic problems cannot be tackled unless the political deadlock is solved."

3rd. The annual session of the Indian Science Congress was opened in New Delhi by His Excellency the Viceroy.—The Congress converted itself into a special Meeting of the Royal Society.

Dr. Khan Sahib, ex-Premier of the North-West Frontier Province, at a press interview at Lahore, expressed the view that those who talked of withdrawing the August (Congress) resolution were the hirelings of the British Government.

The Marwari Association, Calcutta, in a telegram to the Viceroy, expressed their great concern at reports regarding the lathi charge "on the peaceful Hindu Mahasabha procession at Amritsar resulting in injury to about 200 persons." The telegram urged His Excellency to appoint an enquiry committee.

4th. An A. P. I. message stated that it was understood in New Delhi that during December 1943, seven ships carrying over 43,000 tons of wheat arrived in India. Further shipments of wheat were expected shortly.

Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, Minister for Civil Supplies, Bengal, in an interview on Government's *aman* procurement scheme in Calcutta, observed: "Bengal Government have started making small purchases of *aman* rice where prices are

low, but they have been so cautious that in no instance have their purchases put up the prices."

At an informal conference held in Bombay, the status of Indians in Burma after its reconquest with particular reference to control of immigration was discussed. The Hon. Dr. N. B. Khare, member for Indians Overseas, was in the Chair.

The annual Conference of University Labour Federation (London) demanded a change in the British Government's policy towards India. The Conference was attended by delegates from all over Britain. The resolutions carried stated that, "in view of the grave crisis in India, we demand all possible measures for relief, the removal of Mr. Amery from office, the release of Indian leaders and the right of the Indian people to choose their own form of Government."

- 5th. Mr. M. A. Jinnah, in an interview at Karachi, said: "The crux of the conferences of the Hindu Mahasabha and the Liberal Federation at Amritsar and Bombay and the attitude of Mr. Gandhi and Congressmen clearly shows that there is no change on the part of the Hindus towards the demand of Muslim India." He reiterated the Muslim League's Pakistan demand.

The Joint Secretaries of the Bengal (Ministerial) Coalition Party, in the course of a statement in Calcutta, said: "We feel that the Food Member, Sir J. P. Srivastava, has imported politics into food and provoked needless conflicts with Provincial Ministries and therefore the sooner he relinquishes the food portfolio in favour of some one inspiring greater confidence, the better for all concerned."

The Brihan Maharashtra Conference held in new Delhi, resolved to raise an Education Fund to be used to open new Marathi primary schools and subsidising existing ones in places outside Maharashtra where Maharastrians had settled in large numbers.

Pandit Hridayanath Kunzru, addressing a public meeting at Calicut, referred to the food position in India in general and to the situation in Bengal in particular and observed that the Central Government did not do its duty at the proper time and did not take steps to bring home to the Bengal Government the gravity of the situation.

- 6th. The Indian Science Congress concluded its session in New Delhi. Sir S. S. Bhatnagar was elected President of the next session-

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, in an interview at Karachi, said: "Mr. Gandhi, on the authority of his letter to the Viceroy, dated January 19, 1943, was not prepared to budge an inch from the August resolution, and since then there has been no indication of any change from Mr. Gandhi or Congressmen outside jail."

Mr. John Sargent, Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, presiding over the section of the Psychology and Educational Science of the Indian Science Congress, (New Delhi), surveyed the position of education in India and set forth a plan of national education.

- 7th. Sir Frank Brown, addressing a meeting of the Baptist Board in London, said that the British themselves had awakened the spirit of nationalism which now ran so strongly in India. If communalism had been accentuated in recent years it was due to the continuous passing of more and more sovereignty into Indian hands and consequent manoeuvring of political parties for ascendancy.

Tear smoke had to be used by the police on a Moharram procession which became unruly at Ahmedabad.

The Secretary of State for India received a deputation of the National Executive Committee of the Labour Party and had a full discussion with them on the food situation in India, especially in Bengal. The discussion covered the famine in Bengal and the policy of the Government of India for dealing with the food situation in India.

- 8th. The Central Food Department despatched to Bengal more than 380,000 tons of foodgrains, inclusive of imports from abroad, during the three months ended December 1943 as against the 250,000 tons which the Bengal Governor stated in October 1943, would help the province to "turn the corner."

At a conference in Calcutta of representatives of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of India, the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, the Calcutta Import Trade Association and the Calcutta Trades Association with Mr. C. C. Desai, Controller-General of Civil Supplies, Government of India, there was a discussion with respect to the difficulties which the industrial, commercial and trading

interests were confronted with in endeavouring to comply with the provisions of the Hoarding and Profiteering Prevention Ordinance.

- 9th. The Secretary of State for India, Mr. L. S. Amery, in a speech at York, emphasized that Britain's offer to India through Sir Stafford Cripps was the most generous that any nation had ever made.

Mr. S. A. Brelvi, President-elect of the A. I. Newspaper Editors' Conference, in declaring open the third annual session of the Tamil Nad Journalists' Federation in Madras, expressed the hope that before long an All India Federation of journalists' organizations in the different parts of the country would be established to safeguard the interests of the Press as a whole and to get a fair deal for working journalists.

The Plenary Session of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference began in Madras, with Mr. S. A. Brelvi as the President.—Editors of newspapers from all over India were present, besides a large gathering of visitors.

- 10th. A Press Communique said:—"The Secretary of State for India has granted leave out of India, for urgent reasons of health, to Sir Thomas Rutherford, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Governor of Bihar and at present acting Governor of Bengal, with effect from the date on which Mr. Casey assumes office."

"During Sir Thomas Rutherford's absence, Mr. R. F. Mudie, C.S.I., C.I.E., O.B.E., will continue to act as Governor of Bihar."

The Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, addressing the members of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference in Madras, appealed to them to consider it their foremost duty to give no rest to the Government until they released Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawharlal Nehru in order that, when the whole world met at the Peace Conference, the voice of India might be raised in defence of the future not only of India but of the whole world.

- 11th. Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the Hindu Mahasabha in a communication from Bombay on the statement by the Joint Secretaries of the Bengal Ministerial Coalition Party, declared: "The Bengal Ministry cannot pretend that they are opposing the Central Government in order to protect provincial autonomy as such on behalf of all the provinces. Did not the Muslim League celebrate a Day of Deliverance throughout India, when the Congress Ministries relinquished their offices? It is only for the anti-Hindu policy of the League that the League Ministries are clinging to their posts and have no higher patriotic goal before them."

1. th. Mr. Clement Daires, (Liberal M. P. for Montgomery) in a speech in London re. Mr. Amery's statement said:—"What we require is not a speech for the defence but a statement of actual fact followed by a much more detailed description of the steps that Government are proposing to take to safeguard the people of India from famine and disease in the future. Meanwhile the need for relief still exists."

A Press Note from New Delhi, said: "Since comments have recently appeared in a section of the Press suggesting that foodgrains are still being exported from India, the Government of India wish to state categorically that no foodgrains or other products, except the minimum requirement of crews of ships and aircraft, have left India since July, 1943."

- 13th. Maj. General J. B. Hance, Director-General, I.M.S. declared in New Delhi: "The alleged failure of the nursing profession to appeal to the right type of women in India is due, far more to the attitude of the authorities responsible for the maintenance of hospitals and to the conditions in which, too often, probationers are trained and nurses expected to work, than to the alleged reluctance of educated Indian women to undertake the care of the sick."

- 14th. The Restriction and Detention Ordinance issued in New Delhi, set out inter alia: "Defences under Rule 26 of the D. I. Rules henceforth to have new rights approximating to those obtaining in the U. K."

The Bengal Government promulgated under the D. I. Rules, an Order called the Essential Foodstuffs Anti-Hording Order 1944.

According to figures available in New Delhi, India spent Rs. 715 crores on her defence and supply during the five years 1939-44, according to figures available here. During the same period His Majesty's Government helped India with Rs. 926 crores under the terms of the financial settlement, concluded in September, 1939, between the Government of India and H.M.G. regarding the

allocation of defence expenditure between them. The total defence and supply expenditure brought to account in India's book stood at Rs. 1,641 crores.

The death occurred at Lucknow of Mr. R. S. Pandit, husband of Mrs. Vijai Laxmi Pandit.

15th. Sir S. M. Visveswaraya, President of the All-India Manufacturers' organization and the members of the Committee, discussed with Mr. S. K. Kriplani, Indian Trade Commissioner-Designate to U. S. A., (in Bombay), the question of setting up important and heavy industries in different parts of the country in the post-war period and the facilities required in this connection from the United States.

16th. The Rt. Hon. Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, delivering the valedictory address of the Mysore University union, spoke on post-war reforms and reconstruction.

His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal was elected Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes,—the Nawab securing 21 votes.

17th. LT. GEN. A. G. O. M. Magne, the G. O. C. in C., Eastern Command met members of the Patna Press to whom he spoke on the subject of famine relief in Bengal.

The first meeting of the Damodar Flood Inquiry Committee constituted by the Bengal Government to advise on permanent measures to control floods in the Damodar river, was held in Calcutta, Mr. B. P. Pain, Minister for Communication and Works, presided.

The Special Durbar in connection with the investiture of H. H. the Raja of Padukottah was held amidst general rejoicings in the Durbar Hall of the old Palace (Pudukattah).

18th. Mr. R. G. Casey, Governor-designate of Bengal arrived at Karachi, accompanied by Mrs. Casey and his son and daughter.

Sir J. P. Srivastava, in his opening address (in New Delhi) to the meeting of the General Policy Committee of the Reconstruction Committee of the Council of State, said that a better way of life for the masses was the objective of post-war development plans.

19th. His Excellency the Viceroy, accompanied by Sir Maurice Hallett, Sir E. M. Jenkins and the Military Secretary to the U. P. Governor, flew to Gorakhpur. On arrival the Viceroy was received by Mr. Browne, Commissioner, Gorakhpur division.

Sir Jogendra Singh, Education Member, Government of India, in his speech at the meeting of the Central Advisory Board of Education (Baroda) said that the 40 crore scheme of national education was not beyond India's capacity.

The Memorandum outlining a plan of economic development for India which was prepared by Sir Purushotamdas Thakurdas and seven other leading industrialists and economists in the country was explained by them at a Press Conference in Bombay.

20th. The Governor-General in Council nominated Sir Feroz Khan Noon to be a representative of India in the war cabinet.

Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, answered a number of questions about India in the House of Commons.

A 61 crore scheme of national education for India was drawn up by the Central Board of Education for submission to the Post-War Reconstruction committee of the Viceroy's Council.

The Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, delivering the valedictory address of the Intermediate College, Bangalore, observed: "All that I am asking for is not that Mr. Jinnah should give up his demand for Pakistan, but that he should agree to argue it out with the Hindus, Sikhs and other communities."

Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, questioned in the House of Commons, about the employment of women in coal mines in India, said: "Owing to a serious shortage of coal production and to meet the urgent needs of the war effort, the Government of India have reluctantly, and as a purely temporary measure, suspended the prohibition in force, since 1937, of work by women in coal mines in Bengal, Bihar and the C. P."

21st. An order prohibiting the publication of any special number between the 22nd. and 31st. of January, was served on the "Hindu", an Indian language daily of Karachi, and on its weekly edition the "Hindvasi."

22nd. Mr. R. G. Casey assumed office as Governor of Bengal.

The "News Chronicle" (London) said: In the House of Commons (on Thursday, 20th.). Mr. Amery had an unsatisfactory story to tell of the famines in India."

"The feeling of dissatisfaction" of the people of India on the appointment of an Australian as Governor of Bengal was expressed in a resolution by Sardar Sant Singh and admitted by the President for the next session of the Central Assembly.

23rd. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, on the eve of the "Independence day, (January 26th.) issued a message from Allahabad. She said: "It is not to ceremony but to sacrament we are bidding the year on 26th. January."

The Working Committee of the All India Hindu Mahasabha began its meeting in New Delhi, with Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee in the chair.

The East African Indian National Congress, which held its meeting in Nairobi, reviewed the whole field of Indian political claims in East Africa and decided to create a fund for propaganda in support of the community's views.

Pandit Hridayanath Kunzru, President of the Servants of India Society, issued a statement (in Calcutta) on his tour of Malabar, Cochin and Travancore in connection with the food situation.

Mr. P. C. Joshi, General Secretary of the Communist Party of India, addressed a meeting in observance of Lenin day at Patna. He said that the food situation in Bengal was far from satisfactory and it was wrong to say that the famine in Bengal was over or had been averted.

24th. An India demonstration organized by the Midland Council of the India League was held in Birmingham. It was the opening of the India week campaign which put forward, "the release of political prisoners, the opening of negotiation and genuine attempts to enable Indian participation in large scale measures to relieve and end the famine."

Sir J. P. Srivastava, in a telegram to the Bengal Provincial Hindu Mahasabha, expressed the hope that the Hindu Mahasabha would "set an example in assisting the controller of Rationing, Calcutta and illiterate people in making the rationing scheme successful."

His Excellency the Viceroy accompanied by Lord Wavell and the Governor of Bombay, visited a number of places (in Bombay) and saw the progress of war work and rationing in the province.

Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee, President, Hindu Mahasabha, in a press interview in New Delhi, declared that without a radical change of existing methods of administration in Bengal, a second famine in 1944 could not be averted.

The All-India Depressed Classes League, in a resolution passed by the Working Committee at Patna, demanded the immediate formation of a National Government.

26th. "Independence Day" was observed in the various parts of India.

Mr. F. Anthony, President, Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Association, addressing a gathering in Calcutta, revealed a scheme to transfer control of Anglo-Indian education into Anglo-Indian hands.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu who arrived at Lahore to see her ailing sister, was served with a notice under the D. I. Rules, directing her not to make any public speech, join any procession or address any gathering of more than five persons without the previous permission of the District Magistrate or make any communication to the Press.

At an India week meeting in Birmingham, speakers celebrated the Independence Day and urged the removal of Mr. Amery from the position as Secretary of State for India.

27th. The Secretary of State for India, Mr. Amery, in a written Parliamentary reply to a suggestion to increase the pensions of retired Indian Civil Servants resident in Britain, said:—"As the Chancellor of the Exchequer announced on Dec. 3, His Majesty's Government are considering the grant of increase in lower range of pensions to mitigate really severe hardship."

Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, Civil Supplies Minister, Bengal, at a Press Conference in Calcutta, said: Our scheme of obtaining supplies and distribution must be given a chance." He explained the main points of the Government *aman* procurement and distribution scheme.

- 28th. A deputation from the Indian Freedom Campaign Committee and the Federation of Indian Associations in Britain met M. P.'s at the House of Commons, under the Chairmanship of Mr. James Maxton to discuss the question of conscription of Indians in Britain.  
The Secretary of State for India, Mr. Amery, answering questions in the House of Commons, said that no general statistics of unemployment in India were maintained.
- 29th. Lord Halifax, British Ambassador to the U. S. A., told a gathering at Washington, defending Britain's conduct in India, that the British Empire had encouraged nationalism in India. He declared: "We have sown in her people the seeds of Self-Government."
- 29th. The second session of the All-India Scheduled Caste's conference was held at Cawnpore, under the presidency of Rao Bahadur N. Sivaraja, M.L.A. (central).  
Dr. B. S. Moonje presided over the Mahakoshal Hindu Sabha Conference which was held at Bilaspur.
- 30th. The third annual Conference of the Madras Students' organization held its open session in Madras, with Mr. Basant Sanyal, General Secretary of the All-India Students' Federation, presiding.
- 31st. Food rationing came into force in Calcutta and in Howrah, Bally-Belur, Garden Reach, Behala and Tollygunge municipalities.

## February 1944

Mrs. Kasturbai Gandhi passed away at 7-30 p.m. on the 22nd. at the Aga Khan palace, Bombay.

The General Council of the All-India Trade Union Congress (Bombay) passed resolutions demanding the release of detenus and political prisoners.

Mr. Churchill informed the House of Commons that Lord Halifax's speech in Washington re: India, involved no new pronouncement on the part of the British Government.

Various schemes to strengthen the Muslim League organizations were considered by the Committee of Action of the All-India Muslim League, at Lahore.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu presided over a meeting of the Committee of the Save the Children Association in Calcutta.

The Standing Committee for Civil Defence met in New Delhi. Sir Feroz Khan Noon presided.

An enemy aircraft approached the Coast of Orissa and dropped a very small number of bombs on February 4.

The Punjab Government passed order for the release of fifteen more Congress detenus.

Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee presided over the annual meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal in Calcutta.

The Bengal Legislative Assembly passed the Finance (Sales Tax) Amendment Bill.

The Central Legislative Assembly rejected Mr. Lalchand Navalrai's resolution recommending the release of political prisoners. The Assembly passed Mr. M. A. Kazimi's adjournment motion to censure the Government on the "misapplication" of D. I. Rules in the Provinces.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya decided to call an All-Parties' Conference to meet in New Delhi in March to consider the political situation in the country.

The Government of Bengal allotted Bengal 142,000 tons of sugar.



Sir Charles Ogilvie, Defence Secretary, stated in the Central Legislative Assembly that there were 10 air raids in all on places in British India and one on an Indian State between November 20, 1943 and February 5, 1944.

A series of questions were asked in the Bengal Assembly relating to the restriction order on the "Amrita Bazar Patrika."

The Commander-in-Chief, India, made a statement in the Council of State regarding the part played by Indian troops in different theatres of war.

His Excellency the Viceroy addressing a joint session of the Central Legislature said that the Cripps draft declaration stood forth as the solemn pledge of His Majesty's Government. And that the demand for the release of those leaders who were in detention was utterly barren until there was some sign on their part to enter into willing co-operation.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, Mr. T. C. Goswami, Finance Member, disclosed a deficit of Rs. 11 crores and 20 lakhs for the current year.

A Conference of the Natal Indian Congress was opened by the Mayor of Durban.

Mr. Butler, speaking on behalf of Mr. Amery, declined to lift the restriction on Mrs. Naidu's addressing meetings.

In the Central Legislative Assembly, Sir Jeremy Raisman, Finance Member, introducing the Budget for 1944-1945 disclosed a revenue deficit of Rs. 92.43 crores for the current year and Rs. 78.21 crores next year on the basis of existing taxation.

Sind's financial position was described by the Premier, Sir G. H. Hidayatullah as one of unparalleled prosperity.

1st. At the opening meeting of the Budget session of the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the Government's *aman* procurement scheme and particularly their appointment of some Calcutta merchants as their chief agents to buy paddy and rice, was criticised by the opposition.

A Bombay Government communique said: "Mrs. Gandhi had a severe heart attack yesterday. Her condition is very weak."

Mr. C. P. Lawson presiding at the annual meeting of the Calcutta branch of the European Association (in Calcutta) said: "It was useless to talk of their political rights in India unless they were also prepared to play their full part in tackling the country's problems."

Prof. A. V. Hill, Adviser to the Government of India on the organization of scientific research speaking at the annual meeting of the Calcutta Geographical society, said: "The scientific development of India depended on consistent planning."

The General Council of the All-India Trade Union Congress (Bombay) passed resolutions demanding the release of detenus and political prisoners and protesting against the action of Government in permitting women to work underground in mines.

2nd. In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the Government's proposal to double the existing rate of the sales tax was criticized by the opposition when the Finance (sales tax) Amendment Bill, introduced by the Finance Minister, Mr. T. C. Goswami, came up for consideration.

3rd. Mr. Churchill told the House of Commons that Lord Halifax's speech in Washington on January 28th. that the British Government would not overrule any decision taken by India not to remain in the British Commonwealth after the war if the people of India had established an agreed constitution, involved no new pronouncement on the part of the British Government.

The Bengal Legislative Assembly rejected by 90 votes to 63, an opposition proposal for circulating the Finance (sales tax) Amendment Bill, designed to

increase the incidence of the existing sales tax from 3 pies to 6 pies in the rupee.

Various schemes to strengthen the Muslim League organizations were considered by the Committee of Action of the All-India Muslim League which concluded its sitting at Lahore.

- 4th. In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, when a non-official resolution was passed inquiring Government to take steps to stop the purchase of cattle in the province for the military, an idea, how the Army procured its foodstuffs in Bengal without encroaching on Civil Supplies, was obtained. The information was contained in a letter from Maj. Gen. Stuart.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu presided over a meeting of the Committee of the Save the Children Association, in Calcutta. It was decided at the meeting to run homes for about 400 Children in Bengal.

The Standing Committee for Civil Defence met in New Delhi. Sir Feroz Khan Noon, who presided, made a statement on his recent tours of inspection of Civil Defence arrangements in Assam, Bengal and Madras.

A Communique from New Delhi stated: "In the early hours of February 4, an enemy air-craft approached the coast of Orissa and dropped a very small number of bombs."

- 5th. "Indian Affairs," published by the India-Burma Association, in an article on the economic implications of Pakistan, said: "If Pakistan were established, India would cease to be one of the greatest internal free trade areas of the world."

Mr. N. R. Sarkar, ex-Commerce Member of the Government of India, broadcasting a talk on "post-war reconstruction" from Calcutta, observed: "India's problem was rather of construction right from the beginning than of reconstruction."

The Punjab Government passed order for the release of fifteen more Congress detenus including Munshi Harilal, M. L. A. and Shrimati Shanno Devi, M. L. A.

- 6th. At a meeting of the Bengal Hindu Mahasabha Working Committee, held in Calcutta, Dr. S. P. Mukerjee presiding, a resolution was passed urging the immediate release of Hindu M. L. A's in detention.

The National Christian Council of India met at Nagpur under the presidency of the Bishop of Dornakal, to consider the letter addressed by the conference of Missionaries of Great Britain.

- 7th. In the Central Legislative Assembly, with the beginning of the Budget session, the Food Member, Sir J. P. Srivastava, faced a long series of questions and supplementaries. He said in reply to Sirdar Mangal Singh that the form, terms of reference and time of the enquiry contemplated into the Bengal famine were under discussion with His Majesty's Government.

At the annual meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal (in Calcutta) the important part played by the Society in the development of India's intellectual and cultural life was stressed. Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukerjee presided.

The Bengal Legislative Assembly passed by 97 votes to 64, the Finance (Sales Tax) Amendment Bill. The measure was designed to increase provincial revenue by raising the rate of tax leviable under the Act from three pies to six pies in the rupee.

The Central Legislative Assembly rejected by 42 votes to 40 Mr. A. C. Datta's adjournment motion to censure the Government on their order on Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, directing her not to make any public speeches or issue directly or indirectly any statement to the Press or otherwise communicate her views to the public.

- 8th. The Central Legislative Assembly rejected without a division Mr. Lalchand Navalrai's resolution recommending the release of political prisoners with a view to removing the political deadlock and furthering the war effort.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, five official Bills were introduced.

The Central Legislative Assembly rejected by 41 votes to 23, Mrs. Renuka Roy's adjournment motion to censure the Government for permitting women to work underground in coal mines in Jharia and the neighbourhood.

- 9th. The Central Legislative Assembly passed by 43 votes to 42, Mr. M. A. Kazmi's adjournment motion to censure the Government on the "misapplication" of D. I. Rules in the Provinces.—This was the first adverse vote sustained by the Government during the session.

The Bengal Legislative Assembly rejected by 109 votes to 72, an adjournment motion criticizing the Government's decision to fix the acreage to be sown with jute at 8 as. of the basic acreage of 1940, and maximum and minimum prices at Rs. 17 and Rs. 15 respectively.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, the Opposition by an adjournment motion criticized Government for their "failure" to tackle the serious situation created in the province by the outbreak of preventible diseases after the famine. The motion was talked out.

- 10th. The Central Legislative Assembly disposed of three official Bills. Famine mortality figures in Bengal were the subject of a number of questions.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the policy of levying a tax on agricultural income merely for increasing the Provincial revenue without earmarking the proceeds for agricultural improvement was questioned by the Opposition, when the Finance Minister, Mr. T. C. Goswami, moved consideration of the Agricultural Income Tax Bill as reported by the select committee.

- 11th. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya decided to call an All Parties conference to meet in Delhi in March to consider the political situation in the country.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, Mr. H. S. Suhrawady, Civil Supplies Minister, reiterated the Government's determination to reduce the prices of paddy and rice to a sane level and at the same time ensure against hoarding.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, an assurance of Government's sympathy with the aspirations and legitimate grievances of the Scheduled Castes community was given by the Chief Minister, Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin.

- 12th. The Government of India allocated Bengal 142,000 tons of sugar, (for the period covering Dec. 1, 1943 to Nov. 30, 1944).

A Press Note from New Delhi stated that according to the Rubber Production Commissioner, India produced 16,629 tons of rubber during 1943 despite the fact that 1943 was a particularly difficult year.

- 14th. In the Central Legislative Assembly, Sir Charles Ogilvi, Defence Secretary, in a written reply to a question by Mr. Lalchand Navalrai, said: "There have been ten air raids in all on places in British India and one on an Indian State between Nov. 20, 1943 and February 5, 1944."

The Central Assembly took up for consideration the Finance Member's Bill to consolidate and amend the law relating to Central Excise duties as reported by the Select Committee.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the consideration of the Agricultural Income Tax Bill continued with questions and discussions regarding the admissibility of two adjournment motions.

In the Central Legislative Assembly, the Finance Member, Sir Jeremy Raisman, in reply to Mr. Rangiah Naidu, said that a scheme was about to be introduced to encourage and assist small investors in making their investments.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, replying to a series of questions relating to the restriction order on the "Amrita Bazar Patrika," Khan Bahadur Mohammed Ali said that action was taken against the paper "for publishing two editorial articles which, in the opinion of the Government were subversive in nature and contained veiled incitements to violence."

- 15th. Mr. P. J. Griffiths, addressing the East India Association (London) on "The Indian food crisis; its causes and lessons" criticized the Food Department of the Central Government and the Bengal Administration.

The Orissa Government in a Press Note, stated inter alia: Relief work to the extent of Rs. 1,82,000 was being carried out by Government in the Balasore, Puri and Ganjam Districts to provide employment to distressed people.

- 16th. In the Central Legislative Assembly, Sir Edward Benthall, war transport member, introducing the Railway Budget declared: "Passenger fares, except for suburban season tickets, will be raised by 25 p. c. from April, 1944. The additional earnings are estimated at Rs. 10 crores."

In the Council of State, a statement on the war situation and the part played by Indian troops in different theatres of war was made by the commander-in-chief, India, General Sir Claude Auchinleck, in answer to a question by Raja Yuvraj Dutta Singh.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, searching inquiry about Government measures to prevent recurrence of the havoc caused by the Damodar in flood, were made.

The Bengal Legislative Council considered the Destitute persons (Repatriation and Relief) Bill.

- 17th. His Excellency the Viceroy, Lord Wavell, addressing a joint session of the Central Legislature (in New Delhi) declared: "Nearly two years have passed since the Cripps draft declaration was made public, but it stands forth today as the solemn pledge of His Majesty's Government, that India shall have full control of her own destiny among the nations of the Commonwealth and the world..... The demand for the release of those leaders who were in detention was utterly barren until there was some sign on their part of willingness to co-operate."

The Bengal Legislative Council passed the Destitute Persons (Repatriation and Relief) Bill introduced by the Revenue Minister, Mr. Tarak Nath Mukerjee.

In the House of Lords, moving the second reading of the India (Attachment of States) Bill, Lord Munster, under-secretary for India, said that the Bill was intended to place beyond all manner of doubt the right of the Viceroy to provide for the most suitable administration of a large number of small or very small states, really estates.

In the House of Commons, answering a question about food and the spread of diseases in India, Mr. R. A Butler, replying on behalf of Mr. Amery, said that the food situation had further improved with the harvesting of winter crops.

- 18th. His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda, inaugurating the Baroda Assembly session at Baroda, gave an assurance that the well-being and interests of his people throughout the state had always been nearest to his heart.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, cases of incendiarism in Midnapore district between August and December 1942 were discussed.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, civil supplies minister, announced the Government's intention to appoint a committee to consider the question of providing rations for "bhog" for Hindu deities.

In the Bengal Assembly, Mr. T. C. Goswami, Finance Member, disclosed a deficit of Rs. 11 crores and 20 lakhs for the current year and Rs. 8 crores and 46 lakhs for the next year, in presenting the Province's Budget estimates.

The Council of State took up Pandit Kunzru's resolution, recommending that all persons detained under the Defence of India Rules should be informed of the grounds of their detention.

- 19th. A Bengal Government Press Note stated that orders had been issued to constitute food committees for each of the sub-areas of Calcutta and surrounding districts when rationing was in operation.

- 20th. The Government of Bombay issued the following communique: "Mr. Gandhi's condition has been deteriorating for some days past and is now very grave."

To meet the situation arising out of labour shortage, the Government of India formulated a scheme for co-ordinating the use of unskilled labour throughout India by setting up labour supply committees in the provinces and district or regional supply committees in the areas where labour shortages were apparent or were considered imminent.

The Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinisava Sastri, speaking at a meeting at Poona, held to commemorate the death anniversary of the late Mr. G. K. Gokhale, made the plea that a change in the policy of the Congress was called for immediately and which could not be neglected except at the cost of national welfare.

A Conference of the Natal Indian Congress—the first meeting of the Indians united in one common body—was opened by the Mayor of Durban, Mr. R. Ellis Brown in Durban.

- 21st. In the Bengal Legislative Council, the Finance Minister, Mr. T. C. Goswami presented the Provinces Budget estimates for 1944-45.

H. E. The Viceroy spent nearly two hours in Madras acquainting himself first hand with the rationing of rice and fire wood in the city by visits to some rationing offices and fire wood and rice depots.

The Central Legislative Assembly held the general debate on the Railway Budget.

In the Council of State, several questions were asked by Mr. G. S. Motilal, on the arrest of Mr. Suresh Baidya, an Indian journalist in England on his refusal to obey the "call-up" order.

22nd. A communique issued at Bombay, said: "The Government of Bombay regrets to announce that Mrs. Kasturabai Gandhi passed away at 7-35 p.m. to-day at the Aga Khan Palace."

23rd. The Council of State held a general debate on the Railway Budget.

In the Central Legislative Assembly, the Government of India's plans for the development of post-war civil aviation in India were indicated by Sir Gurnath Bewoor, Secretary, Posts and Air, in the debate on his Bill to amend the Indian Aircraft Act.

In the Central Assembly, Sir Reginald Maxwell, Home Member, replied to Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari's question about the health of Dr. Syed Mahmud, a member of the Congress Working Committee and other political prisoners.

Mr. Yusuf Meherally, ex-Mayor of Bombay, was served with an order of the Punjab Government banning his entry into the Province of Punjab.

The Sind Legislative Assembly which met to receive the budget, passed at the outset a resolution recording deep sorrow at the death of Mrs. Gandhi and conveying their heartfelt condolence to Mahatma Gandhi and his family.

24th. The Council of State passed Mr. Hossain Imam's resolution recommending that price control and adequate supply of requirements of agriculturists might be taken in hand.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, a supplementary budget estimate totalling Rs. 36,24,48,000 for 1943-44 was presented by the Finance Minister, Mr. T. C. Goswami.

The Bengal Council adjourned its business for half an hour as a mark of respect to the memory of Mrs. Gandhi.

Mr. Butler, President of the Board of Education, speaking on behalf of Mr. Amery, declined to lift the restriction on Mrs. Naidu addressing meetings.

The Deputy Speaker of the Bengal Assembly, making a reference to the death of Mrs. Gandhi in the House, observed: "She represented the best and noblest in Indian womanhood—quiet and unassuming and yet resolute and devoted to her duty."

25th. In the Central Legislative Assembly, famine mortality figures in Bengal were referred to in a question put by Sir Frederick James. In reply to supplementaries arising from it, the Food Member, Sir J. P. Srivastava said that the Government of India had taken up with the Provincial Government the matter of the accuracy of death statistics due to starvation. He added, the members could well understand that the men who reported these deaths were not qualified to state the cause of death.

When the debate on the Railway budget was resumed in the Central Assembly, a cut motion by Mr. N. M. Joshi demanding that the compulsory dearness fund be extended to cover all railway employees, was passed by 43 votes to 42.

The Hon. Mr. J. H. Burder, in his presidential address to the annual meeting of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, in Calcutta, said: "We look for equality of treatment for all who trade or manufacture in India, the same equality as is given in the U. K. We base this upon our past services and upon the credit balance of our record which has been built up for over two centuries of the community's residence in this country."

In the Sind Legislative Assembly, making a statement on the Government's policy in regard to Congress detenus, Mr. M. A. Guzdar, Minister for Home Affairs, denied the charges that Congress M.L.A.'s were being kept in jail in order to safeguard the Ministry against defeat.

26th. In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, searching inquiries about deaths due to starvation in mofussil districts were made in answer to a question. Khan Sahib Hamiduddin Ahmed, Parliamentary Secretary to the Public Health Department, admitted that Government was not in a position to give the number of such deaths.

In the Central Legislative Assembly, a discussion on Mr. Jamnadas Mehta's cut motion to discuss "the meagre dearness allowance to railway workes," resulted in a tie, 42 voting on each side. The President gave his casting vote in favour of the noes and the motion was rejected.

27th. Sind's financial position was described by the Premier Sir G. H. Hidayatulla as one of unparalleled prosperity when he presented the Budget estimates for 1944-45 in the Legislative Assembly.

28th. The Central Legislative Assembly passed supplementary Railway demands for 1943-44 totalling over Rs. 25 crores.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the conclusion of the general debate on the Budget was marked by a walk-out staged by the Opposition.

In the Bengal Legislative Council the Budget was subjected to further criticism.

In the Central Legislative Assembly, the President admitted Mr. Deshmukh's adjournment motion to discuss the order preventing travelling of persons to stations on the M. and S. M. Railway to attend the eighth annual session of the All-India Kisan Conference at Bezwada, convened to consider problems facing the agriculturists and the food situation in the country.

29th. In the Central Legislative Assembly, introducing the Government of India Budget for 1944-45, the Finance Member, Sir Jeremy Raisman, disclosed a revenue deficit of Rs. 92.43 crores for the current year and a perspective deficit of Rs. 78.21 crores next year on the basis of existing taxation. The Finance Member then announced his proposals for new taxation. These were, 3 new excise duties to be levied, namely on tea, coffee and betelnut at 2 as. a lb., and others.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, when the general discussion of the Budget was resumed, Mr. W. Laidlaw, leader of the European party, appealed to the House to support the Finance Minister in his efforts to obtain financial assistance from the centre.

The Council of State passed 5 Bills adopted by the Central Assembly. They were the Coal Mines Safety Act Amendment Bill, the Indian Companies Act Amendment Bill, The Indian Aircraft Amendment Bill, the Insurance Act Amendment Bill and the Transfer of Act Amendment Bill.

The Labour Investigation Committee set up by the India Government to investigate the social and economic conditions of labour concluded their 7 day tour of Calcutta and left for Shillong.

## March 1944

In the House of Commons, the British Government's regret at the death of Mrs. Gandhi on Feb. 22, was expressed by Mr. R. A. Butler.

Mr. R. A. Butler, President of the Board of Education, answering a question in the House of Commons on behalf of Mr. Amery, about deaths in Bengal, said that the total number of deaths above the normal due to famine and disease in Bengal was estimated at 3,500,000, covered only 816 families with a total membership 3,840 spread over districts.

Orissa's fourth war-time Budget revealed a deficit of Rs. 10,36,000 in 1944-45.

Assam's Budget estimates for 1944-45 showed a deficit on revenue account of Rs. 10,40,000.

In the Central Legislative Assembly, Sir Reginald Maxwell, Home Member, in reply to Mr. K. C. Neogy, said that the provision for the expenses of Mr. Gandhi and those detained with him in the Aga Khan Palace amounted to Rs. 550, a month, while that for the members of the Congress Working Committee amounted to Rs. 100, a month, each.

In the Central Legislative Assembly, Sir Henry Richardson, leader of the European Group, asked the Finance Member to consider whether he had made provision for Bengal on a scale adequate to her plight.

The Bengal Legislative Assembly passed the entire Government demand in connexion with supplementary estimates for 1943-44 amounting to Rs. 36,24,48,000.

The C. P. Budget for 1944-45 revealed a surplus of Rs. 1 crore.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, addressing the Aligarh Union said : "The surest way to win the war.....is to concede the Pakistan demand, which means freedom both for Hindus and the Muslims".

In the Punjab Legislative Assembly, questions relating to the prohibitory order by the Punjab Government on Mrs. Sarojini Naidu were asked.

The Bengal Legislative Assembly passed in full, Budget demands for grants under Administration of Justice, Co-operation and Debt conciliation.

The session of the All-India Kishan Sabha began at Bezwada. Resolutions on the 'grievances of the States' peoples,' 'defence fund' and 'savings certificates' and 'food procurement policy' were moved and passed.

In the Central Legislative Assembly, the Ports and Air Secretary announced an increase in the rates of dearness allowance to all Central Government employees.

At a meeting held under the auspices of the Calcutta Muslim League in observance of 'Pakistan Day,' a resolution was passed that 'Pakistan is the only practical way to attain real freedom.'

Dr. Khan Sahib, leader of the Frontier Congress Parliamentary Party explained at Peshwar, the reasons why the Congress Party did not attend the Frontier Assembly.

The Central Legislative-Assembly by 56 votes to 45 rejected the Finance Bill in the form recommended by the Governor-General.

At a meeting of Indian Christians in Madras, with Mr. V. Chakkarai Chettiar in the chair, a resolution was passed demanding the release of national leaders.

1st. In the Bengal Legislative Council, a defence of the Government's Budget policy was made by Mr. T. C. Goswami, Finance Minister, replying to the general debate on the Budget. Various criticisms concerning their departments were also answered by other Ministers.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, tumultuous scenes were witnessed prior to the voting on a demand by the Finance Minister, Mr. T. C. Goswami, for an excess grant of Rs. 1,83,350 to regularise certain expenditure.

Orissa's fourth war time Budget, presented in the Legislative Assembly by the Finance Minister, Mr. Godavaris Misra, revealed a deficit of Rs. 10,56,000 in 1944-45.

In the Sind Legislative Assembly, the question arose whether the detention of a member of the House as a security prisoner was a breach of privilege.

In the Central Legislative Assembly, Mr. K. C. Neogy asked whether it was a fact that ships on the Indian Registers were commandeered for the purpose of local naval defence from 3rd. September, 1939 onwards and whether it was a fact that ships on the Indian Register were requisitioned for the carriage of men, materials and munitions from July 1940 onwards.—Sir Azizul Haque stated that the position as stated was substantially correct.

2nd. Mr. R. A. Butler, President of the Board of Education, answering a question in the House of Commons, on behalf of Mr. L. S. Amery, about deaths in the Bengal said that from information in his possession it would appear that the survey and report of the Anthropological Department of the University of Calcutta that the total number deaths above the normal due to famine and disease in Bengal was estimated at 3,500,000 covered only 816 families with a total membership of 3,840 spread over eight districts.

The British Government's regret at the death of Mrs. Gandhi on Feb. 22 was expressed by Mr. R. A. Butler in the House of Commons.

The budget estimates for 1944-45, presented before both House of the Assam legislature showed a deficit on revenue account of Rs. 10,40,000

In the House of Commons, during the debate on the India (Attachment of States) Bill, Mr. Pethick Lawrence (Lab) said that one of the things taluqdars objected to was whether a trustee could delegate his power to another person.

In the Central Legislative Assembly, Sir Reginald Maxwell, Home Member, in reply to Mr. K. C. Neogy's question, said that the provision for the expenses of Mr. Gandhi and those detained with him in the Aga Khan Palace amounted to about Rs. 550 a month, while that for the members of the Congress Working Committee amounted to Rs. 100 a month, each.

The Bengal Legislative Assembly rejected by 99 votes to 79 an adjournment motion censuring Government for banning publication of a joint statement by leaders of different parties in the Opposition criticizing certain observations made by Mr. R. A. Hutchings, Food Secretary, Government of India, on the Bengal food situation.

In the Bengal Legislative Council a plea for the adoption of a procedure which would enable the Upper House to exercise control over the sources of supply of Government was put forward Mr. Humayun Kabir (Praja) during the discussion of the supplementary demands for 1943-44.

- 3rd. In the Central Legislative Assembly, Sir Jeremy Raisman, Finance Member, moved for reference to a Select Committee of his Bill to amend the Income-Tax Act to come into line with the proposals he made in his Budget speech.—The motion was passed.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, a Bill designed to control the working of orphanages, widows' homes and other such institutions sponsored by Mrs. K. Shahabuddin, was passed.

In the Bengal Legislative Council a resolution suggesting the appointment of a body like that of a Royal Commission to inquire into the question of food shortage in Bengal in 1942-43 was passed.

- 4th. The Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce began its annual meeting in New Delhi with Kumararaja Sir Muthia Chettiar in the chair.

The death occurred in Calcutta of Mr. S. N. Banerjee, a leading barrister of the Calcutta High Court.

H. E. Mr. R. G. Casey, Governor of Bengal, made reference to the place of education in schemes of reconstruction at the Calcutta University Convocation.

H. E. H. the Nizam, in a message to Indians in Japanese occupied territories, said: "Be patient and don't lose heart, for help comes from God and victory is near."

Begum Zaher Yar Jung, presiding over the 16th. session of the Hyderabad State Women's Conference, observed: "A great evil which prevails among the people is the marriage of young girls. In our Dominion, there are 11 lakhs of widows and child widows below 12 years of age number over 10,000. This casts a slur on the community and it should be eradicated."

In the Sind Legislative Assembly the Premier, Sir Ghulam Hussain said: "If you want progressive planning in this province, you must have a stable Ministry. You cannot play at toppling down Ministries and attack Government for not achieving long terms results at the same time."

In the Orissa Legislative Assembly, the Premier, the Hon. the Maharaja of Parlakimedi said that the Government had decided to constitute a committee to go into each individual case of detainees and recommend about their release after examining the record of each.

- 5th. The post-war position of industries established during the war was among subjects discussed at the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (in New Delhi).

- 6th. The Central Legislative Assembly began its debate on the Budget.—Sir Henry Richardson, leader of the European group, asked the Finance Member to consider whether he had made provision for Bengal on a scale adequate to her plight.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the question of shortage of Salt supply was raised when supplementary demands for grants for 1943-44 came up for consideration.

- 7th. Sir Sultan Ahmed, Member for Information, Government of India, declared in the Central Assembly in reply to Mr. K. S. Gupta's question: "The so-called offer of independence by Japan to certain territories she has occupied is a mere facade. The inhabitants of these territories are governed by Japanese military



rule and their condition is such that the Government of India do not attach much importance to this piece of Japanese propaganda.

The Council of State began its debate on the Budget. The Bengal Legislative Assembly passed the entire Government demand in connexion with the supplementary estimates for 1943-44 amounting to Rs. 36,24,48,000. All the cut motions moved by the opposition, criticising different aspects of Government's work were rejected.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, the question of providing rations for *bhog* for Hindu deities was raised by Mr. Haridas Mazumdar.

The C. P. Budget for 1944-45 revealed a surplus of Rs. 1 crore.

The Assam Legislative Assembly passed the Finance Bill by 40 votes to 13, and the Local Board Elections (Emergency Provisions) Bill by 38 votes to 10.

The Central Legislative Assembly concluded the general debate on the Budget.

A Press Note from Madras stated : "The Government have now decided that all restrictions on grounds of marriage against the employment or retention of women in public service should be withdrawn."

In the Punjab Assembly, a series of questions on Mr. Jaiprakash Narain, General Secretary, Congress Socialist Party, who was being detained as a State prisoner in the Punjab, were answered by Mr. Syed Amjad Ali, Parliamentary Secretary to the Premier.

In the Council of State, H. E. the Commander-in-Chief, Gen. Sir Claude Auchinleck, made an announcement that the Government of India had decided to give a further increase in the Indian Army pay.

A pamphlet was issued by the Committee of Indian Congressmen (in London) which stated *inter alia* : "A Congressman does not plead for mercy or clemency. He does not seek any political concession from the British Raj. In vindication of his faith he goes to prison if need be and thereby lays the foundation of a free India."

- 8th. A fund to be called the Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Fund, to be presented to Mahatma Gandhi on his 75th. birth day to be spent for the welfare and education of women in India, was proposed in an appeal issued by some forty prominent leaders headed by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.

The Sind Assembly passed the entire Budget demand.

- 9th. Mr. P. B. Seal, Chairman of the Tagore Society, (London) at a lecture said : "A move was being made, for the placing of a bust of the poet in the Poet's Corner at Westminster Abbey."

In the Punjab Legislative Assembly, members questioned the cancellation of permission to Mr. Munilal Kalia to attend the Budget session. Mr. Bhagat Ram Sharma asked for leave to table a privilege motion.

- 10th. In the Bengal Legislative Council, the Government's policy regarding allowances to security prisoners was explained by the Premier, Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin, replying to a debate on a non-official resolution on the subject.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the Muslim League, addressing the Aligarh Union said : "The surest way to win the war which His Excellency the Viceroy consider his first job, is to concede the Pakistan demand, which means freedom both for Hindus and the Muslims."

- 11th. The death occurred of Sir Lancelot Sanderson, a member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and a former Chief-Justice of the Calcutta High Court.

- 12th. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, speaking at a reception given in his honour in Bombay urged the release of Indian leaders, fresh elections to the Provincial and Central Legislatures, a representative Government at the Centre and the appointment of representative Indians as delegates to the Peace Conference.

The Central Committee of the All-India Kishan Sabha met at Bezwada and converted itself into a subjects committee of the session.

- 13th. The Central Legislative Assembly by 50 votes to 48 passed Mr. Abdul Quaiyum's (Congress) cut motion to reduce the grant under the head "Executive Council" to one rupee, as a mark of "refusal of supplies." The Congress, Muslim League and the Nationalists voted for the motion.

There was no offer of release of Mrs. Gandhi, said the External Affairs Secretary, Sir Olaf Caroe, in the course of a reply to Mr. K. S. Gupta.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, a plea for the relief of distressed school teachers was put forward during the discussion of the Education budget. Reference

was also made to the crisis through which education in the province was passing.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, in a short statement from Allahabad, said : "It is manifestly unjust to keep Mahatma Gandhi in detention for a moment longer after the Government has received his reply to the charges which it is said have been communicated to him. Truth demands that Gandhiji should be released forthwith."

14th. In his presidential address to the All-India Kishan Sabha Conference at Bezwada, Swami Sahajananda Saraswathi put forward a demand for the release of Congress leaders and the establishment of a national Government. The President expressed his opposition to the Pakistan scheme and death with the economic problems of the Kisans.

In the Punjab Legislative Assembly, replying to a question, Mr. Maqbool Mahmud, Parliamentary Secretary to the Premier, said : "Eleven Congress members of the Punjab Assembly were detained at present in jail with a view to preventing them from acting in any manner prejudicial to the public safety."

The Central Legislative Assembly passed by 55 votes to 46 the Muslim League's cut motion sponsored by Sir Mohammed Yamin Khan, asking for the immediate appointment of a committee of elected members of the Central Legislature, assisted by officials, to scrutinize government expenditure and suggest economies.

In the Punjab Legislative Assembly, questions relating to the prohibitory order by the Punjab Government on Mrs. Sarojini Naidu were asked. The Premier stated that it had been done to prevent her from acting in any manner prejudicial to the maintenance of public order.

The Bengal Legislative Assembly passed in full, Budget demands for grants under Administration of Justice, Co-operation and Debt Conciliation.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, the motions for referring the Sales Tax Bill to a Select Committee were rejected.

15th. The second day session of the All-India Kishan Sabha was resumed at Bezwada. Resolutions on "grievances of the States' peoples", "defence fund and savings certificates", and "food procurement policy" were moved and passed.

The Opposition parties in the Central Legislative Assembly combined to defeat the Government, when the House by 53 votes to 44, passed the Nationalist Party's cut motion, moved by Pandit Lakhmikantha Maitra, to reduce the demand under the Home Department by Rs. 100 to discuss "the abuse of powers under the Defence of India Act and Rules."

The Council of State passed without a division, Pandit Kunzru's resolution recommending that steps be taken for the manufacture of broad gauge locomotives in India.

The Punjab Legislative Assembly voted supplementary estimates aggregating to Rs. 25,100,000 moved by Sir Manoharlal, Finance Member.

The Bengal Legislative Assembly rejected an opposition motion in connexion with the demand by the Excise Minister for a grant of Rs. 25,20,000 under "Provincial Excise."

In the Bengal Legislative Council, further progress was made in the consideration of the Finance (Sales Tax) Amendment Bill.

16th. In the Council of State, Mr. B. R. Sen, Director-General of Food, moved for consideration of the food situation in the country.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, "General Administration" was criticized from various angles.

In the Central Legislative Assembly, the Home Member, Sir Reginald Maxwell, replying to the debate on the Nationalist Party's cut motion under "Home Department", said that the debate had proceeded as though the Act and Rules were brought into existence and employed solely for the purpose of maintaining public order or interfering with political or other activities."

The House of Commons gave the third reading without division to the India (Attachment of States) Bill.

In the Central Legislative Assembly, an increase in the rates of dearness allowance to all Central Government employees and a special concession to employees of the Posts and Telegraphs Department were announced by the Posts and Air Secretary, Sir Gurunath Bewoor.

Mr. L. S. Amery declined, in the House of Commons, to comment on Mr.

Sorenson's inquiry whether he had considered the presidential address given to the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce emphasising that the time had come for the release of political leaders in detention and stressing the need of greater industrial development in India.

- 17th. In the Bengal Legislative Council, a statement on the salt position in Bengal and the steps that were being taken by Government to meet the shortage was made by the Civil Supplies Minister.

The Central Legislative Assembly began the debate on the Finance Member's motion that the Finance Bill be taken into consideration.

The Council of State resumed its debate on the food situation.

- 18th. Sir M. Visweswaraya, delivering his presidential address over the 4th. annual conference of the All-India Manufacturers' Organization at Nagpur, stressed the urgent importance of industrialisation of India in any plan of post-war reconstruction.

The Bengal Legislative Assembly passed two Budget demands under "Industries" and "Cinchona."

Mr. M. A. Jinnah inaugurating the annual conference of the Punjab Muslim Students' Federation at Lahore, put forward the claim that 99 per cent of the Muslims of India, whether they were members of the League or not, were behind the League.

- 19th. The All-India Manufacturers' Conference concluded its session at Nagpur.—The main resolution relating to the industrial policy was moved by Mr. Sakalchand G. Shah. The resolution deplored Government's policy in not encouraging any large scale industry in spite of the war.

- 20th. In the Central Legislative Assembly, resuming the debate on the Finance Bill, Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari criticized the new taxation proposal, the appointment of a number of experts in various Government departments, Government's policy in regard to the establishment of heavy industries, the activities of the U. K. C. C. and the I. C. I. and immobilization of India's sterling balances.

The Bengal Legislative Assembly passed the budget land revenue demand for Rs. 34,51,000 made by the Revenue Minister.

Sir R. S. Sarma, a member of the Indian Delegation who went on a lecture tour to Britain and America, returned to India.

- 21st. In the Central Legislative Assembly, during the general debate on the Finance Bill, Sir Vithal Chandavarkar referred to the political situation in the country and said that if the British Government were serious they should forget what had happened in the past and without trying to apportion blame proceed to legislate on the lines of making India self-governing. There were bound to be irreconcilables but this should not detract the policy of H. M. G.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, Government attitude regarding public complaints against the police and questions of release of security prisoners and improvement of jails was explained by Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin, Chief Minister, when the Budget demands under "Police" and 'Jail and Convict Settlements' came up for consideration.

At a meeting of the Council of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League, held in Calcutta, alleged attempts by interested persons to prevent agriculturists from selling their crops to Government were criticized in a resolution.

- 22nd. In the Council of State, Raja Yurveraj Dutta Singh asked : "Is it a fact that Government are going to hold the general elections of the Central Legislature some time this year ?" Sir M. Usman, Leader of the House said : "The question depends entirely on whether His Excellency the Governor-General effects a further extension of the life of the existing Chambers."

In the Punjab Legislative Assembly, the Premier had to face a barrage of questions regarding the prohibitory order on Mrs. Sarojini Naidu during her visit to Lahore in Jan. 1944.

In the Central Legislative Assembly, the debate on the work of the Defence Consultative Committee took place on a formal motion by Mr. C. M. Trivedi, War Secretary, for the election of six members of the Assembly to the Committee.

Mr. Amery, Secretary of State for India, moved an address to be presented to the King praying that the Government of India (distribution of revenues)—amendment—Order of 1944, be made in the form of the draft laid before Parliament.

**23rd.** At the Royal Empire Society, India's High Commissioner, Sir Samuel Ranganadhan, gave footnotes to Mr. John Sargent's £207,200,000—educational plan for India. He hoped that Lord Wavell would give it his "deepest consideration."

At a meeting held under the auspices of the Calcutta Muslim League in observance of "Pakistan Day," a resolution reaffirming that "Pakistan is the only practical way in the present circumstances to attain real freedom and independence for the Muslim and the Hindu nations", was passed.

The Bengal Council passed the Alienation of Agricultural land (Temporary Provisions) Bill introduced by the Revenue Minister.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the working of the Civil Supplies Department was attacked from various angles, when, following the demand by the Chief Minister, for a grant of Rs. 8,50,57,000 under "Extraordinary charges in India", over 20 cut motions were moved.

In the Central Legislative Assembly, Sir Mohammed Yamin Khan (Muslim League) in resuming his speech on the Finance Bill, advocated a Committee of the Assembly to revise the D. I. Rules and suggest amendments.

About 6,89,000 people died in the Bengal famine.—This figure was given by Mr. Amery in the House of Commons.

**24th.** In the Central Legislative Assembly, Sir Cowasji Jehangir said that price control measures were the sheet anchor of Government's remedy against inflation and they should impress on the Provincial Governments its importance.

Maj-Gen. Nawab Sir Umar Hyat Khan Tiwana died at Lahore.—Sir Umar was A. D. C. to the King and a former member of the Secretary of States' Council.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the House turned down a Congress cut motion in connexion with the budget demand for the Civil Supplies Department.

The 52nd. annual general meeting of the Indian Mining Association was held at the Bengal Chamber of Commerce (Calcutta), Mr. E. A. Paterson presiding.

**25th.** In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, Budget demands under Medical and Public Health were passed.

A declaration issued by the National Peace Council, a federation of 40 separate organizations (London), said: "Self-Government for India is among conditions which must be fulfilled "if the goal of a war-free world is to be achieved."

**26th.** The Congress party in the Central Assembly at its meeting in New Delhi, with Mr. Bhulabhai Desai in the chair passed the following resolution:—

"Bearing in mind the Congress policy and having considered the present situation, it is resolved that as regards the attendance of the Congress party in the Central Legislature, the matter is left to the decision of the leader in consultation with Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, and the party will not attend unless invited to do so by him."

Dr. Khan Sahib, leader of the Frontier Congress Parliamentary Party, in the course of a statement by the Press at Peshawar explained the reasons why the Congress Party did not attend the Frontier Assembly.

**27th.** The Central Legislative Assembly took up the general debate on the Finance Bill. Sir Henry Richardson, leader of the European group, referred to the attitude of certain section of the House which imputed to the British Commercial Community a wish to profit unduly by the circumstances of the war.

Mr. J. K. Mitter, presiding over the annual meeting of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce in Calcutta, supported Bengal's claim for a handsome contribution from the Central Government to meet her budgetary deficit.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the "Grow more food" campaign and other activities of the Agriculture Department were targets for criticism when the Budget demand for Rs. 1,29,51,000 under the head "Agriculture" was passed.

**28th.** The Central Legislative Assembly, by 56 votes to 45, rejected the Finance Bill in the form recommended by the Governor-General. The House also rejected by 55 votes to 45, the demand for a grant of Rs. 1,85,000 in respect of the Information and Broadcasting Department.—The Congress, the Muslim League and the Nationalist parties voting against the Government.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the Government's irrigation policy and

programme were explained by Mr. B. P. Pain, Communications and Works Minister. The Minister's demand for a grant of Rs. 1,49,13,000 was passed.

At a meeting of Indian Christians in Madras, with Mr. V. Chakkarai Chettiar in the chair, a resolution was passed, demanding the release of national leaders and the setting up of a National Government at the Centre and in the Provinces.

- 29th. The Central Legislative Assembly disposed of demands for supplementary grants and took up the Income Tax (Amendment) Bill.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, Government's famine relief activities were criticized by the Opposition.

In the Council of State, the Finance Bill as recommended by the Viceroy was introduced by Mr. C. E. Jones, Finance Secretary.

A Government communique issued in Calcutta, said: "The Bengal Governor has set up a body by whom matters of common concern to the Bengal Government and the armed forces may be considered."

The High Commissioner for Canada, Mr. Malcolm Macdonald, in a speech at Philadelphia declared that the British had made some mistakes during the creation of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

- 30th. The Central Legislative Assembly passed Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan's resolution moved on March 1, recommending the appointment of a Committee with a majority of elected members of the Central Legislature to recommend steps to be taken to introduce constitutional reforms in Baluchistan on lines similar to those in other Provinces of British India.

The Council of State resumed the debate on the Finance Bill.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, voting of Bengal's Budget demands for 1944-45 ended, when grants under 11 heads were sanctioned. The entire Budget was thus passed.

The Secretary of State for India, Mr. Amery, circulated in a Parliamentary reply the composition at the end of 1942 of the main parties and the elected members of the Legislative Assembly.

- 31st. In the Central Legislative Assembly, the War Secretary, Mr. C. M. Trivedi, gave details about the removal of boats from certain areas as part of the denial policy.

The Council of State passed by 27 votes to 13 the motion for consideration of the Finance Bill in the form recommended by the Governor-General.

The Central Assembly rejected without a division, Mr. M. A. Kazmi's Bill for the Abolition of Whipping.

The Secretary of State for India, Mr. Amery, in a written Parliamentary reply gave the composition at the end of 1942 of the main parties in the Central Assembly. He added that he had no information regarding the number of members in detention.

## April 1944

His Excellency R. G. Casey, Governor of Bengal in a broadcast speech from Calcutta, expressed his determination to avert the famine of 1944 and prevent its recurrence.

The Maharaja of Burdwan, in his presidential address to the British Indian Association, referred to the food situation and said that the control prices of rice were 300 p. c. higher than the pre-war prices.

The Council of State adopted a motion recommending that the Bill to codify the Hindu law relating to marriage be referred to a joint committee of 18 members of both Houses.

7 Indian scientists were invited to visit England to meet and have discussions with various scientific bodies.

In the House of Commons, in reply to Mr. Sorenson's question on food shortage in India and famine, Mr. Amery said: "The situation depends largely on what proportion of crops the Government of India can procure and distribute."

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President, All-India Hindu Mahasabha, in declaring open the first session of the All-India States Hindu Mahasabha Conference, made an appeal for consolidating all Hindu States in India which were great sources of strength to the Hindus.

More than 300 Indian soldiers who had been prisoners of war in German and Italian hands returned to India.

The meeting of the released Congress leaders and workers began at Lucknow. A resolution was passed which stated: "The Congress has always stood against all aggression and is committed to the defence of the country under all circumstances...The Congress made it clear that they had no sympathy for the aggressors, be they Japanese, Germans or Italians. That had been always their view and that view prevailed to-day."

A proposal urging the application of the Bengal Government's communal ratio rules to all administrative and ministerial appointments of the University of Calcutta was rejected by the Senate of the University by 31 votes to 13.

The Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri said in an interview with reference to the move to replace the "Pegging" Act: "My experiences of the way in which colour prejudice works out in South Africa does not enable me to be sanguine of the result."

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the Secondary Education Bill was formally introduced.

Under the order of the Governor of the Punjab, Captain Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan was dismissed from his office of Minister, Punjab Government.

The Indian Information Service of the State Department (Washington) stated: "By the end of this year, India expects to have given the U. S. A. Rs. 79,21,88,000 worth of goods and services through reciprocal aid."

The Government of Bombay issued communiques re: Mahatma Gandhi's wealth.

1st. His Excellency Mr. R. G. Casey, Governor of Bengal, in his first broadcast from Calcutta, declared: "We are determined to succeed and we are going to succeed, in averting the famine of 1944."

The Federation of Indian Association in Great Britain, in a Press statement in London, "deplored the decision of the war office in imprisoning Mr. Suresh Vaidya and in not accepting his plea that his political conviction was a matter of conscience with him."

2nd. The Maharaja of Burdwan, in his presidential address to the annual meeting of the British Indian Association, made reference to the food situation in Bengal.—The control prices of rice, he said, were 300% higher than the pre-war prices and were beyond the purchasing power of the lower middle classes.

A Press communique from New Delhi said—"In order to give practical shape to their intention to safeguard the interests of producers while enforcing a strict policy of statutory price control in the interests of consumers, the Government of India decided to announce their willingness to accept all wheat of average quality offered for sale in the main assembling markets of the Punjab, U. P. and Sind, at a price of Rs. 7-8 per md., should prices fall."

At the annual general meeting in New Delhi of the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Association, All-India and Burma, Mr. Anthony, President-in-chief emphasized the fact, that after a long time, the Association was treading steadily the road to financial stability and strength.

3rd. The Central Legislative Assembly concluded the debate on the Income-tax Amendment Bill and passed it.

In the Central Assembly, the House passed without a division the Law Member's motion that the Bill to codify the Hindu Law relating to marriage be referred to a joint committee of both Houses.

- 4th. The Council of State adopted a motion moved by Mr. Lal, Secretary, legislative Department, concurring in the resolution passed in the legislative Assembly recommending that the Bill to codify the Hindu Law relating to marriages be referred to a joint committee of the members of both Houses.

A Press Note from New Delhi stated, "Invitations on behalf of His Majesty's Government are being extended to seven Indian Scientists to visit England for six weeks to meet and have discussions with various scientific bodies."

- 5th. In the Central Legislative Assembly, Sir John Thorne, in reply to Mr. J. J. Krishnamachari, said that 115 persons detained by or at the instance of "the Central Government or under orders of Chief Commissioners had been told the grounds for their detention as required by Ordinance III of 1944. He had no separate information about members of the All-India Congress Committee.

The Central Assembly concluded discussion on the U. N. R. R. A. Agreement and passed the following motion:—"This Assembly approves of the U. N. R. R. A. Agreement signed in Washington on November 9, 1943. In expressing its approval this Assembly recommends that any area important to military operations of the United Nations which is stricken by famine or disease should be included in the benefits to be made available by the U. N. R. R. A."

The Council of State debated a motion approving the U. N. R. R. A. Agreement signed at Washington on November 9, 1943.

A Government Press Note said: "Representatives of Muslim League, Hindu Mahasabha, Congress, Communists, Labour organizations and the Radical Democratic Party are to be included in the Food Committees, which are being set up throughout Bengal, to secure the co-operation of all sections of the people at every stage of allocation and distribution of supplies, as well as in the task of general relief and rehabilitation."

Srimati Kamala Devi, President-elect and members of the Standing Committee of the All-India Women's Conference were accorded a civic reception in Bombay.

- 6th. Mr. Amery, Secretary for India, replied in the House of Commons to a question by Mr. Sorenson (Lab.) who wanted to know if adequate preparations had been made to avoid the possibility of a recurrence of grave food shortage and famine in India. He said inter alia: "Although rice will be in short supply in Malabar, the Deccan and Bombay, no serious shortage is anticipated... The situation depends largely on what proportion of crops the Government of India can procure and distribute."

The Council of State passed Mr. P. N. Saprú's resolution recommending immediate steps to secure the withdrawal of the Regulations restricting the entry of Indian immigrants into Kenya.

- 7th. Sir Tej Bahadur Saprú, in the course of his Presidential address at the third meeting of the Non-Party Leaders' Conference at Lucknow, observed: "That there is deep resentment and a keen sense of frustration at large, I have not the least doubt. That it is unwise in the larger and abiding interest of India and England to allow the present State of things to continue in the provinces any longer, I am equally clear. It is absurd to mortgage the future of this country by planning post-war reconstruction and development schemes without giving the duly elected Legislatures a fair and free chance of expressing themselves on the expediency or desirability or feasibility of those plans, however well meant they may be."

- 8th. Srimati Kamaladevi Chattopadhyá, presiding over the annual session of the All-India Women's Conference in Bombay, declared: "The entrance of women into extra-domestic activities has to be welcomed, for it provides a wider field for their talents, breaks the relative segregation of women as a sex and relaxes the restrictions that otherwise narrow their functions."

Dr. N. C. Sengupta, presiding over the Bengal and Assam Lawyers' Conference in Calcutta, urged the separation of the judiciary from the Executive.

The release of all political anti-Fascist prisoners throughout India was urged in a resolution adopted at a Conference of the Co-operative Party (London) under the Chairmanship of Mr. Alfred Barnes, Labour Member for East Ham.

The Easter session of the Indian Academy of Sciences was held at the University Building at Chhapauk.

Sir Ohhotu Ram, addressing the annual session of the All-India Jat Mahasabha at Lyallpur, replied to the criticism of the Jat Mahasabha by Mr. Jinnah in his speeches at Lahore.

The South African Hindu Conference was held at Maritzburg, under the auspices of the South African Hindu Mahasabha. It was attended by 300 delegates representing all Hindu religions and educational institutions throughout the country.

- 9th. Presiding over a Pakistan Conference at Gaya, Sir Nazimuddin, Chief Minister of Bengal, said that Britain, which had accepted and conceded the principle of Pakistan for India, would be forced to concede the Muslim demand in full, in view of having to recognize similar demands from other parts of the world.

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, in an interview at Shimoga, said : "There is a general idea that the States, particularly, Hindu States, are a kind of impediment in the way of progress. That idea, to my mind is, under the present circumstances absolutely incorrect and harmful." He added that the Hindu States were centres of power of Hindudom.

- 10th. At a Press Conference in Calcutta, Mr. Tamizuddin Khan, Education Minister, Bengal Government, explained the main provisions of the Secondary Education Bill which the Government proposed to introduce *de novo* in the Bengal Assembly.

The Commonwealth Conference concluded in London, after passing a resolution reaffirming its belief that Mr. Gandhi's immediate release would be a demonstration of the British Government's goodwill.

Presiding over the 2nd. session of the All-India Brahmin Conference at Amritsar, Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji, Vice-Chancellor of the Lucknow University, said that the Punjab was the home of vedic culture. He added that India had always remained a single unit and was indivisible.

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, declaring open the first session of the All-India States Hindu Mahasabha Conference in Yadunagar, made a passionate and spirited appeal for consolidating all Hindu States in India which were great sources of strength to the Hindus.

- 11th. At an informal conference of Hindu leaders at Lahore, a resolution was adopted making a call to the Hindus of the Punjab to close their ranks and to see that no support direct or indirect was given to the formation of a Muslim League Ministry in the province.

Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, ex-Premier of Bengal, in a statement welcomed the decision to call a conference in Delhi of Nationalist Muslims from all over India on May 6, 7 and 8 to consider the situation in the country.

The South African Hindu Mahasabha Conference by a large majority passed a resolution asking that priests who performed Hindu marriages be given legal power to register marriages in the same way as priests of the religions.

- 12th. Mr. Clarkson, Minister for the Interior, in the Union Assembly (S. Africa) said that it was necessary for S. Africans to have a true perspective of the position of Indians and Europeans in Natal.

- 13th. The death occurred at his Calcutta residence of Mr. Prafulla Kumar Sarkar, Editor of the "Ananda Bazar Patrika" and a director of that journal and the "Hindusthan Standard."

- 14th. Is the hoisting of the Congress flag illegal ? The point was raised by Mr. M. B. Ahmad, I.C.S., Sessions Judge, Fyzabad, in ordering the retrieval of R. S. Dhagat, a Congressman, who had been sentenced to one year R. I. and a fine of Rs. 200 for hoisting Congress flags over the Gandhi Ashram at Akbarpur.

- 15th. More than 300 Indian soldiers who had been prisoners of war in German and Italian hands returned to India.

- 16th. The annual general meeting of the Bengal Provincial Hindu Mahasabha began in Calcutta. Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee presided.

The Mahasabha spent Rs. 5,52,449-10-8 and distributed about 32,445 mds. of foodgrains besides Rs. 64,247-2-10 worth of cloths and blankets, Rs. 9,440 worth of yarn and Rs. 12,000 worth of medicines apart from 500,000 quinine tablets.



They directly maintained 227 centres in 24 districts in Bengal, serving 107,727 persons.

In the course of his presidential address at Jubbulpore, to the All-India Muslim Educational Conference, Sir Azizul Haque, Industries and Civil Supplies Member, Government of India, said : "The establishment of an institute of science and technology at Aligarh was recommended by a committee of which Prof A. V. Hill, Sir Ziauddin, Sir Shanti Swarup Bhatnagar were among members."

- 17th. The meeting of the Congress leaders and workers released from jail began at Lucknow, Babu Sampurnanand, ex-Education Minister, U. P. was in the chair.—Dr. N. K. Katju moved the resolution relating to Japanese inroads into Assam, which ran as follows :

"This meeting views the inroads made by the Japanese troops into Assam with great concern. It expresses its sympathies for the people of Assam who already afflicted by famine have now to suffer the hardships and ordeal of invasion... While reiterating the Congress attitude towards imperialism, this meeting expresses confidence, that, despite all difficulties and impediments, the people of Assam will resist the Japanese attack with all the strength at their command. The Congress has always stood against all aggression and is committed to the defence of the country under all circumstances."

A Government of India Resolution, accepting certain cuts made by the Assembly in the Budget, said inter alia :

"The amendments to the Finance Bill will not result in any material alteration of the estimates for 1944-45 as previously adopted and no change has accordingly been made therein.

"In the net result, the net estimated revenue deficit for the year 1944-45 has not undergone any change."

A meeting at Caxton Hall (London) organized by the "Free India Now" movement passed the following resolution :

"This meeting of Indians and British sympathisers, in view of the present crisis, demands the immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners in order that they may take the lead in forming a National Government on the basis of the complete independence of India."

In the Bengal Legislative Council, the Agriculture Minister, Khan Bahadur S. M. Hossain, explained Government's policy regarding the "Grow More Food" campaign, answering questions on the subject.

A resolution, proclaiming that Indian people under national leader alone can effectively rally India's strength for her defence and survival and demanding the release of all political prisoners so that a National Government can be formed, was passed at a meeting of Indian workers in East London.

Maulana Obeidullah, Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Sind Jamiat-ul-ulema said at Karachi : "My head and heart are not like those of many other Indian Muslims. I think on the lines of citizens of present day European countries."

- 18th. Mr. Amery told Parliament that the whole campaign for creating mass sabotage and for paralysing the activities of the Government of India was almost certainly one for which Congress leaders were responsible.

At the meeting of the released Congress leaders at Lucknow, Dr. Katju in moving the resolution expressing concern at the Japanese threat to Assam referred to the resignation of Congress Ministries and said that its main cause was that Indians were not consulted by the British Government on the question of India's active participation in the war against the aggressors in Europe.—The Congress made it clear that they had no sympathy for the aggressors, be they Japanese, Germans or Italians. That had been always their view and that view prevailed to-day.

Mr. N. R. Sarker, presiding at a meeting in Calcutta, said that any plan of reconstruction would require a great measure of interference by the State in the economic life of the individual, and such interference could be justified, and would be tolerated, only where people had implicit confidence in the Government and believed that this would lead rapidly and effectively to the goal of "Four Freedoms" for India.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, reference to Government relief measures for destitutes among Scheduled Castes was made when the Revenue Minister said that the Government had not so far received any specific complaint.

The Bengal Legislative Council considered the Embankment (Amendment) Bill. A Press communique from New Delhi said that "The National Defence Council" met at the Viceroy's House. His Excellency the Viceroy presided.

A report from Johannesburg stated : "An important decision affecting the Indian Pegging Act has been taken as the result of discussions between the Prime Minister and Minister of the Interior on the one hand, and a deputation from Natal which included members of the Natal Indian Congress.

- 19th. In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, a proposal to give the Bengal Government discretionary power to grant relief to companies that would be liable to double taxation under the Agricultural Income-tax Bill, was discussed, when the debate on the Bill was resumed.

Mr. B. G. Khaparde, President, All-India States Hindu Mahasabha and Vice-President, Hindu Mahasabha issued a statement re : Sir Azizul Haque's remarks in the course of his address to the All India Muslim Educational Conference. He said : "That a member of the Government of India should go out of his way to discuss politics when speaking on education and that a person of Sir Azizul Haque's standing and status should make these absurd statements and that the Viceroy and the Government of India should allow this, to pass unnoticed and give latitude for deepening the present political bitterness is to be deeply regretted, but there it is."

Dr. C. Vijayaraghavachariar, former President of the Indian National Congress and All-India Hindu Mahasabha passed away at Salem.

- 20th. In the House of Commons, in reply to Mr. Sorenson re : U. N. R. R. A. Mr. Amery said that the decision as to what matters should be discussed at the meeting of the Council of the U. N. R. R. A. did not rest with the British Government.

The Bengal Legislative Assembly accepted by 110 votes to 75 an amendment, moved by Mr. J. R. Walker, Deputy leader of the European party, seeking to give Government discretionary power to grant relief to companies that would be liable to double taxation under the Agricultural Income-Tax Bill.

Mr. Gopinath Bardoloi, ex-Premier of Assam, in an interview at Gauhati, said, "The fact that the Japs have set their foot on Indian soil makes it more imperative on the part of the British Government to change their adamant policy. Any further delay by the Government would profit none."

Mr. Amery told the House of Commons that inquiries were being made regarding the protest of certain British correspondents in India against suppression of their reports.

- 21st. In the Bengal Legislative Assembly there was a discussion regarding the suspension of the realization of the education cess in Chittagong Division.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, 2 Non-official Bills came up for consideration. One was the Orphanages and Widows' Homes Bill (as passed by the Assembly) and the other the Amusement House Smoke Nuisance Prevention Bill.

The Chief Minister announced in the Bengal Assembly : "Sanction to the full payment of the amount recommended by the Bengal Government as compensation for damage to property caused by aeroplane accidents that took place in Kidderpore in May last has now been received from the Government of India".

- 22nd. A proposal urging the application of the Bengal Government's communal ratio rules to all administrative and ministerial appointments of the University of Calcutta was rejected by the Senate of the University by 31 votes to 13.

Sadar Harnam Singh, President, Central Sikh League, and several other Sikh members of the Punjab Assembly issued the following statement : "We have followed the controversy between the Unionists and the Muslim League. The situation vitally affects the Sikh Community. We, therefore, wish to make it clear that notwithstanding our differences with the Unionist Party we are opposed to the formation of a Muslim League Coalition Ministry in the Punjab and expect that no Sikh member of the Assembly, including the present Sikh Minister, will join the Muslim League Coalition Ministry."

- 23rd. The Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, communicated an order of the Bengal Government to the Governing Committee of the Brojamohan College, Barisal, that unless they removed from the staff of the College, Prof. Miss Santisudha Ghosh, Prof. Prafulla Chakravarty and Prof. Sudhir, the Government's grant-in-aid would be stopped,

24th. The Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri in a press interview (in Madras) referring to the move to replace the "Pegging" Act by an Ordinance of the Natal Administration, asked : "Is this anything more than face-saving?"—"It is too soon to rejoice. My experience of the way in which colour prejudice works out in S. Africa does not enable me to be sanguine of the result."

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the Secondary Education Bill was formally introduced.

25th. Khan Bahadur G. A. Dossani, presiding at the annual meeting of the Muslim Chamber of Commerce in Calcutta, said : "Outside Calcutta, it is difficult to procure salt at any reasonable price."

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the second reading of the Agricultural Income-Tax Bill was concluded when practically the entire proceedings were devoted to the considerations of the schedule laying down the rate of taxation.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, the Embankment Bill was passed without any modification.

Dr. B. S. Moonji, in his Presidential address at the Baroda State Hindu Conference, said : "I ask Hindus to be united and to be continuously on the alert because no nation or no community can live or thrive which is not on the alert to defend itself when attacked."

26th. It was officially announced at Lahore that under the orders of the Governor of the Punjab, Captain Sardar Shankat Hyat Khan had been dismissed from his office of Minister, Punjab Government.

The third reading of the Agricultural Income-Tax Bill began in the Bengal Legislative Assembly.

Mr. Churchill told the House of Commons that not only the Secretary of State for India but Sir Firoz Khan Noon and the Maharaja of Kashmir would both be present at the meeting of the Dominion Prime Ministers in London.

27th. The Secretary of State for India, Mr. Amery, made a statement in the House of Commons on the duties of Gen. Auchinleck, C-in-C, India. He said : "Gen. Auchinleck is C-in-C, of H. M.'s forces in India and is War Member of the Governor-General's Executive Council.....In the latter capacity he speaks on behalf of the Government of India in the Indian Legislature in respect of military matters and on the war itself as it affects India."

The Bengal Legislative Assembly passed the Agricultural Income-Tax Bill.

The Indian Information Service of the State Department ( Washington ), observed : "By the end of this year India expects to have given the U. S. A. Rs. 79,21,88,000 worth of goods and services through reciprocal aid."

The Jinnah-Khizr Hyat Khan talks finally broke down at Lahore.

28th. The Bombay Government issued the following communique : "Although Mr. Gandhi has no recurrence of fever he has not recovered from his recent attack as well as was hoped. His general condition is weak and is causing some anxiety."

Dr. Meghnad Saha, presiding at the All-Bengal College and University Teachers' Conference at Howrah, made an appeal to Government to drop the Secondary Education Bill and to call a conference of educationists to examine its provisions from the point of view of pure educational reforms.

29th. A Bombay Government Communique said : "Mr. Gandhi was examined today by Major General Candy, I. M. S., Surgeon-General to the Government of Bombay. His report shows that Mr. Gandhi's condition has shown a fair degree of improvement since yesterday. As a result of his recent attack of Malaria, he has still a considerable degree of anaemia and his blood pressure reached very low levels, but since yesterday they have improved substantially. He is in good spirits. He has been advised to take more nourishment and tonics."

His Excellency Mr. R. G. Casey, Governor of Bengal, at a press conference in New Delhi, said that he had already expressed in his broadcast a large measure of confidence as to the non-recurrence of famine in 1944. He had said by way of qualification, that every section of the community in Bengal should play up.

30th. A Bombay Government Communique said : "Mr. Gandhi's condition has continued to improve. No further bulletin will be issued unless necessary..... Dr. B. C. Roy, who happens to be passing through Poona, has made a request to be allowed to examine Mr. Gandhi and this request has been granted."

The Punjab Muslim League Conference adopted a resolution relating to the dismissal of capt. Shaukat Hyat Khan from the Punjab Ministry.

Sardar Baldev Singh, in a statement on the Punjab Ministerial development said : "To divide the people of this province by aggravating communal bitterness at this time would be a positive danger to all concerned."

## May 1944

Mahatma Gandhi was released unconditionally. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, in a statement on Mahatma Gandhi's release, said : "He ought not to have been arrested at all and the Government have set right a grave act of injustice.

Prayers were offered for the speedy recovery of Mahatma Gandhi at meetings held in various parts of the country.

The issues in dispute between the Government and the oppositionists over the Bengal Secondary Education Bill were discussed round-the-table in Calcutta with representatives on either side.

Mr. L. S. Amery, replying to a question re : scope of the Conference of Dominion Premiers, particularly with reference to India, said : The proceedings of the Conference of Dominion Prime Ministers are confidential."

Mrs. Durga Prasad, the dismissed Lady Superintendent, Lahore Corporation Girls' Schools, was reinstated under the order of the Punjab Government.

With reference to the reply of Mr. Jinnah to the Hindu Ministers of the Punjab, Dr. B. S. Moonje, Vice-President of the Hindu Mahasabha, characterized it as "arrogant and insulting."

Nationalist Muslims in New Delhi passed a resolution asking for the formation of a National Government.

Mr. Amery stated in the House of Commons that Mr. Gandhi was released solely on medical grounds.

H. H. the Aga Khan, in a message to the people of India, expressed his confidence in the sense of justice of the British people in dealing with Indian wishes and claims.

Dr. Jivraj Mehta, Mr. D. Patel and Mr. J. P. Hutheesing were released unconditionally.

In a letter released for publication, Mahatma Gandhi wrote to Mr. Jinnah, "why should not both you and I approach the great question of communal unity as men determined on finding a common solution."

Khan Bahadur Hashem Ali Khan, presiding over a meeting in Calcutta, held under the joint auspices of the Bengal Provincial League-a-Basul and the Jamiat-ul-ulema, said : "Pakistan is a negation of Islamic principles."

In the House of Commons, the question of responsibility for the censorship of private letters was raised by Mr. W. Astor (Con.).

Mr. L. S. Amery, replying to a letter written to him by several Labour M. P.'s, said ; "Mr. Gandhi's release was not effected with the intention of releasing other Congress leaders."

His Excellency the Governor-General decided to extend the life of the existing Council of State and Legislative Assembly for a further period of one year from October 1.

The Delhi Provincial Jamiat-ul-ulema adopted a resolution demanding the immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners.

The U. P. Government promulgated a Restriction of Food Consumption Order, 1944.

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, donated a sum of Rs. 50,000 for the propagation of Hindu Sangathan movement.

1st. Dr. B. C. Roy went to the Aga Khan Palace and examined Mahatma Gandhi. Malik Khizr Hyat Khan, Premier of the Punjab, in a press statement from Lahore, contradicted Capt. Shaukat Hyat Khan's statement that he had given to the Premier his resignation a week before his dismissal.

2nd. The Government of Bombay issued the following communique on Mahatma Gandhi's health: "Dr. B. C. Roy, who examined Mr. Gandhi, yesterday, has submitted a report to the Government which suggests that the improvement observed by Maj. General Candy on Saturday has not been wholly maintained. Although there is no recurrence of fever and Mr. Gandhi is in cheerful spirit, the level of blood pressure cannot be regarded as satisfactory. A further examination by specialists is being carried out."

The stand taken up by Mr. Jinnah during the talks with the Punjab Premier in connection with his proposal to form a League Coalition Ministry in the Punjab was explained in a statement issued by him in reply to the statement issued by the non-Muslim Ministers.

3rd. The Government of Bombay issued the following communique: "There has been some worsening of Mr. Gandhi's anaemic condition and his blood pressure has fallen further. His general condition is again giving rise to some anxiety."

Capt. Shaukat Hyat Khan, in a Press statement, contradicted the Punjab Premier's statement on his (Capt. Hyat Khan's) dismissal from the Punjab Cabinet.

The issue in dispute between the Government and Oppositionists over the Bengal Secondary Education Bill, were discussed round-the-table in Calcutta. Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee and four others represented the Opposition, while the Chief Minister and four of his colleagues in the cabinet attended on behalf of the Government.

4th. Sir N. N. Sircar, Sir B. P. Singh Roy, Sir Badridas Goenka, Mr. N. R. Sarker and Mr. G. D. Birla sent a telegram to the Private Secretary to the Viceroy, appealing to His Excellency to release Mahatma Gandhi immediately "in view of his continued illness which is causing serious anxiety all over the country."

Appropos of a resolution of the Central Standing Committee of the All-India Shia Political Conference authorizing its President to negotiate with Mr. Jinnah on the question of the Shias' place in the scheme of Pakistan as formulated by the Muslim League, Mr. Mirza Zafar Hossain, Secretary of the Conference, said that the resolution by no way meant that the Shias wanted to accept Pakistan. The conference simply wanted to know, should the Pakistan scheme of the League materialize, what would be the status of the Shias therein, he added.

Mr. Amery, replying to a question in the House of Commons, as to what political, economic or other questions affecting India would be considered at the Conference of Dominion Premiers, said: "The proceedings of the Conference of Dominion Prime Ministers are confidential and I am not in a position to make any statement on the subject matter or discussion."

5th. Mrs. Durga Prasad, Lady Superintendent, Lahore Corporation Girls' Schools whose dismissal by Mr. Shaukat Hyat Khan was stated to be responsible for his dismissal from Ministership, was reinstated under the order of the Punjab Government.

6th. A Press Communique was issued from New Delhi, which stated: "In view of the medical reports of Mr. Gandhi's health, Government have decided to release him unconditionally. This decision has been taken solely on medical grounds...." "The release takes place at 8 p.m., May 6."

The Central Standing Committee of the All-India Shia Political Conference, which met at Lucknow under the presidentship of Syed Ali Zaheer M. L. C. (U.P.) passed a resolution disapproving of the continuance of Government under Sec.

93 in certain provinces and urging the formation of a national government at the centre.

7th. "Mr. Gandhi's condition remains much the same," said a bulletin on his health issued by Dr. Sushila Nayar.

Interviewed at Madras on Mahatma Gandhi's release, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari said: "It would be small mindedness to belittle the nobility of the step taken by the British Government. Those who commit faults are not always inclined to correct them, and when such an event occurs, it would be wrong not to appreciate it in the fullest measure."

8th. In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, consideration of the Secondary Education Bill was delayed by a day.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, in a statement from Allahabad on Mahatma Gandhi's release, said: "I am greatly relieved to learn that Mahatma Gandhi has been released unconditionally. He ought not to have been arrested at all and the Government have set right a grave act of injustice."

Prayers were offered for the speedy recovery of Mahatma Gandhi at meetings held in various parts of the country.

In a statement on Mr. Jinnah's reply to the Hindu Ministers of the Punjab in connexion with the Jinnah-Khizr Hyat Khan talks, Dr. B. S. Moonje, Vice-President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha said that the Sabha would have to consider the situation and take action. The Minister had the backing of the entire body of Hindus of the province, so that they could be depended upon to act suitably "to repel the attacks of Mr. Jinnah." He characterised Mr. Jinnah's reply to the Ministers' as "arrogant and insulting."

The All-Kerala Kisan Conference held its session at Calicut.

Nationalist Muslims in New Delhi, passed a resolution asking for the formation of a National Government and setting out the fundamental consideration on which the communal problem could be solved.

9th. Dr. Sushila Nayar issued a bulletin from Poona saying, "Mahatma Gandhi had a restful day yesterday."

Allama Mashriqui, the Khaksar leader, in a letter to Mr. Jinnah urged the League President to see Mahatma Gandhi to explore the possibility by a settlement between the League and the Congress.

The Council for International Recognition of Indian Independence issued the following statement: "The release of Mr. Gandhi will be welcomed by all upon humanitarian grounds but will be meaningless and futile in the political sense unless it is followed immediately by the release of all Congress leaders unconditionally for the purpose of achieving political settlement in India."

"The Muslim League has never been against the release of Mahatma Gandhi," declared Mr. G. M. Syed, President of the Sind Provincial Muslim League.

10th. In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the Education Minister in moving the first reading of the Secondary Education Bill declared: "The principles and provisions of the Secondary Education Bill are of a fundamentally progressive character which will greatly help to accelerate the educational regeneration of his province, it is fraught with immense possibilities."

Calcutta Street accidents formed a series of questions in the Bengal Legislative Council.

11th. In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the Secondary Education Bill was hotly discussed. The opposition moved amendments seeking circulation of the Bill to elicit public opinion.

Mr. Amery stated in the House of Commons that Mr. Gandhi was released solely on medical grounds.

At the session of the 34th. Provincial Educational Conference at Annamalai-nagar, a resolution urging on the Government "the extreme urgency of their taking decisions on the proposals made in the Sargent report, so as to enable the necessary legislation being undertaken by competent authorities without any loss of time," was unanimously passed.

12th. A Bill to promote the breeding of fish, sponsored by Mr. Ahmed Hossain (Muslim League), was referred to a Select Committee by the Bengal Assembly.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, seven non-official Bills, including the Anti-Dowry Bill, the Suppression of Immoral Traffic Bill, the Court of Wards Bill were dealt with.

Mr. M. S. Aney, the Government of India's representative in Ceylon, was entertained at a party by the Indians Overseas Central Association.

- 13th. A statement protesting against the Bengal Secondary Education Bill and urging its withdrawal was issued by Hindu elected members of the Central Legislature from Bengal, including Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta and Dr. P. N. Banerjea, leader of the Assembly Nationalist Party.

H. H. the Aga Khan gave a message to the people of India from Switzerland : "I have full confidence that the British people will deal justly with such Indian wishes and claims as have general support from Indian opinion irrespective of faith and race."

- 14th. Mr. G. M. Syed, speaking at the annual meeting of the Sind Muslim League at Karachi, said : "The jealousies of power politics and the struggle for seats and offices should give place to a single ideal of service for its own sake ; otherwise there is danger of friction and disintegration setting in within the organization."

Khan Bahadur Sheikh Mohamad Jan, General Secretary of the All-India Muslim Majlis, in a statement to the press in Calcutta, on the meeting of Nationalist Muslims in Delhi, said that it rendered a distinct service to the country in general and the Mussalmans of India in particular when it formed the Muslim Majlis on an all-India basis.

- 15th. Mahatma Gandhi in a telegram replying to Allama Mashriqui, the Khaksar leader, who had suggested that Congress and Muslim League leaders should meet to explore the possibility of settlement, said : "My last year's request to Quaide-i-Azam Jinnah still stands, and I will be ready to discuss the question of Hindu-Muslim understanding as soon as I get better."

Dr. Jivraj Mehta, Dr. Dahyabhai Patel and Mr. J. P. Hutheesing were released unconditionally. Dr. Mehta and Mr. Hutheesing had already been released on parole on medical grounds.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, Opposition amendments pressing for circulation of the Secondary Education Bill were discussed.

The Committee of Action of the All-India Muslim League decided to extend up to May 22, the time given to Malik Khizr Hyat Khan, Premier of the Punjab, to explain his position with regard to the points raised in Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan's letter to him.

- 16th. Mahatma Gandhi had a good night's sleep, according to the bulletin on his health issued by Dr. M. D. D. Gilder and Dr. Sushila Nayar. His condition remained much the same.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the discussion on the motions for the circulation of the Secondary Education Bill was continued.

Mr. Amery, Secretary of State for India, replying to the suggestion that he should set up a University Grants Committee in India, said in the House of Commons : "Except in relation to the Universities of Benares and Aligarh, University education is a Provincial subject and it would not, therefore, be within my powers to act as suggested. A proposal of this kind is, however, contained in the recent report of the Educational Adviser to the Government of India on post-war educational development in India. Under the present Constitution this proposal could only be implemented by an agreement between the Provincial Governments."

- 17th. In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the Opposition moved five amendments to refer the Secondary Education Bill to a select committee.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, the Agriculture Minister, Khan Bahadur S. M. Hossain, replying to a question by Mr. Nur Ahmed said that about Rs. 85,77,000 had been spent in 1943-44 on the "Grow More Food" Campaign in the province. The Central Government had advanced on interest-free loan of Rs. 62,15,000 and made a grant of Rs. 3,85,950 to finance partly the projects undertaken by the Bengal Government in furtherance of the campaign.

Mr. A. M. Khwaja, in his first statement as President of the newly formed All-India Muslim Majlis, gave an account of why Muslim Nationalists decided to form a distinct party of their own.

- 18th. A letter written by Mahatma Gandhi to Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the Muslim League on May 4, 1943, was released for publication. It stated : "Why should not both you and I approach the great question of communal unity as men determined on finding a common solution and work together to make one solution workable to all concerned who are interested in it."

The suggestion that a new approach to the solution of the Indian problem should be made was put forward by Mr. Shinwell (Lab) in the House of Commons, when he asked Mr. Amery. "Has he observed the reports in the Press indicating that there is a changed feeling in India due to the temporary release of Mr. Gandhi and that indications have also been given that Mr. Gandhi is willing to meet leaders of the Muslim Party.".....Mr. Amery replied : "If that were the situation, I am sure the Viceroy would take advantage of it."

- 19th. The Bengal Legislative Council decided to present an address to the Governor requesting him "to urge upon the Government of India to allow, during the period of war, manufacture of salt even by indigenous methods in cottages in any quantity in any part of the province."

In the House of Commons, the question of responsibility for the censorship of private letters in India was raised by Mr. W. Astor (C) who asked whether Mr. Amery was satisfied that letters were not censored on any other grounds than those of military security.—Mr. Amery replied : "Responsibility for the postal and telegraphic censorship of correspondence entering or leaving India has been entrusted by the Government of India to the C. in C, India. It is exercised on grounds of military security in the broad sense of the term, that is to say in the general interest of national defence or public safety."

Khan Bahadur Hashem Ali Khan, ex-Minister, Bengal, presiding at a meeting held in Calcutta, under the joint auspices of the Bengal Provincial League-a-Rasul and the Jamiat-ul-ulema, said : "Pakistan is a negation of Islamic principles."

Mahatma Gandhi visited the scene of explosions and fires in Bombay. He spent over an hour in the area and returned to Juhu.

- 20th. A resolution condemning the Bengal Secondary Education Bill and urging Government to drop it was passed at a women's meeting in the Ashutosh Hall, Calcutta University. Lady Abala Bose presided.

A letter sent to the Secretary of State for India by a group of Labour Members of the British Parliament, said : "The way to National Government will surely be opened, we firmly believe, if Messrs. Gandhi, Jinnah and other leaders are allowed to have free discussions to come to some agreement among themselves."

The Orissa Government decided to raise the status of the Orissa Medical School, Cuttack, to that of a Medical College with a five-year course.

- 21st. Sir C. R. Reddy, in an article under the caption, "Morality, Malaria and Gandhi's release," analysed the Indian political situation with particular reference to the Congress attitude to it.

Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan returned from Chungking to Calcutta, after a short visit to China at the invitation of the Chinese Government.

- 22nd. Mr. L. S. Amery, replying to a letter written to him by Mr. William Dobbie and other labour M. P.'s said : "Mr. Gandhi's release was not effected with the intention of releasing other Congress leaders."

A Communique from New Delhi, said : "The Governor-General has decided to extend the life of the existing Council of State and Legislative Assembly for a further period of one year from October 1, when the extension effected in his order dated May 29, 1943, will expire."

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, shortage of fish supplies in Calcutta and other urban areas formed the subject of a series of questions, when the Agriculture Minister said that the position was due to difficulties of transport and supply of ice.

- 23rd. The following bulletin was issued by Doctors Gilder and Sushila Nayar on Mahatma Gandhi's health : "Gandhiji had a restful night and he is feeling better."

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, a counter-demand for the constitution of a separate Secondary Education Board on non-communal lines was made by Rai Harendranath Chowdhury ( non-official Congress ) when discussion of the Secondary Education Bill was resumed.

Addressing the East India Association in London, Mr. John Sargent, Educational Adviser to the Government of India, said : "I am old enough in Government service to realise that almost anybody who is not mentally defective and some of those who are, can produce a report of some kind. What matters and what is more difficult in India than elsewhere is to translate the report into action. My experience in India has shown me that a report is only too often treated as an alternative to action."



24th. In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, an appeal to Government to refer the Secondary Education Bill to a select committee and in the meanwhile arrive at an understanding with Calcutta University, was made by the Opposition.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, the discussion on the Agricultural Income-Tax was continued.

25th. It was announced at a Sikh dewan held at the Guruka Bagh, Amritsar that there was a reconciliation between Akalis and Kisans.

The Bengal Legislative Council rejected without division a motion to refer the Agricultural-Income-Tax Bill, as passed by the Assembly, to a committee of the whole chamber.

Sir C. R. Reddy, Vice-chancellor of the Andhra University, in a statement to the Associated Press in Madras, asked : "Do Government want the deadlock to be resolved ? Or do they desire its indefinite prolongation ? What is the position of the Government." He said the August Resolution was not an individual confession of faith or want of faith in Government but a collective resolution sponsored by the Working Committee. Should not therefore the Working Committee be set free to confer and review ?

Dr. Khan Sahib, ex-premier, N. W. F. P., in a Press Statement at Peshawar, said : "It will be a very happy moment when Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah came to an agreement for the solution of the question of Hindu Muslim Unity."

26th. The President of the Board of Education, Mr. Richard Butler, presiding at a meeting of the East India Association (London), addressed by the Educational Adviser to the Government of India, Mr. John Sargent, said : "India's ancient traditions should give hope that we will make a successful start in educational reconstruction for India. Is it too much to hope that we may see produced a synthesis of the ideas of Macaulay and Warren Hastings ?

In the Bengal Legislative Council, the Education Minister, Mr. Tamizuddin Khan, announced that Government was now considering a scheme involving several crores of rupees for promoting educational welfare of different communities in the province. The educationally backward communities would be particularly benefitted by the scheme which they hoped to give effect to after the war.

27th. A Press note from New Delhi, said : "To supplement the food requirements of urban areas, the Government of India have decided to launch schemes to increase the production and supply of fish as part of their "Grow More Food Campaign."

The death occurred in Calcutta of Maharaja Sashikanta Acharya of Mymensingh. He represented the Dacca Division landholders in the Bengal Assembly.

28th. Mr. Syed Abdulla Brelvi, presiding over the Civil Liberties Conference at Indore, said : "In the present circumstances of our country, there are few more urgent and important tasks facing us than that of preserving, safeguarding and securing as many civil liberties as possible ; because civil liberties are to a nation what the breath of life is to an individual".

The death occurred in Calcutta of Mr. S. C. Mukerji, a leading member of the Bengali Christian community and for many years president of the Indian Christian Association, Bengal.

29th. Mr. Rasoolkhan Pathan, presiding over the seventh session of the Baroda State Muslim Conference, said : "Pakistan is the symbol of Indian independence. It is very strange that after 5 years of explanation some people are yet asking for its clarification. Self-determination and distribution of provinces on a national basis is Pakistan".

Mahatma Gandhi broke his fortnight's silence. His doctors found good improvement in his health as a result of the silence.

29th. The Delhi Provincial Jamiat-ul-ulema Conference, which concluded its session in New Delhi, adopted a resolution demanding the immediate and unconditional release of all political detenus.

The U. P. Government promulgated a restriction of Food consumption order, 1944.

An increase of 30 p.c. in rice production and 50 p.c. in wheat production in India was envisaged by Dr. W. Burns, former Agricultural Commissioner with the Government of India.

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, donated a sum of Rs. 50,000 for the propagation of Hindu Sangathan movement, on the occasion of his 62nd birthday.

Mr. Narayana Reddi, presiding over the 4th Andhra Conference held at Bhongni, Hyderabad (Dn.), made a plea for the inclusion of representatives of the Andhra, Maharashtra, and Karnatak Conferences and the Ittihadus Muslim in the Nizam's Executive Council.

30th. Mahatma Gandhi paid a visit to Mr. Yusuf Meherally, ex-Mayor of Bombay, at Santa Cruz. Mahatma Gandhi spent 15 minutes with Mr. Meherally.

Mr. S. H. Prater, the Anglo-Indian leader, paid a visit to Mahatma Gandhi.

30th. Nawab Iftikar Hossain Khan of Mamdot, President, Punjab Muslim League, in a Press interview at Lahore, said: "What the country urgently needs now is the conclusion of a Gandhi-Jinnah Pact, or in other words a settlement between Hindus and Muslims which will be in the interest of all."

The Bengal Legislative Assembly devoted the entire meeting to discussion of the right of a Parliamentary Secretary to make a statement in the House explaining the circumstances leading to his resignation.

Sir Don Baron Jayatilaka, the representative of the Ceylon Government in India, died while on his way to Colombo from Delhi by plane.

## June 1944

Sir Prafulla Chandra Ray died in Calcutta on the 16th. June. The Bombay Government decided to distribute cloth from the stocks frozen by the Government.

Sir George Schuster, asked to state his views on the release of political prisoners, said: "(He) had confidence in Lord Wavell and hoped that, when the time came, the release would be granted without condition."

Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee, in a statement strongly criticized the Bengal Government's decision banning the Hindu Conference, which it was proposed to hold at Lora (Barisal).

Sir Ushanath Sen was appointed Chief Press Adviser.

The High Commissioner for the Commonwealth of Australia made a proposal for the exchange of University teachers and students between India and Australia.

Three Muslim Ministers of the Punjab severed their connexion with the Muslim League.

Mr. Amery, in reply to a question in the House of Commons, said: "The Government of India...are anxious to accord to correspondents the greatest possible freedom to transmit news and views on the situation in India."

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, an adjournment motion on the order of the Government banning the Hindu Conference at Lora, Barisal District, Faridpur and Jessore for the period from June to 2 to 16, was admitted.

At a Special Convocation, the Calcutta University conferred the honorary degree of D.Sc. on Dr. B. C. Roy.

The Government of India decided to grant a subvention of Rs. 10 crores to the Government of Bengal, in view of the abnormal expenditure they had to incur in combating the famine of 1943.

The correspondence between Mahatma Gandhi and the Viceroy was released for publication.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, a point was raised whether the provincial legislature was competent to impose a tax on agricultural income from lands issued by a Ruler of an Indian State in Bengal.

The U. S. Army authorities agreed to release on loan to the Bengal Government 10 motor tug launches, 10 "sea mules" and 20 wooden barges for use in connexion with the distribution of food in Bengal.

The Maharaja of Parlakimedi, Premier of Orissa, resigned.

The Government of India published a booklet, entitled "correspondence with Mr. Gandhi", containing letters exchanged between Mahatma Gandhi on the one side and Lord Linlithgow, Lord Wavell, Lord Samuel and the Home Department on the other side, during the period August 1942 and April 1944.

The Budget session of the Bengal Assembly was prorogued.

Twenty-seven Indian National leaders, in a joint manifesto on the food situation in India gave the British public a timely warning about the apathy displayed by the authorities at Whitehall.

1st. The Bombay Government decided to distribute cloth from the stocks frozen by the Government.

Sir George Schuster, ex-Finance Member, asked to state his view (in London) as to whether guarantees and pledges should be demanded of interned Congress leaders, said that he was able to appreciate the burden of responsibility which was resting on those concerned with the maintenance of law and order, but had confidence in Lord Wavell and hoped that, when the time came, the release would be granted without condition.

2nd. Discussing India's over population, the "*News Chronicle*" (London) said: "The facts are appalling. Where, with us, expectation of life at birth is some 62 years, in India it is 25 years. A third of the population is subject to chronic disease. A high proportion of it lives on the very verge of starvation....."

The urgency of India's economic needs makes it essential that the political deadlock should be ended. India will then be able to break the vicious circle of perennial insufficiency and want".

The Bengal Government's decision banning the Hindu Conference, which it was proposed to hold at Lora, Barisal, on 3rd and 4th June, was strongly criticized by Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee in a statement.

3rd. A Press Note from New Delhi, said: "Sir Ush Nath Sen has been appointed Chief Press Adviser with effect from June 1, 1944."

Sir Ardesahir Dalal, Member-Designate for Post-War Reconstruction in the Viceroy's Executive Council, in a Press interview in Bombay, said: "The object of the new Department of Planning and Development is to co-ordinate the various activities regarding post-war planning and reconstruction which are now going on in the various departments of the Government of India as well as under the Provincial Government."

A proposal for exchange of University teachers and students between India and Australia to promote knowledge, understanding and goodwill between the two countries was made by the High Commissioner for the Commonwealth of Australia in India.

Dr. N. B. Khare, Commonwealth Relations Member, Government of India, speaking at an inter-communal meeting at Simla, said: "So long as the right of citizenship are based on religion there will be communal bitterness in the country, unless this mentality disappears from the minds of the people, all effort to bring about communal harmony will fail."

4th. The All-India Kshatriya Conference took place at Motihari. Sir Vijay, President, referred to the Viceroy's address at the Central Legislature and referring to the Cripps Offer said: "To say that the Cripps offer to India still holds good and yet to deliberately prevent steps being taken for our leaders getting together even for discussion is a piece of political deception."

5th. Malik Khizr Hyat Khan, Premier of the Punjab, in a statement at Simla, said: "It is obvious that I have been expelled because I refused to accept Mr. Jinnah's demands which sought to end a state of affairs accepted by Mr. Jinnah and the League for more than six years."

6th. In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, a statement by Mr. Atul Kumar and Mr. Jatindra Nath Chakravarty, explaining the reasons for their resignation of

the office of Parliamentary Secretary, and a discussion whether the debate on the Secondary Education Bill which was closed on May 25, could be reopened were the features of the proceedings.

The Mysore Representative Assembly, which reassembled under the presidency of the Dewan, passed an adjournment motion brought by Mr. K. C. Reddy to raise a discussion on the difficulties caused by the working of the Mysore Paper Control (Economy) order, issued by the Government.

- 7th. Mrs. Rukmini Lakshmi pati, Vice-President and Mr. C. N. Muthuranga Mudaliar, Member of the Working Committee of the Tamilnad Congress Committee, issued the following statement: "We very much regret that the Commissioner of Police should have refused permission for holding a Conference of Congressmen of the Province in Madras. Our idea was to enable Congressmen from Andhra, Tamilnad and Kerala to meet together and to review the present political situation in the country, specially in view of the fact that Mahatma Gandhi has been released unconditionally."

The Mysore Representative Assembly devoted the whole of the day to a general discussion of the Budget.

- 8th. Three Muslim Ministers of the Punjab, namely, Mia Abdul Haya, Education Minister, Nawab Sir Mohammad Jamal Khan Leghari, Minister of Public Works, and Maj. Nawab Ashiq Husain, severed their connexion with the Muslim League.

Mr. Amery, replying to an inquiry in the House of Commons whether he could make a statement on the censorship of Press messages leaving India, said: "The Government of India have informed me that they are anxious to accord to correspondents the greatest possible freedom to transmit news and views on the situation in India."

Mr. Amery stated in the Commons, that the rationing of firewood in Madras City was a matter for the Madras Government and would not be ordinarily brought to his notice.

Mr. Amery, replying to a question about rationing in India, told the House of Commons: "Over 130 towns and more than 25,000,000 people are now rationed."

- 9th. In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, a non-official resolution recommending an inquiry into the working of the communal rules relating to Government appointments was taken up.

Dr. B. S. Moonje, addressing a public meeting in Madras, made an appeal to the Hindus to raise an army of not less than 15,000,000 for the British.

Nawabzada Khursid Ali Khan, Member of the Council of State, in a statement from Simla, congratulated Malik Khizr Hyat Khan, Premier of the Punjab "on the clear and unequivocal manner in which he has resisted the attempts of an alien authority to dictate the policy of his Province".

- 10th. Dr. B. C. Roy examined Mahatma Gandhi, (in Bombay), Dr. Gilder, Dr. Vaidya and Dr. Gajjan were present. A bulletin was issued stating, "I find Mr. Gandhi better now than I saw him at the Aga Khan palace before his release. His anaemic condition still persists."

The resignation from the Muslim League of three Punjab Muslim Ministers was interpreted at Lahore as completing the break-up of the Unionists from the League.

- 11th. A bulletin on Mahatma Gandhi's health, issued under the signature of Dr. B. C. Roy and 4 others said: "Mr. Gandhi's health has improved although not as rapidly as desired."

Mr. Mumtaz Daulatana, General Secretary, Punjab Muslim League, in a statement defining the League's attitude towards the war effort, said: "Both for ideological and practical reasons the Muslim League keenly and emphatically desires the victory of the allies over Germany, Japan and their satellites as early as possible."

Sir M. A. Muthiah Chettiar of Chettinad, presiding over the Silver Jubilee Celebrations of the Madras Piecegoods Merchants' Association in Madras, said that for the adequate clothing of the people of the province, the textile industry should be organized on a long range policy with the resources of the province fully husbanded and with the establishment of more weaving mills.

Nawabzada Khursid Ali Khan, member of the Council of State, in a statement from Simla asked: "Mr. Jinnah and his lieutenants are at great pains to convince the world that the attitude of the Muslim League towards the war effort is vastly different to that of the Congress. Theoretically this may be true,

But how does the official attitude of the League towards the war make any practical difference so far as affirmative contribution to the war is concerned?"

- 12th. In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, by 103 votes to 73, an adjournment motion criticizing Government's action in superseding the Commissioners of the Howrah Municipality under the D. I. Rules was defeated.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, an adjournment motion on the order of the Government, banning the Hindu Conference at Lora in the Barisal District, Faridpur, Khulna and Jessore for the period from June 2 to 16, was admitted.

Mr. H. S. L. Polak, writing in the *Manchester Guardian*, said: "There are today many political leaders and not Mr. Gandhi and Pandit Nehru alone, who, since the passing of the Natal "Pegging Act" last year in the face of the most energetic protests of the Government of India, have been asking with increasing anxiety whether India has a place of self-respect in the British Commonwealth."

- 13th. In the Bengal Legislative Council, an adjournment motion seeking to criticize Government action in banning the Hindu Conference which was to have been held at Lora (Barisal) on June 3 and 4 was defeated.

The Nawab Bahadur of Dacca presided over a meeting of the Bengal Provincial Committee of the Majlis-i-Ahrar in Calcutta. A resolution was passed calling upon Mr. Jinnah to state categorically and unequivocally his attitude towards such political hooliganism as was directed against the Majlis-i-Ahrar and warning him that his continued silence in this respect had already led to grave misunderstanding in responsible political circles.

- 14th. The University of Calcutta at a special convocation conferred the honorary degree of D. Sc. on Dr. B. C. Roy. His Excellency Mr. R. G. Casey, the Chancellor presided.

Mr. J. M. Wadley, European Chairman of the Local Health Commission when he gave evidence before the Natal Indian Judicial Commission, said: "If my civilization cannot stand against Indian or any other civilization on its own merits, it had better go under. The Indian can have everything that I as a citizen am entitled to."

- 15th. The Government of India decided to grant a subvention of Rs. 10 crores to the Government of Bengal in view of the abnormal expenditure they had to incur in combating the famine of 1943 and in meeting other extraordinary changes.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, as many as six motions expressing no confidence in Mr. B. P. Pain, Works and Communications Minister, were tabled.

- 16th. Mr. Amery, answering a question in the House of Commons whether he would reconsider the question of the release of Congress leaders in view of the freedom enjoyed by Mahatma Gandhi, said that the release of Mr. Gandhi, which was ordered solely for reasons of health, had no bearing on the continued detention of Congress leaders.....Asked whether he would not reconsider the whole question, Mr. Amery replied: "Not at this moment".

Sir Prafulla Chandra Roy, the eminent Bengali Scientist, died in Calcutta.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the debate on a non-official resolution relating to the grievances of Muslims and scheduled castes about appointments under Government was resumed.

The Bengal Legislative Council, by 21 votes to 18, defeated an adjournment motion relating to the rice position in the S. E. coastal Districts of the Province.

- 17th. The correspondence between Mahatma Gandhi and His Excellency the Viceroy, Lord Wavell, was released for publication.

- 18th. A resolution was passed at a meeting at Poona by the Council of the National Liberal Federation which made an appeal to the Government to release unconditionally those Congressmen who had not been found guilty of violence, and to the Congress to treat the August Resolution as a "dead leader" and arrive at a working arrangement with other political parties for the formation of a provisional national Government.

Serious differences which had arisen within the Orissa Ministry were threatening to develop into a ministerial crisis.

- 19th. The Bengal Legislative Assembly adjourned as a mark of respect to the memory of Sir P. C. Roy and decided to send a message of condolence to the bereaved family.

The Bengal Legislative Council passed a condolence resolution on the death of Sir P. C. Roy and as a mark of respect, the House adjourned without transacting any business.

The Syndicate of the Calcutta University, at a special meeting adopted a resolution of condolence on the death of Sir P. C. Roy.

The General Secretary of the Provincial Hindu Mahasabha, Mr. M. N. Mitter, in a statement said : "Hindus view with alarm the directions given by the Government of Bengal to Union Food Committees to consider communal representation in selecting dealers in the scheme of rural rationing, thereby introducing a ratio of 50/50 between Muslims and non-Muslims. Any reservation of communal percentage in the sphere of trade and commerce would cause incalculable mischief to the Hindu Community."

Inaugurating the Muslim Students' Federation Conference which opened at Rawalpindi under the presidentship of Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan, ex-Minister of the Punjab, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, General Secretary of the All India Muslim League envisaged the complete independence of India in which the 10 crores of Muslims would be absolutely free "from the domination of the British and the Hindus."

20th. In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, 11 members of the Ministerialist Party crossed the floor and joined the Opposition.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, when consideration of the Agricultural Income-tax Bill, as passed by the Assembly, was resumed, a point was raised whether the provincial legislature was competent to impose a tax on agricultural income from lands issued by a Ruler of an Indian State in Bengal.

At a meeting of the Working Committee of the All India Majlis-i-Ashar held at Sialkot, a resolution was adopted which stated : "The attitude of Mr. Jinnah in regard to his demand for Pakistan will not lead him towards that ideal. The non-Muslims and most of the Muslims are fed up with the vision of Pakistan presented by him."

21st. A Bengal Civil Supplies Department Press Note said : "At the special request of the Governor of Bengal, the U. S. Army authorities have agreed to release on loan to the Bengal Government 10 motor tug launches, 10 "sea mules" and 20 wooden barges for use in connexion with the distribution of food in Bengal."

The Maharaja of Parlakimedi, Premier of Orissa, resigned. The resignation followed an interview by the Maharaja with the Governor at Puri.

A 78 page reply from Mahatma Gandhi to the official pamphlet entitled "Congress Responsibility for the Disturbances of August 1942," formed part of a booklet of 125 pages was published by the Government of India, entitled "Correspondence with Mr. Gandhi", containing letters exchanged between him on the one side and Lord Linlithgow, Lord Wavell, Lord Samuel and the Home Department on the other side during the period August 1942 and April 1944.

The Bengal Legislative Assembly rejected, by 119 votes to 106, a no-confidence motion against Mr. B. P. Pain, Communications and Works Minister.

22nd. The Maharaja of Parlakimedi, Orissa Premier, who had tendered his resignation, issued the following statement : "I feel I should mention here that the difference between Pandit Godavaris Misra, Minister of Education and myself were of a fundamental character. His obstruction to Government's policy of the progressive release of anti-Fascist detenus, and holding of general election for local bodies all over the province as well as other important matters regarding the day to day administration, proved intolerable and was quite contrary to the principle of joint responsibility of the cabinet....."Under these circumstances I trust the public will realise the necessity of this step, as I feel that I would have failed in my duty to the country had I not acted as I have done."

23rd. The Government of India promulgated an Ordinance providing for the constitution of a commission of inquiry to investigate and report upon the causes of the food shortage and subsequent epidemics in India, and in particular in Bengal, in 1943, and to make recommendations for the prevention of their recurrence.

The Budget session of the Bengal Legislative Assembly was prorogued.

24th. Mr. Reginald Bridgeman, opening the 8th annual Conference of Federation of Indian Students' Societies of Great Britain and Eire in London,

said : "The future freedom of India is a condition of the freedom of the world, and this occupies the minds of the British people today as much as the desire for victory."

Malik, Khizr Hyat Khan Tiwana, Premier of the Punjab, in a statement from Lahore, made an offer to refer the dispute between him and Mr. Jinnah on the existence of the Jinnah-Sikander Pact to the judgment and arbitration of a Muslim judge of the Federal Court or a mutually agreed Muslim Judge of one of the High Courts.

- 25th. Messrs A. K. Fazlul Huq, Kiran Sankar Roy, Santosh Kumar Basu, Shamsuddin Ahmed and Hem Chandra Sarkar and Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee stated in a joint statement that the circumstances under which the Bengal Legislative Assembly was prorogued on June 23, were of an unprecedented character.

Pandit Godavaris Misra, Finance Minister and Mr. A. S. Khan, Revenue Minister interviewed the Governor of Orissa at Puri jointly for the first time after the resignation of the Maharaja of Paralakimedi.

Sheikh Mahomed Abdullah, President of the Jammu and Kashmir National Conference, addressing a meeting at Srinagar, declared : "Even if lakhs of Jinnahs come to Kashmir, they cannot effect any change in local politics".

The death occurred at Hyderabad of Mr. Bahadur Khan (formerly Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung), President, All-India States Muslim League and Hyderabad State Muslimeen.

- 26th. Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin, Chief Minister of Bengal, issued a reply to the Opposition leaders' statement on the prorogation of the Bengal Assembly.

Several representations were received by the Government of India complaining against the drastic character of the Paper Control Order and about the difficulty in complying with the Order.

- 27th. A Committee consisting of about 50 persons, including Mr. Nagindas T. Master (Mayor of Bombay), Sir Shantidas Askuran (Sheriff of Bombay) & others was formed (in Bombay) to celebrate the Golden Jubilee of Mr. B. G. Horniman's journalistic career.

- 28th. A Press Note stated : "At the invitation of the Government of Bengal, Mr. L. K. Elmhurst, an eminent agricultural economist of the U. K., has arrived in India by air and has taken up a special post in the Bengal Ministry of Agriculture".

- 29th. 27 Indian National Leaders in a joint manifesto (from Poona) on the food situation in India, simultaneously giving the British public a timely warning about the apathy displayed by the authorities at Whitehall, said *inter alia* : "We consider it our duty in the interest of the health and safety of the four hundred millions of India and the security of the major offensive base to draw the attention of the British Parliament and the public and of the United Nations to the acute food situation and to ask them to prevail upon Whitehall to arrange in time to carry out the import programme recommended by the Food Grains Committee. We earnestly hope and pray that India may be spared the horrors of a second famine.".....The statement was signed by the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker, Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy & others.

Inquiries in political circles indicated that the Viceroy had turned down Mahatma Gandhi's request that either he should be allowed to contact the members of the Congress Working Committee or be permitted to discuss the entire question with Lord Wavell with a view to convincing him and the Government of the bonafides of his (Gandhiji's) intentions.

# Notes on Indian History

It has truly been said that a History of India that reveals the whole panorama of the vast millenia of her distinctive life and civilisation in its actual shape and colour and due proportion and perspective, still remains to be written. The materials for drawing such a vast outline and making such a comprehensive and connected sketch are not yet in hand. A fairly definite outline and connected sketch which gives the promise of being some day developed into what is called "scientific history" has, however, been steadily emerging out of the mist that veils the immensity of India's past—a mist which (thanks to the labours of the investigators) has perceptibly thinned without being as yet actually lifted as far as one can now make one's incursion into the age that saw the birth of Buddhism and Jainism in India in the Sixth Century B. C. Beyond that there is still only "cosmic nebulae" relieved here and there by a few stray constellations of lucidly distinct historical facts. These "nebulae" have probably a depth and density to be measured only in terms of millenia. But from the position where we can now make our historical prospecting, these vast remote dark spaces of Indian history recede and shrink and fold up and, at last, look like a far-away blank, black spherule beyond the galaxy of human remembrance.

Ancient Indian history is, apparently, "full" of such gaps and blanks. Beyond the time when Alexander the Great invaded the Punjab (326 B. C.), the galactical system of detailed and authentic Indian history does not far extend. There are too many unexplored blank spaces and unformed, chaotic nebulae beyond that time still. Beginning approximately with that period we are furnished, sometimes in abundance, with fairly trustworthy material in the shape of contemporary Greek testimony bearing on Indian history, and also, as time rolls on, with inscriptional and other kinds of decipherable and dependable domestic evidence. Of course, an immense mass of "documentary" evidence and evidence in the more or less fluid, volatile state of tradition, heresy and folk-lore (written or unwritten) have always lain by the side of the historian hitherto busy with his inscriptions, plates, coins, artefacts and any corroborative evidence that may be forthcoming from outside. And that mass of ancient Indian documentary evidence and tradition has, generally, lain neglected by his side. It has been, generally, of little help to him in reconstructing, "on scientific lines", the missing skeleton of ancient Indian History. It has been, however, of great use to the comparative mythologist, philologist and anthropologist.

But even the historian who seeks to reconstruct on scientific line the missing skeleton of ancient history, whether of India or of any other country, should do well to remember that the dry bones of the skeleton he may have been able to put together will not be true, living history unless they can be made instinct with the touch of life which literature, art, tradition, 'myths', folk-lore, religious and social institutions in their earlier and later forms alone can give. From coins, plates etc., we can build a possible or even probable frame-work of chronology into which we can put our little bits of tested facts according to one possible plan or other. Such a mosaic of dates and facts (mainly relating to dynastic succession, war and conquest) is of course important as necessary ground-plan of history. But it is not the completed structure of history. It is not history as an organic process of evolution. So we have to distinguish between structural or morphological history and organic "physiological" history.

Now India has been so far poor in comparison with some other ancient countries like Egypt, Babylonia and China in her "materials" for writing the first kind of history, and the available materials, as we saw, do not carry us much beyond the time of Budha and Mahavira in the Sixth century B. C. Recently, however, a very old and, apparently, a high order of civilisation has been unearthed in the Indus Valley in the Punjab and in Sind, which according to current official beliefs, is of Summerian pattern. The buried cities now discovered bring to light not only very interesting features of a civilisation thriving in the western part of India in so remote a past (when the Indo-Aryans had not, according to the common view, yet migrated into India), but they even put into our hands interesting clues that may eventually help us to unravel many of the riddles of our Vedic and post-Vedic history. The Tantrik cult, for instance, may have older and deeper roots in the soil of India than have so far been granted or suspected. Nothing contemporaneous with or earlier than the Indus Valley civilisation has yet been unearthed in



other parts of the sub-continent. So the present trend of speculation is to regard the Indus Valley civilisation as a short wedge driven into Western India—the whole of which was still at the low level of aboriginal darkness (with the possible exception of some parts that might have risen to the Dravidian 'light' level)—probably by the races and civilisation of Sumer.

We are still in the duskland of probabilities or even less than probabilities as to the dates, origin, early habitats and earlier forms not only of the Indus Valley but also of the Dravidians and Indo-Aryan people. We do not know for certainty when and from where the Indo-Aryans came into India. The fact of Aryan immigration into India itself, though generally accepted, is still disputed. And if immigration be admitted, we have, probably, to admit not one but several successive streams of immigration. Such theory apparently called for to account for some of the critical turnings and "sudden mutations" in our ancient historical evolution, will lead to many unexplored avenues of enquiry as to ages and dates, origins and characteristics.

### THE RIGVEDA

The Rigveda—the earliest and the most informing and instructive "documentary" evidence that we possess—appears to set the stage amidst scenes which show the Aboriginal, Dravidian and Indo-Aryan factors fighting for supremacy first in the land of "five Rivers" and in the Ganges Valley, and then gradually, beyond the Vindhya Range which with its impenetrable forest mantle, stood as a barrier between Northern India (Aryavatta) and Deccan. Gradually we find the aborigines cornered and driven to the hills and forests where their descendants, more or less Aryanised, still continue to live. In considerable parts they were also absorbed into the fold of Aryan society and culture. And in being absorbed they did not fail to impart some little part of their own character of the Aryan complex. There was not so much of racial or even linguistic fusion as of cultural assimilation. The process of Aryanisation in language, culture, etc., has been a process admitting, naturally, of different shapes and degrees, leaving at the one end aboriginal races that have almost kept aloof from Aryan influence and having at the other others that have become part and parcel of the Aryan system. The Aryanisation of the Dravidian peoples, especially in religion, culture and civilisation, has been a much more perfected process. But on the other hand the Dravidian impress on the Aryan system is also in many places, deep and unmistakable. The Dravidian is co-ordinated or even subordinated to the Aryan but not lost in the latter. This power of assimilation of alien races and cultures without losing the individuality of its own essential Type or Pattern and without at the same time making the diverse elements assimilated lose whatever is essential in them—has been a special characteristic of the Indo-Aryan race and culture-complex. This has meant organic unity or unity in diversity of a more fundamental and abiding nature than can, perhaps, be claimed for the political or national unity with which histories are commonly familiar. Historians, accordingly, commonly miss the unity which lies deep and sees only the diversity which lies on the surface. India to them is thus a veritable chaos of jarring elements of races, languages, religions, castes, sects and cultures which have never known unity before the days of the unitary political rule of the British. Of course, the introduction, in later times, of the Semitic religions—Muhammedanism and Christianity—disturbed to some extent the ages-long unity and balance of the Aryo-Dravidian culture and social system in India. But even these elements were in the process of being slowly drawn into the sphere of influence of what we may call the genius of India. In other words, a slow but sure process of cultural assimilation even of these "militant" factors was going apace. Buddhism, which had risen as a "revolt" against orthodox Hinduism—but yet as a revolt from within—and which dominated the situation in India for several centuries, ended in the land of its birth by being eventually absorbed and assimilated into the parent religion. Jainism and many other old or later "revolts" have thus "squared their accounts" with the same parent religion, and have been for many centuries living peaceably side by side with one another and with the latter.

This power of assimilation and co-ordination in which all the components make their own contributions and are permitted to live side by side as members of a commonwealth of cultures, has been the secret of the wonderful resisting and staying power of the Indian culture-complex against such disintegrating forces as have smashed up many an old and glorious civilisation of the world. And it can be easily shown from facts that this staying power has been in evidence not only in the realm of cultural contacts and impacts but also in that of social and political

ones. There have been many raids into India and invasions before and after Christ, but it is a travesty of facts to imagine that Indian resistance has always been weak and short-lived and that such invasions are typically like the raids of Mahmud of Gazni which even swept away Indian armies and kingdoms like cobweb or a house of cards. Before her final subjugation by the Mahammadan Power—and the final subjugation of the whole of India was anything like an accomplished fact only for a time during the reign of the great Mogul Emperors—India had been, it should be borne in mind, a mighty Power and a Model of civilisation and culture for at least three thousand years. And it should be remembered further that when the British in India turned from trade to conquest (always with native help and alliance) they had to settle their accounts not only with Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan in the South but mainly the Maharatta and Sikh Powers which had risen on the ruins of the Mahammadan Power in India.

#### UNITARY INDIAN EMPIRE

But there were and still have been other factors which, to some extent, operated against India developing a compact and coherent political and military organisation, except occasionally like, for instance, the Great Roman Empire of old or the British Empire in modern times. We possess, apparently, no connected retrospect of the remote past of which the Vedas, Epics and Puranas speak. But as far as appearances go an unitary, centralised, Indian Empire was the exception and not the rule. In later times also, an Empire like that of Asoka was not a common achievement. As we said, India has possessed deep-laid cultural and institutional unity beneath all her diversities. India has fought, and fought bravely, for the integrity of her sacred Land, her sacred religion and tradition, and for their sacred visible Symbols and Embodiment. But she has rarely fought for the "State" as such or an Empire as such. The spirit of her culture did not favour the formation and consolidation of Nationalism in the sense it is commonly understood, and her basic institutions would hardly consist with many forms of centralised State control. The all-controlling and co-ordinating Principle was Dharma (the Principle of Human Values and Conduct) rather than any State agency. Each village, for example, was a self-contained commune and autonomous unit owing permanent allegiance to the reign of Dharma and only temporary allegiance to any kingship that might function for the time being. So the village communes continued to live though kingdoms after kingdoms rose and fell. They were but little affected by the accidents and exigencies of politics.

Again, the spirit of Dharma (which should not be translated as religion) has definitely and systematically favoured all human or even all-living values and tendencies and a cosmopolitan outlook, and has opposed militant aggressive, "predatory", nationalism. The old Upanishads are clear and courageous in their conception of those higher values; and the Dharmashastras (Codes laying down social and individual conduct) were bold and consistent in their execution of those ideas. Later, Buddhism and Jainism and other "reforming" movements have tended only to stress such values as non-violence and fellowship with all men and all living beings. These forces operating through the ages tended to produce in the Indian classes and masses a common disposition not quite favourable to the formation and consideration of an unitary military state for purposes of offence and defence.

Of the immense back-ground of Indian History which is represented by the Vedas (Sambhitas, Brahmanas, Aranyakas and Upanishdas), the various Sutras (or Digests) Philosophies, Epics (the Ramayana and Mahavarata), Puranas and Tantras (our statement here is not anything like full), we possess (unless one is prepared to grant the claim of the Puranas recently put forth in their behalf that they do contain materials for reconstructing a fairly connected chronological history beginning with the very earliest times) very little precise and connected information for the purpose of writing a political history both copious and correct as to facts and their chronological order. But of the ideals and ideas, practices and institutions of the times we do possess a very full, informing and instructive presentation. And after all, what is real history but this? Scholars have been busy with their sketches and drawings of the ancient orders and specimens of ideas, beliefs, and practices that existed in India. But oftener than not their reviews and retrospects have been made from modern standpoints, with modern notions, criteria and standards of testing facts and appraising values. This has not enabled us in any just measure, to understand, much less appreciate, a civilisation (not confined to India but, possibly, reaching some of its greatest heights in this country) which was essentially of a different kind, and cannot therefore, be represented as only the first uncertain and timid steps taken on the

road which has through a long, long march, at last brought us to our present advanced stage. The ideology, plan and methods of that ancient civilisation we have yet not seriously studied and rightly understood. Much of that civilisation we still regard, without understanding, as consisting of "savage" magic, meaningless ritualism, "theological twaddle" and crude superstition. Side by side with all this we find, however, the highest philosophy, deepest mysticism and pure ethics. There is also much that is of original and genuine value from the point of view of human material and mundane progress. This seems to us a curious medley of what is nearly the highest and what is about the lowest. But let us pass on.

Coming to "historical" times we find that the invasion by Alexander the Great of India proves in the result to be little more than a brilliant raid. His victorious armies could only cut off a small slice of North-Western India, and this little slice the Macedonian would ingest, but could not digest. His steam-roller of conquest speedily developed "war-weariness" on the plains of the Punjab, and he had to go back only adding a bit of India to his vast Empire. He had won some of his battles in India, but it had not been an "easy walk-over" with him.

#### CHANDRAGUPTA AND ASOKA

After his death shortly afterwards, the vast Macedonian Empire practically went to pieces. Chandragupta, who became the king of Magadha, proved himself too powerful for the Greek invaders who had violated sanctity and integrity of the sacred Land of the Five Rivers. As the result of the formidable opposition by the armies of Chandragupta, a treaty was concluded between him and the Greek Megasthenes, who was sent by Seleucus as an ambassador to the court of Chandragupta, left a very valuable record of the times, of the customs and morals of the people, and of the administration, which though unfortunately fragmentary, bears an eloquent, and admiring testimony to the high order of material and moral civilization attained by the Hindus centuries before the Christian era. And this high civilisation was evolved in India not in isolation but in commerce with other civilisations that flourished in ancient times, such as the Babylonian, Greek, Persian and Chinese. Chandragupta's son was Bindusara who was succeeded by Asoka (269-231 B. C.), who was undoubtedly, one of the greatest rulers of men holding their sway for the material and spiritual good of mankind. Numerous edicts and inscriptions record the noble and glorious achievements of his reign which, in its later stages, left the bloody path of war and conquest and devoted itself to the much more noble and fruitful task of the moral and spiritual conquest and redemption of ourselves and our fellow-being. With commendable catholicity and tolerance, not seeking to impose it upon others by his great imperial authority and power, he exercised that authority and power for the purpose of transforming Buddhism, which had been more or less a local sect in the Ganges Valley, into one of the greatest and most potent living world religions. Asoka's reign is therefore rightly held to be an epoch in the history of the world. His edicts also show the man, his ideals and his methods. But all this had not allowed or favoured the cement of the great Maurya Empire setting into the requisite hardness. Independent kingdoms like Bactria and Parthia took their rise in the border land, and the Greeks renewed their incursions. New races (the Yuen-chi) came in a surge of migration which swept all before them, and in the first century A. D. a considerable portion of the North-west India came under their influence.

#### GUPTA DYNASTY

Kaniska, who made Peshawar his capital, proved great as a ruler and as a patron and missionary of the Buddhist religion. Under him the Kushan Branch of the Yuen-chi reached the zenith of his power. But this power fell as another power in middle India rose—the Andhra dynasty. A peak like Amaravati or Ujjain would some time rise and shine in the midst of moving vastness of Indian waters. In the beginning of the fourth century the centre of political influence in India was again shifted to Pataliputra in Magadha as the Gupta dynasty emerged into power. Samudragupta, who ruled for fifty years, and his son Chandragupta, greatly distinguished themselves not only in war but in the sphere of peaceful and fruitful administration, promoting general prosperity and giving liberal encouragement to art and literature, a glorious tribute to which was paid by the Chinese pilgrim Fa-hien. According to his testimony, their Empires were vast and their administration just, enlightened. Towards the end of the Fifth Century—when the White Huns from Central Asia began to pour themselves into India—the sun of the Gupta dynasty set (during whose regime, it should be noted, there had been a revival and

reconstruction of ancient Brahmanism and Brahmanical culture as evidenced especially by the literature of the Purans ; but this reviving process was, very largely, a process of quiet adaptation and peaceful assimilation.) More than a century had elapsed after the fall of the Gupta dynasty before there rose another great and enlightened monarch who could emulate with no mean success the greatest of the Indian rulers in historical time—Asoka. Emperor Harsha, who consolidated his authority practically over the whole of Northern India in the beginning of the seventh century, was famous equally for his great prowess, his high intellectual attainments and for the broad catholicity of his religious outlook. An account of his times has been left by Chinese, Huen Tsiang by name. In that, India is still painted in generally bright and even glowing colours.

#### MEDIAEVAL INDIA

After the death of Harsha, and gradually with the emergence of India into what may be called the mediæval period, the conditions which had made the political unification of India sometimes possible in the past, nearly disappeared, and India was thrown into a state of political confusion and chaos in which petty kingdoms rose like mushrooms and constant internecine strife prevailed. Some outstanding figures like Vikramaditya would occasionally appear on the stage ; but such events were few and far between. In the South of India was being enacted a very interesting but involved drama in which the Andhras, Ballavas, Chalukyas and Cholas were the principal actors. Kashmere in the North, Kanauj in the Doab and Bengal in the east were also alive with many vivid and vital scenes and events of political, cultural and social interests. But we shall not try to make a review of them here. One outstanding event in the confusion and complexity of the general Indian situation which deserves notice even passing was the rise of the Rajput power upon which the mantle of the old caste Kshatriyas (the warrior and ruling caste) fell and which was the chief opposition that the waves of Mahammedan invasion coming one after another ever since the second quarter of the 7th century, had to encounter and ultimately bear down. Gujrat, Malwa, Ajmer, Kanauj and Delhi were the principal scenes of the new drama of Rajput ascendancy—a drama so full of episodes of superhuman bravery, noble heroism and sacrifice for the sacred cause of religion and liberty that they have ever since lived in human memory as models which future generations of patriots in any country might well try to emulate. Though Rajput opposition was borne down in Northern India by the end of the twelfth century, Rajput bravery and the spirit that animated it survived the crash of the Hindu Empire of Delhi and Ajmere over which Prithvi Raj, the hero, the last of the Hindu emperors, though not the last of the Hindu rulers had held sway. Rajput bravery and Rajput love of independence were still factors to reckon with in the days of the great Moghuls—Akbar, Jahangir, Shahjahan and Aurangzab. Col. Todd and some others have narrated the story, and it constitutes one of his proudest annals in the vast archives of the Hindu glory in India. As to the conquest of Northern India by the Mahammedans, it should be noted, the great prize was not very easily or quickly won : that the first Mahammedan impact was in the seventh century shortly after the passing away of the Prophet, and a Mahammedan kingdom in Northern India came into being towards the end of the 12th. century. Even this did not mean either a complete or final subjugation of India, and there is another thing to be noted. Hindu power fell not because its resistance was weak and its bravery and heroism in the field was not backed by adequate tact, strategy and discipline in diplomacy, planning and preparation.

The centuries of the mediæval age in India were marked by a conspicuous lack of political unity and solidarity. But they were by no means unimportant and barren. It was not a "dark" Age. In the Gupta period and in the centuries before and after, a marvellous process of social, cultural and religious reconstruction was going apace. The old Vedic scheme of social economy (involving as it did the four Varnas of "caste" and the four Ashrams or "stage" of life) was being transformed through a process of adaptation, assimilation and multiplication which made society more comprehensive and at the same time more complex. The influence of Buddhism, Hellenism and that of Mongoloid races also led to adaptations and assimilations, in many important directions in the older order of Indian customs and institutions. The gradual assimilation of Buddhism itself was a phenomenon of the greatest importance. The Vedic religion survived but it was transformed. The Puranas and Tantras renewed and gave a new expression to the Sanatana Dharma. In the domain of literature, art (both useful and fine), science and mathematics, philosophy and metaphysics these centuries were also productive of fruits that were and still are of

the greatest interest and value. Great poets like Kalidas and Bhavabhuti, and great Philosophers like Shankaracharya and Ramanuja and also other pioneers and masters in other fields formed a galaxy of men of genius and talents which showed that an age of political dis-equilibrium and confusion in India was yet not necessarily an age of cultural depression and darkness and social disruption. The soul of India could, apparently, function to its best advantage inspite of her troubled politics.

But whilst this was true for some time it could not be true for all time. Her politics at last began to tell on her constitution. We do not, however, propose to continue the story through the Mahammedan and British periods. The history of these periods is more settled and definite in features, and these are, generally, well-known. One special feature, which is not always clearly recognised and to which we should like to draw attention is this. From the twelfth century right up to the eighteenth, or even for some time later, the Hindu power of revival and regeneration, of initiation and execution was never like dead or even dying. Independent and often powerful kingdoms like Vijayanagar in the South, those of Pratap, Shivaji and the Peshwas in the west (we do not mention some others e. g. those in Bengal) would now and then proudly lift their heads and challenge the authority of the great Moslem emporors. Under that authority, too, there flourished many great Hindu administrators, ministers, governors, generals and financiers. In short, during the Mahammedan era, the Hindu genius was not at its best but it was not quite decadent.

#### THE MAHAMMEDAN RULE

The Mahammedan conquerors, again, from Mohamed Ghori who wrested the sceptre of the kingdom of Delhi from Prithviraj after a first unsuccessful attempt, came to India as foreigners but they did not remain here as foreigners. India was the land of their adoption. Raids like those by Chengis Khan or Nadir Shah were rare and they did not represent the normal course of events. India suffered, and sometimes badly, no doubt, from the effects of the conquering ardour and proselytising zeal of some of the Mahammedan rulers. But the great Moghuls were as much "children of the soil" as the humblest of the Hindu "heathen". And this sharing together by the Hindus and Mussalmans of a common "hearth and home" naturally tended to breed a consciousness of community of interests in both as India's offspring. There was steady assimilation of the semitic and Indo-Aryan cultures also and even a growing understanding and appreciation of one religion by the other. The religions touched and even blended with each other at their highest points—e. g., in Sufism and Vedantic mysticism. They also met and evolved a broad common "shrine" to which folk beliefs, practices and institutions would bring their united homage. Even a common dialect (Urdu or Hindusthani) was evolved between the two in Northern India which gradually blossomed into a fine literature. The patronage extended by the Mohammedan emperors to Music, Architecture etc. was also fruitful of very fine result. India's wealth attracted the trade and commerce of the whole civilised world. In fact, America or the West Indies was discovered in an attempt to discover an western route to the Indian market, British, French, Dutch and Portuguese traders all came and scrambled for market, and eventually, for political power in India. It is also worthy of note that even under the sway of such masterful monarchs as Sher Shah, Akbar or Aurangzeb, the government of the country was in the main decentralised, allowing provincial and local autonomy—down to the autonomy of the village units—to adequately function. Even petty local chiefs—like the feudal lords of the mediaeval West—never unlearned the art of fighting and governing. So it was always possible for a man of ambition and ability, like Shivaji for example, to evolve sanctions whereby he could implement his high political aspirations. It was the very large measure of local autonomy and local initiative that existed that rendered possible the rise of the Mahratta and Sikh Powers and also of the kingdoms of Hyder Ali and the Nizam in the south. And British Power in India in its rise to paramouny found its most formidable rivals or powerful allies in them.

#### THE BRITISH RULE

In 1599, during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, some merchants of London formed an association for the purpose of trade with India, and this association was granted a royal charter of incorporation. At first this Company was purely a trading concern establishing factories in the east and west coasts of India and in Bengal and administering its affairs in the three "presidencies" which were at first independent of one another but subordinate to the Board of Directors at home. In course of time

however, chiefly with a view to preserving and consolidating its growing and extensive trade in India, in the face of the French rivalry and intrigue and the prevailing political anarchy and unrest in the land, it established military garrison of defence which soon became involved in hostilities that saddled it with territorial responsibilities. It fought some decisive battles in Madras and in Bengal, which raised a trading company to the status of a political Power in India. French intrigue failed and French rivalry practically died down in India. One of the most decisive battles fought was the battle of Plassey in 1757. The battle was won with the aid of faithful native battalions, and with the active or passive support of the generals and noblemen of the unfortunate young Nawab of Bengal. It is worthy of note that the path of British supremacy in India, and often, its influence and prestige abroad has been paved, amongst other things, with the consent, alliance and willing co-operation of the Natives of India. It was so even during the critical period of the Sepoy Mutiny one hundred years after the battle of Plassey. It was again so during the "ordeal" of the last great War. The machinery of administration by the East India Company was from time to time modified by Acts of Parliament (1773, 1784 ; and the Charter Acts of 1793 and 1833). By these a Governor-General-in Council was made the supreme administrative authority in India subject to a Board of Control at home. By the last Act, the Company ceased to be a commercial concern and became a political and administrative body only. After the Sepoy Mutiny another Act was passed by which the Government of India was transferred from the Company to the Crown, and thenceforth the Governor-General was also the Viceroy of India. The functions of the Government of India are wide and its responsibilities heavy. But its responsibilities are to the Crown and the Parliament. It has not rested on an elective popular basis. There have been legislative bodies, but its motions, resolutions and votes have not, except as regards certain matters of secondary importance under the Act of 1919, a binding effect on the Government.

India's contributions and sacrifices in the Great War were great, but "reward" that came in the shape of the Parliamentary Declaration promising her a "progressive realisation of responsible government", the stages and times of which were to be determined by the Parliament alone was not comforting to her nationalist aspirations. And the Government of India Act of 1919, which is still in actual function though it has been, apparently, broadened and amplified in some directions by a recent Parliamentary Statute, did not meet the wishes or expectations of India. By that Act dyarchy or a kind of dual responsibility was established in the provinces, where the "nation-building" subjects were "transferred" to Ministers (not responsible however to the legislature), whilst the more important subjects were "reserved." In practice the transference of certain subjects to Ministers ( who were appointed by, held office under the pleasure of, and were responsible to the Governor ) meant little more than a complication of the administrative machinery which became, in consequence, more cumbrous and expansive. The Central Government continued to remain unitary under the scheme. The legislative bodies, both provincial and central, were expanded with non-official majorities, but this placed little power, for construction or even for obstruction, in the hands of the popular parties. Whilst the liberals proceeded to work the scheme, the main body of nationalist forces, as represented by the Indian National Congress, would not first even look at it. But some time later, under the guidance of Mr. C. R. Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru, a Swaraj Party, analogous to the present Congress Parliamentary Party, was formed which entered the legislatures, both provincial and central, in telling numbers and by its obstructionist tactics caused not a little embarrassment to those entrusted with the work of day to day administration. In some provinces it was even able to "wreck" dyarchy for a time. Generally, however, the system has worked, though not satisfactorily even according to official appreciation. We need not in particular refer to the unwelcome labours of the All-White Statutory Simon Commission, to which even the habitually co-operating Liberals refused to lend their co-operation. Meanwhile the Congress ideology was becoming bolder day by day, and the Lahore session adopted a resolution setting as the goal of India complete Independence of Purna Swaraj. A campaign of civil disobedience followed to create "sanctions" under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi who has been really at the helm of Congress affairs since the early twenties. The Round Table idea was broached rather too late : but Mahatma Gandhi after concluding, what is known as the Gandhi-Irwin Pact, joined the Conference subsequently. The result of the deliberations of that body fell short of the Congress demand. And the Congress again withdrew its offer of co-operation. This was forced on the Congress by the way in which the British ruling classes used during the Round Table Conference discussions India's internal

differences as an excuse for the frustration of her political ambitions. The "Communal Award" of the British Premier Ramsay MacDonald that imparted a "vote value" to religious differences and social inferiorities revealed the tactics of the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy. It was modified by the epic fast of Mahatma Gandhi so far as the Hindus were concerned. But in its wider ramifications, it has stimulated separatist conceits and ambitions that in course of the last ten years have created a "civil war" mentality in the country where almost every creed and class has been organizing themselves to capture political power in the name of their particularistic interests. It is well-known that Mahatma Gandhi wanted to avoid a fight so soon after the Gandhi-Irwin Pact. This attitude was evidenced by the wording of his telegram to Lord Willingdon sent on the 29th. December, 1931—"whether you expect me to see you and receive guidance from you as to the course I am to pursue in advising the Congress." Lord Willingdon rejected this opportunity of cementing co-operation between Indian Nationalism and the enlightened self-interest of British Imperialism. The second Civil Disobedience Movement was the natural result which continuing for about two years—1932-'34—prepared by repression the mind of India to receive the constitutional changes made by the Act of 1935. The genesis and the long-drawn processes of shaping this machinery were informed by a spirit of arrogant imperialism, ignoring at every step Indian self-respect. The Imperial Government could not accept any of the suggestions made in the Joint Memorandum of the Indian delegates nominated by itself. The arrival of "provincial autonomy" changed in no way "a relationship that rests on conquest," whose "sanction" was the physical might of Britain, to quote the words of the well-known British publicist, Mr. Brailsford.

With the passage of this Act the ruling authorities hoped that they had been able to so provide things that the men and women of India would remain satisfied with their enlarged electorates, from 70 lakhs to about 4 crores, and with the Ministries charged with the solution of "things that matter"—the problems of health, education and economic well-being with which are intimately bound up the life of the majority of the people. These problems of dirt, disease and ignorance could not be neglected any more without doing permanent injury to the body politic. The increasing recognition of this sorry state of affairs joined to the increasing resentment with the pretensions of "external authority", felt by increasing numbers of Indians, created a conflict in the mind of India that was reflected in the discussion of public affairs—a contradiction between the spoken word and the practice that sought to give it shape and form. The organization of the election campaign on behalf of the Congress was characterized by this contradiction. The purpose of sending Congress representatives to the Legislatures was declared to be to "combat" and to "end" the Act of which these were the products, the incorporation of the "Fundamental Rights" resolution (passed at the Karachi Congress, 1931), and of "Agrarian Programme" (accepted at the Lucknow Congress 1936) in the Congress Election Manifesto (22, August, 1936) held the promise of relief through these Legislatures of the many ills—political and economic and social—from which the people suffered. Facing the Congress Party in this battle for votes, stood the upholders of varied interests, communal and class, that under various disguises and with radical programmes on their lips tried to canalize the rising temper and the organized feeling of the country. In the election contest the Congress secured absolute majorities in five provinces—Madras, the United Provinces, the Central Provinces and Berar, Behar, and Orissa; it was the single largest party in four—Bombay, Bengal, Assam and the North-West Frontier Province; in the Punjab and Sind Congress members were in a minority—a negligible minority.

When their leaders were called upon by the Governors in the provinces to help him in forming the Ministries, they demanded of the Governors' assurance that use would not be made of their veto and emergency powers, and that the advice of the Ministries would not be "set aside in regard to their constitutional activities." The Governors expressed inability to divest themselves of "certain obligations" which the Parliament had imposed on them. Ensued a constitutional deadlock; the Assemblies were not called in seven provinces; "interim ministries" were appointed to "conceal" this "breakdown" of the constitutional device, said Prof Berriedale Keith. For four months the controversy waxed and waned. As the statutory period for the convening of the Assemblies drew nearer, the Government, "ultra-sensitive over questions of prestige", yielded. Congress Ministries were formed in seven provinces; in Bengal and Assam, in the Punjab and Sind coalition ministries were functioning from April, 1937; the Congress Ministries from the last week of July, 1937. The refusal of the Congress



to entertain the idea of allowing its members to enter into coalition even as the predominant partner, as it was possible in Bengal and Assam, enabled Muslim communalist Ministries to be set up in these two provinces whose activities helped to work havoc with the decencies of civilised life, to inflame the bitterness of communal feeling and waft its poison all over the country. The lowest depth of this degradation was reached when outbursts of arson and loot in the city of Dacca and the country-side within the district occurred during 1941. The device of the "Communal Award" has been working towards its logical end.

The India Act of 1935 had a federal scheme to introduce. A sort of Diarchy was contemplated, and vast areas of power in the administration were withheld from the people's representatives; the nominees of the rulers of the Indian States were given a disproportionately big representation in both the upper and lower houses of the Central Legislature. The Reserve Bank and the Federal Railway Authority were instances of the former; and the so-called States' representatives were so many "pocket-boroughs" under the command of the external authority represented by the Governor-General. These and the industrial and commercial and political "safeguards" with which the Federal Scheme bristled repelled public opinion in India. The majority of Muslim politicians were afraid of a central Government where their communalist politics will keep them in a perpetual minority and where they were not prepared to play their part in politics free from narrow appeals to credal and class conceits and ambitions. The rulers of the Indian States were reported to be trying to press hard bargains in their negotiations over the "Instruments of Accession" both in their relation with the "Paramount Power" and in their apprehensions of the rising tide of democracy in their own States. For two years Lord Linlithgow was kept busy smoothing all this opposition with his utmost diplomacy when in September, 1939, the World War II of the 20th century burst upon the world.

India was declared a belligerent by the Governor-General without even the pretence of consultation with the Central Legislature. This was regarded as an insult to Indian self-respect; it exposed before all the world the unnatural relation that subsisted between India with her 40 crores of people and Britain with her 5; it exposed the hollowness of the slogan raised by Britain that she was being forced into the present war for the defence of democracy. The declaration was no panic measure; the ground had been prepared for it six months earlier by a new Section—Section 126A—in the Act of 1935 securing to the Central Government of India "essential powers of direction and control" over the Provincial Governments when an emergency due to war was proclaimed by the Governor-General under Section 102 of the Act. The emergency power granted by this latter Section had been given to the Central Legislature elected on a wide popular franchise, whereas the new Section empowered an irresponsible Executive with power to "give direction to a Province as to the manner in which the executive thereof is to be exercised." The majority of the Provincial Ministries raised objections to this "invasion by the Centre on the sphere of authority conferred by the Act on the Provinces." Technically the British Government might have been right. But in relations like those that subsist between India and Britain legal and constitutional correctitude does not play a helpful hand.

The actual outbreak of the war did not ease the tension between Indian Nationalism and British Imperialism. The Indian National Congress voiced almost universal Indian feeling when in a statement issued on the 14 September, 1939, it called upon the British Government to declare their "war aims in regard to Democracy and Imperialism and the New Order that it envisaged; in particular, how these aims are going to apply to India and to be given effect to in the present." Such a declaration, said Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in a message to the London *Daily Chronicle*, will be able to "make the people of India enthusiastic for a war which was not theirs." The Congress invitation to the British Government was international in its import. Dissatisfaction with the vague generalities of British politicians that found expression even in the statements of British leaders of thought was a proof that these "war aims" needed clear statement. Other organisations of vocal Indian opinion—the Muslim League, the Hindu Mahasabha, the *Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind*—the organization of Muslim divines of India, for instance—were in their statements as insistent on the clarification of Britain's war aims and their application to the peculiar conditions of India. Up to now, (1942), the British Government has not been able to satisfy any party in India, to set up a Central Government at Delhi-Simla that would enlist the self-respect and self-interest of the country on the side of this



war of continents and oceans. This failure had led to the resignation of eight of the eleven Provincial Ministries of the country—Bombay, Madras, Central Provinces & Berar, Orissa, Bihar, Assam, the United Provinces, and the North-West Frontier Province. Two of these have since been revived—Orissa and Assam—carrying on a pale imitation of "Provincial autonomy"—under the rule of the military bureaucracy in India whom this "world war" has placed in this dominant position.

Apart from this argument between Indian Nationalism and British Imperialism, the various elements in Indian composite life have not shown that unity for ends and means that would have wrested political power from unwilling hands. The "Pakistan" claim of the Muslim League demands that areas where the Muslims happen to be in a majority should be constituted in sovereign "Independent States." This claim has been recognized by opinion in India and in the wide world outside as a threat to the unity and integrity of India. Confronted by such a situation the British Government stands in anxious helplessness. Priding itself on its concern for minorities it finds itself coercing the majority at every step. Since the 8th August (1940) proposals of Lord Linlithgow for the enlargement of this Executive Council, there have been two enlargements thereof till to-day it consists of eleven Indians and four Europeans inclusive of His Excellency. This increasing "Indianization" and the "Draft Declaration" brought by Sir Stafford Cripps on behalf of the British Cabinet in March, 1942, have not for divergent reasons appealed to any responsible party in India. Japan's startling success in Burma, in Malaya, in the Philippines, in the Dutch East Indies, the failure of Britain, the U. S. A. and Holland to stand up to the far-flung Japanese aggression have brought down their prestige in the market-place of world affairs. And the peoples of these along with those of India have reasons to be apprehensive of their future. A sense of frustration appears to be oppressing the minds of the men and women of India. It is not fear of Japanese invasion alone that is responsible for this state of things. The evacuation orders on people living in the coastal areas of the country have disturbed and disrupted their habits of life; practically no arrangements have been made on behalf of the State for life in newer places and surroundings for hundreds of thousands of men, women and children; the orgy of profiteering in the necessities of life; the incompetence of officialdom in face of these anti-social activities—all these, the latter two specially, have spread a feeling of helplessness in the country. This mentality has been affecting, however indirectly, the "war work" that was to repel the enemy and wrest victory from his grasp. Since the "Mutiny" days eighty-five years back the certainties of existence for the people of this continental country have not been so rudely shaken as during the first six months of 1942. The break-down of the machinery of civil administration in Malaya and Burma have sent more than five lakhs of refugees to India—men and women of India who had made their living in those countries. This has also added to the confusion of the times. These betokened changes for which the minds of the people had not been prepared. This unpreparedness has created difficulties both for the rulers and the ruled. The Japanese occupation of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands in the heart of the Bay of Bengal, the advance of Japan's hosts towards India's north-eastern borders, the hurried defence arrangements set up in the eastern districts of India—all these signs and portents confront us.

But it is not all dark. In our neighbourhood China has been showing how disappointments are to be faced. She alone has been showing for five years an unbeaten front against Japan. And the visit to India of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek and Madame Chiang Kai-Shek in February 1942, has been interpreted by all as bringing a message of hope to an India divided against itself and preparing herself to fight against imperialism within and aggression from without. This visit will remain a land-mark in India's recent history. The United States of America has sent to India her armed forces across ten thousand miles of the waters of three oceans to sustain the cause of the United Nations. India, kept unorganized in the modern arts of war and peace, unequal to meeting the challenge of international anarchy, is thankful for such friendliness. But she is not quite happy with this arrangement. For, she remains a debtor both materially and spiritually.

As we send this volume to the Press, we have been passing through an experience of administrative incompetence and greedy exploitation by manufacturers and merchants creating conditions of famine in the country. Millions have died of hunger, of diseases that accompany and follow malnutrition. The year 1943 will be remembered for long years for this catastrophe.

# India in Home Polity

In the discussion on the "Home Polity" that has found a place in the last two volumes of the "Indian Annual Register", the famine that devastated Bengal during the latter half of 1943 and the early months of 1944 occupied a major part. The economic deterioration in India that has been one of the characteristics of British rule during

## Cycles of famine in India

about the last one hundred and eighty-five years erupt into the attention of the world in a cyclic order, during the middle and end of every hundred years, according to a British author who has been quoted in Vol. I of 1943 of the "Register." Within living memory we have had the famine that killed off about 2 crores of people during the closing years of the 19th century. William Digby dedicated his book—"Prosperous British India"—to the memory of these men and women who had "died in vain." And within about fifty years of that catastrophe we have had the famine in Bengal—the result of the accumulation of the forces of disintegration of the norms and forms, the patterns and habits of the people's life. During previous regimes also there had been famines due to failure of rains and due to difficulties of transport arrangements that could hurry food grains from surplus to deficit areas. Men, women and children had died in their millions. But in the middle of the 20th century, with the most developed of communication facilities at their command, the Administration in India was caught napping in taking measures that could halt the worst developments of scarcity created by war profiteers under the distinguished patronage of the bureaucracy that is said to be the "steel frame" of the progressive government of India, the pride and charter of British imperialism.

In these two volumes of the "Indian Annual Register" we have tried to explain the many causes, personal and impersonal, that created conditions of famine in various parts of the country, in areas as wide apart as Malabar, Cochin, Travancore and Bengal. We do not propose to re-open the controversy as to the contribution of British policy and British smugness towards making Bengal the scene of the recent famine, and why the British dictators at London and New Delhi allowed the Ministry of Sir Khwaja Nazimuddin to make the campaign against the famine such a pitiable failure. In the last volume of the "Register" we have traced the constitutional incapacity of this Ministry confronted by a social disintegration that demanded the single-pointed devotion of rulers of men. The Ministry could not rise up to the occasion because it had a more limited purpose to serve—to satisfy the material needs of its political supporters, to endow with legality the nefarious profiteering of members of the Muslim League into whose hands were placed war contracts or contracts for the procurement of food grains in the gift of the Civil Supplies Ministry of Bengal. It has yet to be known why the Bengal bureaucracy manned by "extremely brilliant members of the Indian Civil Service", to quote the words of Mr. Fazlul Huq, failed to scotch this evil, to hunt out the patrons of jobbery, corruption and nepotism that had become

so rampant in Bengal. We have a feeling that they could not be very happy with regard to the way in which the food situation had deteriorated in the Province. But somehow and somewhere this break-down of the administrative machinery got involved with the prestige and honesty of British rule in India. And the bureaucracy headed by the Secretary of State for India had to be on the defensive, to try to justify before man and God this failure of Britain in India.

In no other way can one interpret the sensitiveness of British bureaucrats to criticism, Indian or non-Indian, of the story of shame spread over Calcutta and Bengal with all the world as witness. World war II of the 20th century had brought to the shores of India men from the United States of America as modern crusaders in a fight against the "Imperial Way" of Dai Nippon, Great Japan. And their conceit as members of the "United Nations," charged with the high destiny of uplifting the "lesser breeds" of the human race—the yellow, the brown and the black—received a cruel shock as they came face to face with the sub-human conditions under and amidst which men and woman lived in a country whose rulers belonged to the Anglo-Saxon race. Members of the British bureaucracy in India could not be happy with this exposure. And in every criticism of their ways specially in the U. S. they scented anti-British feeling, the jealousy of the world with the good fortune that has made Britain the exemplar of all the progressive nations of the modern world.

This super-sensitiveness could be illustrated from any number of instances. One of these deserves notice. On the 9th of November, 1943, at a ceremony held at the White House, the official residence of the President of the United States of America, was signed the Charter of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration that was to afford relief to peoples in war-scarred countries and to set them up again in decent conditions of life. Representatives of 44 United and Associated Governments signed the Charter. The original purpose was to limit the relief and rehabilitation operations to countries that had suffered from the marches and counter-marches of invading and retreating armies, where battles had been fought or lost, where crops had been destroyed, houses burnt, and men, women and children driven from their homes to seek and find shelter amid unimagined conditions of squalor and destitution. This plan would have limited relief to North Africa, to the continent of Europe, to China, and to the islands in the Pacific. But India became the base of operations against Japan, and as a result thereof Bengal fell within the war zone, and owing to measures undertaken by the late Sir John Herbert, the Governor of Bengal, her economic arrangements were disrupted. This disturbance of the dangerously poised life of the Province was the immediate cause of the famine that has disintegrated the social life of about six crores of men and women, causing the death of more than three millions of them and leaving as many millions wrecked in body and mind, the objects of public charity. When the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration was set up the question was quite naturally asked in

India whether or not the famine-stricken people in Bengal, in Travancore, Cochin, Malabar, Orissa and certain areas in and about Bijapur in the Bombay Presidency could expect or were entitled to help from this international fund, specially when India was an original member of this institution and contributed her share of contributions to finance its work. To this question there appear to have been an immediate response from the United States. Its Congress, the Senate and the House of Representatives.—passed on the 25th January, 1944, an amendment to the main resolution expressing acceptance of the principle and policy of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

"In expressing its approval of this joint Resolution, it is the recommendation of the Congress that in so far as funds and facilities permit, any area important to military operations of the United Nations which is stricken by famine or disease may be included in benefits to be made available by United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration."

This resolution of the Congress of the United States, if accepted by the United Nations, will bring cases like those of Bengal, of "distress in India's mainland" within the scope of the Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. This was the hope that was expressed in the Central Legislative Assembly on the occasion of the discussion raised over the resolution moved by Sir Azizul Huque, member for Commerce and Industries and Civil Supplies in the Governor-General's Executive Council which was worded as follows :

"That this Assembly approves the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration Agreement signed at Washington on the 9th November, 1943."

To this resolution two amendments were proposed, one that the name or names of the representative or representatives of India who will serve on any body connected with the Relief and Rehabilitation Administration be submitted to the Central Legislature of India; the other was couched in the words of the U. S. Congress resolution. Sir Azizul could not accept on behalf of the Government the first amendment; he accepted the second. But during the discussion on this resolution Mr. Khitish Chandra Neogy brought to the notice of the Assembly and through it of the country how the resolution of the U. S. A. Congress was interpreted by a section of the British Press, how for reasons that can be easily understood the ruling classes of Britain were found to be feeling very uncomfortable over the interest shown by other countries in the victims of famine in India; they somehow felt this interest to be a criticism of their administration of India. The U. S. Congress had passed the resolution on the 25th of January, 1944, and in the issue of date January 29, 1944, there appeared in the well-known London financial weekly, *The Economist*, the following comment :

"This (amendment) is interpreted in America as a reference to India and as such it would be contrary to agreements reached at Atlantic City. Probably, it is to some degree an expression of anti-British and pro-Indian feeling.

In the amendment, moved in the U. S. Congress and accepted by

it, there was no specific reference to India. It might be that in the speeches made in support of it India was referred to, the case of Bengal had been brought in to illustrate the point stressed in the amendment. The London weekly that represented the 'big business' of Britain scented in this reference a bias in favour of India, a prejudice against British ways in India that in the middle of the 20th century could drive the people of Bengal to starvation and death. The tales of famine in India during the British period were not unknown to Americans. Along with elephants, snakes and Rajas, famines had appeared in the pictures of India in American minds. "Mark Twain" had high-lighted these for his people in his book—"Innocents Abroad."

"There is only one India ! It is the only country that has a monopoly of grand and imposing specialities. When another country has a remarkable thing, it cannot have it all to itself—some other country has a duplicate. But India—that is different. Its marvels are its own ; the patents cannot be infringed, imitations are impossible.....Famine is India's speciality. Elsewhere famines are small inconsequential incidents—in India they are devastating cataclysms ; in the one case they annihilated hundreds, in the other millions."

The paradox that is India in the context of modern life described by this American humourist in language of overstatement was accepted by the American public with a sense of incredulous amusement. But when American men and women were brought by fate and a total war to the shores of India and they were confronted with sights of men, women and children roaming over the country, in the streets of towns and cities, in the City of Palaces—Calcutta—in search of food and dropping down to die from long-continued mal-nutrition, they could realize for the first time in their life that "Mark Twain" was not a master of paradoxes alone, that behind his words lay something, certain conditions of life that was no credit to society in India or to the Government that was an ally of the United States of America for the establishment of the "Four Freedoms"—one of which was "Freedom from want." It was not difficult for them to understand that the famine in the midst of which they had to move, live and have their being, themselves immune from its ravages, was no sudden outburst, but the result of a long process of maladjustment in economic life which the State had neglected or ignored or did not realize the significance of. Therefore their startled revulsion against these scenes of degradation of human life, of nakedness and shame was unmistakable, though it might not have expressed itself in any language of disgust owing to their peculiar relation with the representatives of the ruling power. It is known that four members of the U. S. Senate visited India on a tour of inspection of the life of their own soldiers stationed in India, and that their angry comments on the break-down of civilised life which the famine symbolized resounded through their land, and created opinions that were not quite complimentary to British methods of administration. It was the appreciation of this fact that drew the criticism of the London *Economist* on the Senate resolution. A guilty conscience made the ruling classes of Britain sensitive to any reference, however distant, to India. Otherwise, it is difficult to understand why the *Economist* should have reacted to the resolution of the Congress of the United States in the way it did,

This episode revealed that Indo-British relations have a bearing on inter-national affairs, and the attempts of the British Government to keep India in a glass-house of their own manufacture will fail ignominiously as it has already done. Specially **British propaganda to mislead** as famines and pestilences demonstrate the failure of British rule to initiate those measures that can improve the material life of the Indian people. The contradiction between promise and practice that characterizes the two-centuries old history of the relation between India and Britain cannot any longer be hid behind platitudes. The accidental presence of U. S. men and women in India has high-lighted it for all the world to see. This could not be comfortable for the ruling race. And their propaganda machine in the U. S. has been striving to remove the impression of inefficiency in British administrative machinery that has been created by the Bengal famine and pestilence. We do not know, we are not allowed to know what American observers have said with regard to these two developments in Bengal, nor do we know how British propagandists have been countering the American version of Britain's failure to create modern conditions of life in India during these centuries. Through hints and suggestions now and then finding place in the American Press we can learn that the public there have become critical of British professions, and appreciate the political entanglement in India that has halted British attempts at fighting such catastrophies as the famine of 1943-'44. In the October, 1944, number of the New York magazine—*Asia and Americas*—an organ of international fellowship—appeared words in course of a pre-view of the next month's contents that went to show that increasing sections of the American public were growing aware of the mind of the ruling classes of Britain as it was reflected in the comments of the London *Economist*: quoted above. Said the New York magazine:

"India continues to get shabby treatment from Americans who follow the lead of British imperialism rather than the noble democracy of the people of England. Before this issue appears, the facts may have come out about the niggardly and furtive handling of American relief for the victims of the famine in Bengal—in spite of the best efforts of the Indian Famine Relief Committee and the American Friends Service Committee.....The same sort of attitude appeared at Bretton Woods where the American delegates voted against India's demands....."

This cryptic comment of the American monthly does not come to us as a surprise. We have known for years that there have always existed links of kinship, material and spiritual, between the ruling classes of these countries. In successive volumes of the *Annual Register* since 1940 we have tried to trace these, and as these influence political and economic conduct. To the world at large Britain and her Dominions except Eire and the United States of America present a united front. The present war has brought out this fact in vivid colours. So there is nothing surprising that the United States with her responsibility as leader of the "United Nations" should have agreed to the the British line in the application of the "Atlantic Charter" clauses to India, thereby rendering illusory all their declarations about justice and equity between nations. And if even in such matters as famine, pestilence and relief work to mitigate their depredations,

**Kinship between  
United States &  
Britain**

political entanglements create difficulties, we can only accept these as natural human failings. It is rare for human nature to rise above credal and social affinities when justice places such a choice before men and women. This rarity is illustrated in the conduct of the men and women associated with the magazine—*Asia and the Americas*—who have dared to be with the minority in their fight for India's cause.

We must, however, return from the digression that political considerations have been playing with matters that do not generally have any political reference or significance. But unfortunately for India even famine and pestilence have a place in the context of her political subjection. In the last two volumes of the *Annual Register* (1943)

we have attempted to understand and explain this broader aspect of the break-down in the decencies of civilized life that drew the world's attention to the nature of administration that Britain has been maintaining during the last one hundred and eight-seven years. We do not propose to go over that story in this volume. Within twelve years of the Battle of Plassey (1757), victory which made Britain ruler over vast Provinces in eastern India there was a famine in Bengal and Bihar that caused the death of ten millions of men, women, and children, one third of the population of the Province of Bengal as it was then constituted. There was failure of the monsoon. But the real reason was the process of exploitation to which the people had been subjected. This was brought out by the late Dean Inge in his *Outspoken Essays* in the following words quoted from the Chapter entitled—"The Future of the English Race," that traced the growth of Britain as the leading country in world.

"The first impetus (to the industrial revolution in Britain) was given by the plunder of Bengal which, after the victories of Clive, flowed into the country in a broad stream for about 30 years. This ill-gotten wealth played the same part in stimulating England's industries as the "five millions" extorted from France did for Germany after 1870."

This catastrophe almost at the threshold of British rule over India set the characteristic pattern of administration-cum-exploitation that we have become familiar with. The famine of

**Disruption of  
India's industries**

1943-'44 and the pestilence that followed it are developments that are implicit in the system that Britain has introduced into India. We have seen why more than 22 major famines should have broken out in our country. The progressive deterioration of the economic life of the country caused by the decline and death of the industries that sustained the simple life of the millions in India in health became inevitable when British rulers used the arm of political injustice to advance British industries, when the Parliament of Britain passed law after law imposing heavy duties on Indian manufactures, almost prohibiting their entrance into Britain and other European countries. These steps drove to agriculture the craftsmen who had their arts and crafts to earn a living for themselves and their dependents. The present generation of British bureaucrats make it a grievance that India's soil should have on it such a heavy pressure of population to support it. This state of things is recorded as a special defect of the Indian social economy. They forget the contribution of the selfish policy of

their own country to bringing about this catastrophic developments. The process of this deterioration is writ large in our present life, and recorded in histories written by Indians and non-Indians. Of the former, Dadabhai Naoroji, Mahadev Govind Ranade, Romesh Chunder Dutt are pioneers; of the latter William Digby will long be remembered for his book—*Prosperous British India*. Sir Henry Cotton who was victimized by the bureaucracy for his sympathy with Indian aspirations, and had to retire as Chief Commissioner of Assam, in the opening years of the present century, a very subordinate post in the official hierarchy, whose book—*New India*—was a classic presentation of the case of India for self-government—described in 1890 the history of this economic debacle:

“Less than a hundred years ago the commerce of Dacca was estimated at one crore (ten million) rupees and its population was at 200,000 souls. In 1787 the exports of Dacca Muslin to England amounted to 30 lakhs (three million) rupees; in 1817 they had ceased altogether. The arts of spinning and weaving which for ages afforded employment to a numerous and industrious population have now become extinct. Families which were formerly in a state of affluence have been driven to desert the towns and betake themselves to the villages for a livelihood.....The decadence has occurred not in Dacca only.....the manufacturing classes in all parts of the country are becoming impoverished.”

Modern students of world economics have been struck by the “arrested economic development” of India. Dr. Vera Anstey, a leading British authority on Indian economics, in her book—“The Economic Development of India” (1936)—has been constrained to recognize that a well-balanced economic life has not yet been attained and the standard of life of the masses remains miserably low.” Prof. D. H. Buchanan in his book—*The Development of Capitalist Enterprise in India*—published in New York in 1934, could but express surprise at the potential wealth of India and its neglect by the State.

“Here was a country with all the crude elements upon which manufacturing depends, yet during more than a century it has imported factory-made goods in large quantities and has developed only a few of the simplest industries for which machinery and organization had been highly perfected in other countries. With abundant supplies of raw cotton, raw jute, easily-mined coal, easily-mined and exceptionally high-grade iron ore; with a redundant population often starving because of lack of profitable employment; with a hoard of gold and silver second perhaps to no other country in the world;.....with an excellent market within her own borders and near at hand in which others were selling great quantities of manufactures; with all these advantages, India after a century was supporting only about 2 per cent of her population by factory industry.”

One can fill up pages with extracts from books and Government reports bearing witness to the progressive pauperization of the country under the regime introduced by Britain. We have already referred to the increasing pressure on the land in India which is being made a point of grievance by modern British administrators as standing in the way of agricultural improvement. Certain figures can be quoted to prove this fact of the people finding no other means of livelihood than land for eking out a miserable existence. In

1891—59·8 per cent of the people were dependent on agriculture.

1911—71·3 per cent                   “                   “                   “                   “

1931—73·3                   “                   “                   “                   “

These figures show that every twenty years with the increase of



population more people have had to be maintained out of agriculture only, that during the period of the 1931 census the number of landless labourers and unemployed recorded the terrific figure of 8 crores (80 millions) of men and women. A society that had to carry this load of poverty-stricken people, to be somehow kept living, must be subject to tensions that recur periodically and that must have had its balance between food and population restored by famines as it attempted to do in 1943 in Bengal. India's poverty and India's mal-nutrition do not require to be proved by statistics. The present writer can trace these since 1905, taking haphazardly a point of time from which one can begin discussion. From his own experience of life he can say that his neighbours were a better fed people than they have been since. He saw the poorest of village widows having their cow and goat, and as the milk produced had no market so to say—all householders being self-sufficient in this item of food—they took the milk and other milk products themselves except the *ghee* which could be sold to the middle class families in the neighbourhood. To-day when milk is in short supply, and official propaganda on behalf of the value of these foods if so enthusiastic, one can recall with bitterness that our people practised in ignorance perhaps what their descendants are being exhorted to do. This is but an instance of the way in which the State in India has been negligent in understanding and appreciating the process of deterioration in the food front that was released over the country by forces like over-population in particular areas, but which the ruling classes did nothing to halt and neutralize. It is an irony that when knowledge of nutrition and researches into factors of nutrition are so much talked about, food materials that make people healthy should be becoming scarce in the country, that the Administration should be trying to satisfy modern conditions by establishing Nutrition Institutes without being able to help the people to provide themselves with nutritious foods. Its feeling of helplessness was expressed in the Council of State on March 22, 1944 by the Secretary of the Department of Health when in reply to a question—whether the Government of India realized that cholera and small-pox have a tendency to become endemic due to the growing deterioration in the physical stamina of the nation?—he replied :

"The factors which govern endemicity are not yet fully understood but deterioration in physical condition renders a person more liable to certain diseases, including cholera.

"In certain parts of India there has been a deterioration in the physical stamina of the people due to under-nourishment.

This confession is not the product of sudden discovery. The bureaucracy was not ignorant that "of all the disabilities from which the masses in India suffer, mal-nutrition is perhaps the chief." Lieutenant-Colonel MacCarrison, I.M.S., in charge of the Deficiency Diseases Enquiry, Indian Research Fund Association, Pasteur Institute, Coonoor, presented this picture to the Royal Commission on Agriculture (chairman Lord Linlithgow) during its enquiry in 1926. One or two quotations from the Memorandum presented by him will enable our readers to realize the problem which has been high-lighted by the Bengal famine of 1943-'44.

Human beings &  
soil in India  
ill-fed

"Of all the disabilities from which the masses in India suffer, malnutrition is perhaps the chief. The more spectacular endemic and epidemic diseases such as cholera, malaria, dysentery, tuberculosis and leprosy kill their thousands yearly. But malnutrition claims its millions, and is the means whereby the soil of human body is made ready for the rank growth of the pathogenic agents of many of those diseases which afflict the Indian people."

"The effect of imperfect food in causing a degree of physical inefficiency, which may not be associated with any gross evidence of disease, is exemplified in India as in few other countries in the world. Few, who have travelled far in India can have failed to observe the remarkable difference in physical efficiency of the different Indian races; and although there are a number of factors, climatic and others, which play their part in determining these differences, yet it has been shown by researches carried out in this laboratory and by Col. McCay in Calcutta that nutrition is the chief among them..... Malnutrition is thus the most far-reaching of the causes of disease in India. It is one of the greatest—if not the greatest—problems with which the investigator of disease is faced. It is, too, the chief among the problems facing those engaged in agricultural research. The ultimate aim of both is the same, the adequate nutrition of the people. So far, then, from agricultural and nutritional research being carried out in isolated compartments, there should be the closest co-operation between them, to the mutual advantage of each....."

We have said that about forty years back our people were better fed, so were they physically more fit. And the malnutrition that has affected their health has in various ways affected the soil from which they extract their food-grains and the animals with whose help they cultivate their soil.

"So it is that such disabilities of mankind as are due to faulty nutrition are sometimes traceable to the soil itself which has become exhausted and unproductive of the best kind of food through improper attention and cultivation. Malnutrition thus pursues its harmful course in an over-widening vicious circle, the cultivator is too often ill-nourished and ravaged by disease which is commonly the result of ill-nourishment, his beasts are alike ill nourished; while both toil wearily in a heartless effort to extract from the ill-nourished earth enough to keep them from starvation....."

The Surgeon-General with the Government of Madras, Major-General Hutchinson, in his memorandum submitted on the same occasion, referred to the experience of Germany to explain "the effect of a reduced diet on a population previously well-fed." Diminution of weight was the first symptom; "energy lacking from food" being supplied in the first place by the fat and in the second place by the muscular tissues of the body.

"This seem<sup>s</sup> to have been the condition of the greater part of the urban inhabitants of Germany during the War (1914-'18), these having received a daily allowance of food of not more than 2,000 calories. They lost weight, but they were stated to be also able to carry out their ordinary work under the stress of circumstances in which they were placed.....On the children the effect of the diminished diet has been to restrict growth, but not to stop it.....German observations tend to show that a return to normal conditions will probably be followed by an increased rate of growth which will be sufficient to make up for that lost during the past years."

The quotation above describing the experience of Germany under Allied blockade establishes two truths, that "human beings can adapt themselves, at a low level of vitality and with their powers impaired, to an insufficient ration, and scarcely realise that they are under-fed." (*Health Bulletin No 22 on the Nutrition Value of Indian Foods etc. Published in 1938 by Dr. W. R. Aykroyd, Director of*

Nutrition Research Laboratories, Coonoor). Malnutrition in India has been recognized by members of the bureaucracy, and except certain research work bringing out the truths of nutrition which the poorest amongst Indians had practised before rural decay overtook them, nothing effective has been done by the State to halt this progressive deterioration in the health of the country. And the people have been driven to adapt their living conditions to "insufficient ration," and somehow carry on without realizing that they were "under-fed." This under-feeding they accepted as a decree of fate, and Authority in India watched the process in helpless anxiety without understanding the significance of what the research workers suggested or paralysed by the stupendousness of the problem.

Whatever be the fact, 1943 demonstrated the ineffectiveness of the rulers and the helplessness of the ruled. The Ministries that have been functioning in the different Provinces since the Montagu-Chelmsford "reforms" days have been partners in this crime against the majority of their people. None of them has been found capable of staking its reputation for giving effect to any of the healing measures suggested by modern sciences to meet the difficult and different problems of survival in the keener struggle for existence precipitated by the inventions and discoveries of the same sciences. Their helplessness and ineffectiveness stand in strange contrast to what the ruling classes were able to do to restore conditions of health and growth in Germany, in the rising generation of Germany devitalized by four years of under-feeding. In the course of twenty years they more than made up for the loss forced on them, and from out of the wrecks of a defeated and disrupted Germany, poor in health and poor in material wealth, they could re-construct the mightiest of fighting agencies, human and mechanical, that the imagination of human beings could ever imagine. The defeat of 1918 and the spiritual and material debacle that it entailed were made into instruments for a renewal of hope and strength, were converted into potent weapons of aggression that challenged to a fight all the major Powers of the world except Italy and Japan. For about four years and more Germans, the derelicts of 1918, have been fighting the embattled hosts of Britain, the Soviet Union and the United States of America. How they recuperated their physical stamina would ever remain a wonder to the student of affairs. Major-General Hutchinson's memorandum submitted to the Royal Commission on Agriculture in 1926 had drawn upon the experiences of Germany to suggest a remedy for the state of things in India, to the under-feeding and malnutrition that was sapping the vitality of the people of India. But his voice as well of other health advisers went unheeded by the Central and Provincial Governments in India. What a defeated and discredited Germany could do, one of her victors could not do in India. Why? The reply to this query would take us far afield. The unnatural relation that subsists between India and Britain, the subject country and the imperialist Power, must be held partly responsible for the debacle in the health front of India.

In the background of these weaknesses, mental and physical, in India which the State has not been able to eliminate from the body-politic, famine and pestilence have become parts of a natural state of things. As we write (May, 1945) the report of the Famine Commission appointed to enquire into the causes and consequences of the Bengal Famine in 1943, has seen the light of day. It is not possible to ignore its verdict. And it is something to find that the members of the Commission have accepted almost all the contentions of the publicists and public men of India with regard to the responsibility of the Central Government at Delhi-Simla, of the Government at Calcutta, of the Ministries in Bengal. The Government of India is made responsible for failure to "recognize at a sufficiently early date the need for a system of planned movement of food-grains, including rice as well as wheat....."; "an agreement should have been reached at an early stage between the Government of India and the Government of the Punjab about the price level" of wheat; this would have kept the price of wheat "under control", and sent to Bengal wheat and wheat-products at an "earlier period" when these would have been much more useful." The Commission subjected the constantly varying plans of the Central Government to criticism as betokening an uncertain mind—the Basic Plan, "unrestricted free trade", "modified free trade", control, de-control, etc.

"By August, 1943, it was clear that the Provincial Administration in Bengal was failing to control the famine. Deaths and mass migration to a large scale was occurring. In such circumstances the Government of India, whatever the constitutional position, must share with the Provincial Government the responsibility for saving lives."

Thus has been pricked the plea of Mr. Leopold Amery, the head of the Indo-British Administration, that "this matter in Bengal" (Mr Amery was careful in avoiding the words starvation or famine to describe conditions in Bengal and tried to give these a respectable look by using the words "this matter in Bengal") is "primarily one for the Ministry of the self-governing Province." The Commission was no less critical of the Bengal Government. One can go on quoting its many references to the act of commission and omission of the late Sir John Herbert and his successors.

Sir John was a sick man when he undertook the personal responsibility for the government of the Province in March-April, 1943; during these three weeks there was no Ministry to aid and advise him; if he needed any advice there were the sundried bureaucrats at Calcutta's Writers' Buildings to fall back upon. It is these people or their opposite numbers at Delhi-Simla who were responsible for the propaganda of sufficiency which the Nazimuddin Ministry embraced with so much gusto when it was pitch-forked into the Ministerial *guddee*. The Commission has characterized it as "mis-guided", and thinks that "it would have been better to warn the people fully of the danger of famine." The Nazimuddin Ministry has not come out of the ordeal with any dignity. One point made by the Commission against it was that when Bengal needed most the services

Famine  
Commission's  
Report

Delhi Government's  
Responsibility

Government of  
Bengal &  
Ministry

of an "all-party" concentration to pull her out of the conditions of famine and pestilence, the Muslim League stood in the way of such a consummation. The Commission referred to the failure of the attempts to set up an "all-party Government", and explained the reason for these failures.

"We understand that the main reasons for the failure were first the refusal of the Muslim League party in accordance with its all-India political policy to join a Government which included any Muslim who did not belong to the party, and secondly, the refusal of the other principal parties either to join or support a Government from which Muslim leaders who did not belong to the Muslim League party were excluded."

And the Commission, we are glad to notice, supports the grave charge we made against the Nazimuddin Ministry that it created difficulties for the organization of relief work in Bengal by following its rank communalist policy. We drew

**Communalism & Famine Relief**

attention in the last volume of the *Annual Register* (pp. 48-9) to the dual purposes it wanted to

secure by the pursuit of this policy. It wanted to fight famine; it wanted to establish its supporters in the Muslim community in the distributive trades of Bengal. But in the working of this policy the second purpose gained the upper hand. And the relief of the famine-stricken receded from view except when it was required to propagandize a Muslim League point as a foil to the exploits of the Ministry. The Woodhead Commission brought this fact in an indirect way when considering the three reasons for the delay in introducing rationing in Greater Calcutta. Referring to the third reason—difficulties and delays in securing staff and accommodation, the members of the Commission let off the Ministry rather mildly.

"We recognize that the difficulties of recruiting and training the large staff and of acquiring accommodation were real and great, but we are of opinion that avoidable delay did take place. The delay in the recruitment was accentuated at one stage by an endeavour to maintain communal proportions. We consider this to have been particularly unfortunate. In an emergency, particularly one affecting the food of the people, administrative action should not be delayed by attempts to observe rules fixing communal ratios."

As we have said, the Famine Commissioners found in favour of almost all the charges that have been brought against the bureaucracy, Central and Provincial, and the Nazimuddin Ministry.

**Malnutrition in India was known**

The Bengal famine was caused by administrative blunders and corruptions. For, owing to favourable conditions this Province has been "almost entirely free from famine" during the 19th century, to quote the verdict of the Commission, except the western-most district of Bankura. But malnutrition was there. We have referred to this as the basic problem, and the following words of the Commission support our contention.

"At the best of times, however, a section of the poorer classes, both in villages and towns, did not get enough to eat and their diet, largely composed of rice, was of poor nutritive value. Sir John Megaw, Director General, Indian Medical Service, carried out in 1933 an enquiry into the physical condition of villagers in different parts of India, by means of questionnaires sent to local doctors. Dispensary doctors in Bengal reported that only 22 per cent of the population was well-nourished, while 33 per cent, was very badly nourished. The corresponding figures for India as a whole was 39 and 26 per cent respectively. Since the assessment of the state of nutrition depended on the subjective impressions of doctors in different Provinces, it is difficult to accept these figures as showing conclusively that nutritional conditions in Bengal were worse than elsewhere in India. Nevertheless,

the results of the investigation may be quoted as indicating in a general way the unsatisfactory state of nutrition of the people of rural Bengal 10 years previous to the famine."

Amongst a people de-vitalized like what has been described above came the famine and the pestilence that accompanied and followed it.

There has been keen controversy with regard to the mortality figures due to these two causes. The Commission has differed from official and non-official estimates; according to it the former has underestimated these, while the latter are thought to be over-estimated. The official estimate, Mr. Amery's estimate, was about six to seven lakhs: non-official estimate has been five times that figure; the estimate of the Commission has been a figure somewhere in the middle, between one million and two millions. Taking the Commission's figures the estimate comes to this. From July to December, 1943, 13,04,323 deaths were "recorded" as against an average of 626,048 during the previous five years. In the first six months of 1944, there was record of 981,228 deaths, an excess of 422,341 over the number of the previous five years. And there are two significant remarks in the Commission's report that "so far as excess mortality is concerned, the year 1944 was almost as disastrous as the previous one." That

"The calamity of death fell on a population with low physical reserves and circumstances were favourable for a flare up of epidemic disease. The association between health conditions in normal times and the high famine mortality must be underlined."

The Commission devoted about 34 pages to the discussion of "Death and Disease in the Bengal Famine." Chapter V of Part II. is entitled—*The Failure to prevent high mortality*. A summary of the Commission's views and ideas on high mortality the relation of famines to epidemics is relevant to the subject under review in these pages, and we make no apology in presenting it. A famine-stricken population is a sick population. Famine means not only lack of food in the quantitative sense but also lack of essential constituents of food that are necessary for health. The functioning of every tissue and organ of the body is impaired by insufficiency of food; susceptibility to infection is increased, and resistance to disease when contracted is weakened. The disorganization of life produced by famine furthers the spread of disease of various kinds including the major epidemic diseases. In the estimated death of "some 1.5 millions in excess of the average" in 1943 and during the first six months of 1944, it is "impossible to separate these into groups and to assign a proportion to starvation and under-nutrition, another proportion to epidemic disease, and yet another to non-epidemic disease." Dysentery and diarrhoea are peculiarly famine diseases; as regards cholera other factors may be involved in epidemics associated with food shortage and famine. "We agree with the view of the 1901 Commission that much of the cholera mortality must be deemed to have been preventable..... A cholera epidemic can be checked, even in a famine-stricken population....." Malaria Control in Bengal is a problem for which no solution has yet been found. The main responsibility of medical and public health authorities was to provide facilities for treatment. This "responsibility was inadequately fulfilled."

"In view of the state of medical and public health organizations in Bengal before the famine, it is scarcely surprising that they failed to rise to the occasion. On the health side, no satisfactory attempt was made during the early months to deal with the situation; there was in fact almost a complete break-down of health services, affecting both the centre and the periphery."

This story of unpreparedness generated a species of callousness to the sufferings of millions that has come upon many of us as a surprise. One can understand that times of war create this insensibility, that death and wounds in battlefields, the burning of houses, of crop-laden fields, of mills and factories have in combatants and their

**Causes of callous-  
ness in high  
places**

leaders a deadening effect, as well as on the sensibilities of increasing numbers of men and women. But what we saw and heard of in India cannot be explained away by this interpretation of mass or group psychology. Lord Linlithgow's refusal to visit Bengal symbolized something, some defect in the character of the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy that the future historian only can rightly analyse. We are too near the event to judge it properly. Political irritation may lead us to think that the famine of 1943 in Bengal was allowed to have such a free run because the value of Indian lives was next to nil in the eyes of the men whom an inscrutable fate had drawn from beyond six thousand miles to India to hold sway over men of lesser breeds. We may think, many of us do so, that men and women who agree to live under such a dispensation, have agreed to live under alien rule do not deserve any better fate. And that in every hundred years, during the middle and end of these years, a retributive agency in the heart of Creation takes its revenge on these sub-humans for failure to display even the elementary instincts of all created beings that lead them to make a show of fight for life and happiness. In India the callousness of the people appeared to have generated in the hearts of the ruling people and their indigenous supporters an identical feeling. It may be that they felt pity for these helpless and feckless millions, but that pity more often than not verged on contempt. And from contempt no noble endeavour can grow and thrive. This is the tragedy of the unnatural relation that historic forces have created between the two peoples. This is an interpretation that has not been pleasant for an Indian to write. But on no other can the failure of the Linlithgow Administration be explained. World opinion now or in the future cannot hold any individual responsible for the break-down in the decencies of human life that Bengal presented in 1943. It would try to satisfy itself with the thought that the people of India deserved the system of Government that they have at present, that their littleness of spirit has called out the worst of the instincts, impulses and feelings of the ruling race. History cannot have any other judgment passed on the two-centuries old Indo-British relation. A contemporary Indian publicist anticipates it only.

The Woodhead Commission has had something of this tragic feeling. Its report bears witness to it. But it could not go into psychological factors to explain the shame of 1943.

**How Britain  
fought in her  
food front**

The Chairman of the Commission was a distinguished member of the Indian Civil Service; he was known for devotion to his duties, painstaking and heedless

of personal comforts. He must have known that the inadequacies of the Administration boded no good to any body, Indian or British. But caught in its "steel frame," no individual British administrator has been able to get over the inertia of things in a "dependent" country: those among them who tried to "hustle" the pathetically content people failed to make any impression, and, perhaps, retired with bitterness. The more stolid among them carried on without hope and without any exaltation of feeling that only a native can feel. To a ruling race, thus circumstanced, came war—a war that required the whole-souled service of the people, a total war that could have no mercy for any individual, a war of survival for the British Empire that for about a century and more has been dictating the patterns of thought and conduct to the world. In Britain they have shown how an unready Government could be galvanized into concentration of effort that could transform the face of the country. Britain that depended for eight months in the year on import of food grains, of meat, for butter and fat, from Argentina, from Canada from Australia, to be carried across thousands of miles of submarine-infested seas, Britain with food rationing, with cloth rationing, with rationing in every bit and item of every-day necessities, Britain has shown what could be done to maintain the health and stamina of the people. During the last world war Lloyd George, the British Premier and the organiser of the British victory in that war, had spoken of the C-3 people from whom the fighting forces of Britain came. And during the uneasy peace of twenty years that stood between these two world wars, the health front and the nutrition front of the country had not been at all compact, what with the slump in world trade and what with unemployment that afflicted one-sixth of the population. "An un-employed ex-Service man," suffering from this debacle in the material life of his country had "toasted" her in words that laid bare the tinsel glory of the imperialism that Britishers glorv in, and that is the envy and temptation of all aspiring nations of the modern world. Writing to the London *Daily Herald*—the organ of the Labour Party—he burst into this poem.

"Protector of weaker nations, whether Arab, or Pole or Greek.  
 Always ready to help—abroad—'tis the second time we speak.  
 We have drunk before to Thy greatness where the sunken roads ran red.  
 Some of us drink this second toast—but the lucky ones are dead.  
 Ocean and dock and harbour where flaming warships sank;  
 Field and forest of Flanders are red with the first we drank.  
 Now—workless, homeless and hopeless—a second toast we give  
 To a land where heroes—and profiteers—but no one else—can live.  
 We are down in the gutter, England—down and damned and done.  
 But we pledge a toast to thy greatness, thy greatness that we have won,  
 With water stale from the gutter, we pledge thee, deep and strong.  
 Oh Land! where a man is free—to starve, if he doesn't take too long."

This was the country to which a total war threw a great challenge. And the Government and the people rose up to it with unity of purpose, the latter stilling the bitterness in their hearts that the poem quoted above had given expression to. This was a contrast, set against the background of things in India, that made all the difference between a sovereign nation and a subject people. One may wonder that men like the writer of the above poem, fully conscious

A contrast  
 between India  
 and Britain



of the injustices of the social and economic regime obtaining in Britain, should have risen so nobly to avert the threat to the norms and terms of British life, and should have fought so gallantly to preserve these. This could be explained by the feeling, instinctive in free men, that in face of a foreign invasion all other considerations should fade from view, that the injustices and inequities of social and economic arrangements could wait rectification and reform till victory-day, victory over the foreign foe. This feeling transforms the habitual smugness of the bureaucrat as well as the bitterness in the heart of the submerged millions that are to be found even in politically free nations of the world. This was the transformation that we saw taking place in Britain. And this was the transformation that was absent from India. And because of this contrast an area like Britain highly deficit in food grains was the better in health owing to rationed life, and a self-sufficient area like India had to register the death of a few millions of men and women due to starvation and diseases caused by long-continued malnutrition—fruits of an alien State policy. The Woodhead Commission has laid bare certain of the elements of the problem that was set before it to unravel and explain. From the law of its being the Commission could not be expected to indicate the ramifications of this policy, the many ways in which it made the poverty in the material life of India inevitable. In this volume of the *Annual Register* we have tried to point out how British methods of administration and exploitation have resulted in devitalizing the people in India. In normal times the signs of this poverty do not engage attraction. But 1943 and 1944 high-lighted these for all the world to see.

Mr. Casey relieved Sir Thomas Rutherford of his heavy duties as Governor of Bengal in the early months of 1944, when the ravages of famine had exhausted themselves and those of pestilence were in the ascendant. On the 1st of April, in course of a broadcast, sent out to re-assure public opinion that the worst days were over, he acknowledged that the machinery of "general administration" which he had been handling had "never been designed to meet the very abnormal problems with which it was so suddenly faced." In a report published by the Bengal Government were given certain striking figures of expenditure by it on medical relief, water supply and other matters—Rs. one crore during the official year 1943-'44. As regards combating diseases the following facts and figures were relevant. The preventive staff were raised from 2,950 to 4,500; in normal years the number of anti-cholera inoculations given per week was 70,000; now it is 7,60,000; the number of vaccinations given per week was 65,000, now it is 9,50,000; in normal years Government supply of vaccine lymph per week was 5,50,000 grains; during December 1, 1943, to March 25, 1944, it distributed 61,20,131 grains; in normal years Government stock of cholera vaccine averaged 4,15,000 c. c. per week; now it is 15,07,000 c. c.; the total number of vaccinations and inoculations given from 1st of November, 1943, to the 1st of April, 1944 was 1,11,39,706 and 69,08,662 respectively; during February, March, April the target was six millions. Another Table gave a list of medical and non-medical drugs and

How the Government fought the pestilence

equipment supplied to civil and military hospitals by the Government. It made an impressive show. But whether or not these were adequate to the needs of the situation created by famine and pestilence is more than laymen can say. A Government report has said that between "1st November, 1943, and 1st April, 1944,—1,11,39,706 vaccinations and 69,08,662 inoculations were given in Bengal." This gives an idea of the nature of the devastation that was wrecking the Province, the incidence of the various diseases that found a fertile soil in the famine-stricken bodies of millions in Bengal. Dr. B. C. Roy, President of the Bengal Medical Relief Co-ordination Committee, gave a realistic picture of the situation in course of a statement made to a Press Conference held on the 6th June, 1944.

"...the Government had declared 18 districts to be under the grip of small-pox and cholera in an epidemic form while the incidence of malaria was going up again according to the report received by the Committee. The total population of the districts comes to 4 crores 47·7 lakhs. Granting that the epidemics had affected only 50 per cent. of the population, though according to the reports received by the Committee some districts had even 80 p.c. to 90 p.c. of the population affected with malaria a conservative estimate would be that more than 2 crores of Bengal's population were attacked with epidemics. At this rate, 1,500 medical units had to be raised if the epidemics were to be effectively fought."

The non-official medical men of Calcutta and Bengal, the organisers and conductors of relief organizations, were not satisfied with the arrangements made on behalf of the Government to meet the pestilence. They felt impelled, therefore, to organize themselves into a new organization in order to co-ordinate their activities for fighting this menace

Non-official medical men were not satisfied

On the 12th February, 1944, their representatives met at a conference in which was formed the Bengal Medical Relief Co-ordination Committee with a view to pool together all their resources for an all-round effort to provide medical relief in the Province. The necessity for such a co-ordinated effort grew out of the fact that "official relief agencies were altogether insufficient to cope with the emergent situation that had arisen." To explain this, a report from a Calcutta daily (March 2, 1944) was quoted which showed how the official arrangements, as always, were too late and too few. It was when epidemics had assumed alarming proportions that the Government woke up to the fact that a start must be made for the appointment of "special medical officers etc. for relief purposes." The set-up of this official organisation was as follows. The sanctioned strength of doctors, nurses, and others were 290, 1,200, 5,760 respectively. The number recruited was 138,710 and 2,800 respectively. And the inaugural meeting of the new Committee was quite justified in recording that "such services as could be rendered by paid or salaried staff were not sufficient to cope with the enormous task ahead, particularly as effective relief work could be possible only in an atmosphere of complete co-operation between the relief workers and the people." This comment throws light on the difficulties placed even in the path of relief work by the unnatural relation between the State in India and the people under its charge. People suffering from disabilities could not heartily respond to the relief operations started under Government auspices—this has been invariable experience in India. And this experience must have been the inspiration of the comment

quoted above from the report of the Bengal Medical Relief Co-ordination Committee. This mentality will persist as long as this unnatural relation continues to poison human relations in India

The publicist in India would be failing in his duty if he did not bear witness to the valuable work done by this Committee. Nineteen organizations co-operated to form it whose names should have a record in the pages of history. They were: 1. All India Women's Conference. 2. Bengal Civil Protection League. 3. Bengal Muslim League Relief Committee. 4. Bengal Provincial Hindu Mahasabha Relief Committee. 5. Bengal Provincial Trade Union Congress Relief Committee. 6. Bengal Relief Committee. 7. Bengal Women's Food Committee. 8. Calcutta Relief Committee. 9. Friends Ambulance Unit and American Friends' Service Committee. 10. Indian Medical Association. 11. Mahila Atma-Raksha Samity 12. Marwari Relief Society. 13. Mayor's Relief Fund. 14. Mymensingh Sammilanee. 15. People's Relief Committee. 16. Punjab Relief Committee. 17. Servants of India Society. 18. Students' Joint Relief Board. 19. United Teachers' & Students' Relief Committee. These relief organizations have been maintaining 142 Medical units in different parts of the Province, 80 under their direct charge, and 53 placed under the Medical Relief Co-ordination Committee. Each such Unit is manned by one doctor and two medical assistants. It is not possible to describe in detail the activities of each one of these units, as we have not near at hand their reports. The cost of each unit is more than Rs. 500/- every month. As an acknowledgment of the debt immense of endless gratitude that Bengal owed to these organizations and their workers, we record certain figures that will give an idea of the work done by them. The Bengal Relief Committee came first in the number of Units maintained by them, 38 under their own direct supervision and 11 under the Co-ordinating Committee. Next came the Bengal Civil Protection Committee with 16 Units all directly under its control. Then came the People's Relief Committee with 19 Units—11 under its direct control and 8 under the Co-ordination Committee; the Bengal Provincial Hindu Mahasabha Relief Committee came next with 12 Units, all under its direct control; the Servant of India Society of Poona maintained 10 Units by itself; the Bengal Muslim League Relief Committee had 7 Units—2 under its direct control and 5 were placed under the Co-ordination Committee. Over and above these came Medical volunteers from outside Bengal whose number was more than 104. The organizations which sent them with drugs and medicines were 8 in number—Madras Students' Organization—14 volunteers; Bengal Medical Relief Committee (Bombay)—41 volunteers; Punjab Medical Students' Bengal Relief Mission—21 volunteers; Ahmedabad Bengal Rahet Committee—15 volunteers; Lucknow Medical College—4 volunteers; Agra Medical School—4 volunteers; Assam Relief Committee—4 volunteers; Hyderabad (Deccan)—1. The kind of medical relief that organizations like these carried on may be illustrated from the report of the Servants of India Society of Poona. Their medical work with the co-operation of 25 graduates of the Tilak Vidyapith of Poona, started about the middle of December, 1943 and came to a close on May 20, 1944. During these five months 17 centres were started for giving free medical aid,

The number of patients, most of them suffering from malaria and scabbies, diarrhoea and dysentery, treated at these Centres, averaged between 2,000 to 2,300 daily. In addition to treating sick people who could come to the Centres, the doctors went out to the surrounding villages, met the patients in their own homes and gave them the necessary treatment. In fact, from certain points of view, this part of the work formed "an important feature of the relief" administered by medical men hailing from other Provinces. Not the least of it was that they came thus to acquire an intimate knowledge of life as it is lived in Bengal.

The various reports of the work of these organizations bear testimony once again to the value of non-official activities in training people of India in the duties of citizens that have a history of their own traceable to the sixties of the last century.

**Value of this non-official work**

We have tried to trace it in the last volume of the *Annual Register* (pp. 58-'9). A report of the Medical Relief Co-ordination Committee makes certain remarks which show that the people who sought relief preferred non-official help to official: "no wonder that patients have always shown an unhesitating preference for our medical centres for their treatment and have come from long distances, even though official medical units have sometimes existed near their homes" This popular attitude is a commentary on all Government activities. Officers of the Administration recognized it. And their appreciation came to non-official organizations in spite of the many mental inhibitions prevalent. The Director of Public Health, Bengal, in a circular letter, dated the 8th November, 1944, addressed to the District Quinine Rationing Authorities, directed their attention to the value of the work done by and through the constituents of the Bengal Medical Relief Co-ordination Committee.

"These Units are most valuable means of ensuring that malaria cases receive proper treatment and must be regarded as very important adjuncts to the efforts of Government in this respect. It is very desirable, therefore, that whatever assistance is available by way of voluntary relief organization Units should be fully utilized and that there should be no unnecessary difficulties placed in the way of such Units in carrying out their important role."

With this quotation we propose to end the discussion of the harrowing experiences that Bengal passed through during the twelve months beginning from July, 1943 to June, 1944. It is

**Famine and scarcity in Orissa & Bijapur**

because we believe that the events in Bengal do but represent the material poverty that has followed British methods of administration and exploitation that we have devoted such an amount of space to bring into focus all the elements that went to the making of this debacle. A report of the Servants of India Society drew attention to the fact that "the sufferings of Orissa were overshadowed by those of Bengal; but, though limited in extent they were as acute as those of the famine-stricken districts in Bengal." Again, "the situation in Orissa, where the distress though less in extent than in Bengal, was comparable with it in intensity, failed to attract public attention, it is believed, largely because of censor-ship restrictions" Relief of famine-stricken people in the district of Bijapur in the Bombay Presidency commenced under the auspices of this Society in 1942 and continued up to

October, 1943. The Bijapur Famine Relief Committee of Bombay handled about 8 lakhs of rupees in this work. Food and clothes had to be supplied to men and women; "cattle relief" had to be undertaken; "cattle camps" being established. Items of expenditure indicate the many ways the Relief Committee had to face novel situations. On cattle feeding centres and camps were expended about two and half lakhs of rupees; on plough centres about seventeen thousand rupees; on a cattle breeding scheme rupees fifty thousand. The Government of Bombay agreed to bear the whole cost of a scheme for making plough bullocks available to cultivators at reasonable rates of hire if the Society undertook the responsibility of working it. 37 Centres in different Taluqas were opened with a complement of 152 pairs of bullocks; to meet the difficulty about fodder 41 Free Cattle Feeding Centres were opened in the district, feeding 6,487 cattle per day.

"Kerala is today as famine-stricken as Bengal," said the poet Vattathol in a speech at Bombay in October, 1943. Kerala is the narrow strip of land lying between the Western Ghats and the Arabian Sea, stretching from Cape Comorin in the south to Bombay Presidency in the north.

#### Famine conditions in Kerala

It includes the two States—Travancore and Cochin, the whole of Malabar district (British) and parts of two other British districts—South Canara and Nilgiris. The common bond of the Malayalam literature hold together these areas divided into so many administrative units. It has a population of one crore twenty lakhs of people. A report on the life of this people says that even during pre-war times their daily portion of food-grains was 8 to 10 oz of rice per head. They depended on Burma for about 50 per cent. of their food-grains. With the loss of this source of supply, and the ban put by the Government of Madras on export in July, 1942, conditions of famine appeared in Kerala, in two-third of its area. In December, 1942, Malayalam papers reported that people were reduced to taking 2 to 3 oz. of rice per head per day. The causes that precipitated the famine in Bengal worked towards the same catastrophe in Kerala—complacency, corruption, narrowness of vision in high places and selfishness in the general body of the people. The State Governments suffered from the same handicaps as their opposite numbers in the Governments in British India. The result was, as Mr. E. M. S. Namboodiripad's pamphlet—*Food in Kerala*—says that during periods between 1942 and 1944, there have been "four famines—one for every half a year—each lasting for 2 to 3 months;" these were "cycles of starvation periods and half starvation periods" throughout the years. During the winter of 1943 several villages had to go without rice for three to four weeks. During the "non-famine" months a typical village in the deficit areas—in two-thirds of Kerala—got 4 or 6 oz. of rice per head per day; during "famine" months 1½ to 2 oz. per head per day was the quota. This arrangement just managed to keep these people alive; they survived "as an emaciated, under-nourished, epidemic-stricken mass of humanity but, nevertheless, a survival of living humanity." These conditions of starvation and semi-starvation created epidemics; during June-August, 1943, there was an epidemic killing 30,000 people. People will ask why is it that Bengal with a 10 per cent of deficit in her food grains

fell a victim to famine, while Kerala with her 50 per cent deficit was saved from such a catastrophe. The writer whom we have been quoting from has suggested an interpretation. Authority in Bengal did not understand the danger of her position while "the very desperate position of her food stocks" saved Kerala from the horrors of famine. Authority in this area, Indian and British, knew this "desperate" position and took early steps to meet famine condition half way.

We have brought the story of the disintegration of the social life of wide areas spread over the whole country to a focus.

**Dishonesty and corruption flourished** We have seen how inefficiency in Government and corruption in the machinery was reflected in the conduct of classes among the people who in their greed sent their neighbours to death and nakedness. Food and cloth have been made rarities, beyond the reach of the majority of the people. We will, perhaps, never know the many ramifications of the processes by which corruptors in official positions and profiteers in the every-day necessities of the people brought about this shame and degradation to the life of our country. In the last volumes of the *Annual Register* we have tried to show how the politicians of the Muslim League in Bengal exploited their position as upholders of the Nazimuddin Ministry to debauch administrative and social life in the Province. It is not possible to have details of these nefarious activities recorded in official publications, and the Press has also failed to record the proceedings in Courts before which persons accused of dishonesty and corruptions were tried. The Famine Commission presided over by Sir John Woodhead has not gone over this phase of the break-down in the administrative machinery with that elaborateness that the subject deserved. Perhaps, the terms of its enquiry put matters of moral lapse out of bound. Another Enquiry Committee, appointed by the Governor of Bengal in December, 1944, to suggest recommendations for the "improvement of the administration" of the Province submitted its report during the time when these lines were being written. It was presided over by Sir Archibald Rowlands who has just succeeded to the position held by Sir Jeremy Raisman, Finance Member in the Governor-General's Executive Council. In Chapter VII of the Report, entitled—*Manning the Machine*—in Para 219, the Committee in course of certain references to "Service Morale," gave it out that its members have been told that "there has been a marked deterioration in the morale of the services as a result of the impact of political forces on the frame-work of the permanent administration."

"The services apprehend that amenability to Ministerial pressure and a 'correct' attitude towards questions in which the Party for the time being in office is particularly interested are more likely to lead to promotion than administrative efficiency."

This demoralization became evident during 1943-'44 when the policy-carrying machinery in the Bengal Administration was found to be so morally inadequate. But it is not quite true to say that Ministerial Parties were the only sources of evil. The traditions of the higher bureaucracy with its "attitude of aloof superiority" had done nothing to enlist the support of the public for any measures either of preven-

**Why the bureaucracy failed**

tion of unhealthy tendencies or of reform of the existing conditions; the Rowlands Committee referred with "surprise and regret" to evidence of this attitude which appeared "to pay greater regard to the mechanical operation of a soul-less machine than to promoting the welfare of the people and look upon themselves as masters rather than as servants of the people." A bureaucracy afflicted by this malady was paralysed by the shock of the Japanese War, and it did things and failed to do things that only added to the confusion of things. From this the descent to corruption in the lower rungs of the official hierarchy was a logical step. We want to describe this development in the words of the Rowlands Committee's report, not because it said anything original or what others have not said, but because it is necessary to have a record of what an official Committee has had to recognize. It is rather a long quotation

"The war here, as elsewhere, breeds conditions which make money-making easy. Particularly did this become so when the supply of commodities became so short that Government was forced to grant licences to trade in them. The possession of a licence became a thing of high value and dishonest and unscrupulous persons did not hesitate to offer bribes in order to secure the licence to trade in the commodities affected. The power to grant licences was in many cases in the hands of temporary staffs not versed in the traditions of the Service, with no prospect of a permanent career in it and provided with an opportunity for making easy money which many of them found it impossible to let slip.

' War conditions thus provided the opportunity, but it cannot be denied that it became all too easy for dishonest men to seize the opportunity of illicit gain by reason of two things, namely, (a) ill-advised administrative action; (b) defects in the Law which made detection of offences difficult and which provide inadequate penalties for convicted offenders.

"To take these two points in turn. The power to grant licences to deal in commodities in short supply was conferred on subordinates and temporary officials, with little or no attempt being made to lay down rules prescribing to whom, and in what circumstances, licences should be granted. The commodities being in short supply, common sense should suggest that permits should at least have been confined to reputable *bona fide* dealers in the commodities concerned. Indeed, the sensible course would have been, as was in fact done in the United Kingdom, to reduce rather than to increase the number of authorized dealers. Nothing of the sort seems to have been attempted in Bengal, and people, often of ill repute, rushed in to obtain permits to purchase commodities in which they had never dealt before and in which they had no intention of trading, except in the black market. The profits obtainable were so enormous that applicants for permits had no hesitation in offering bribes far too tempting for officials on relatively low rates of pay to resist.

"So widespread has corruption become, and so defeatist is the attitude taken towards it, that we think that the most drastic steps should be taken to stamp out the evil which has corrupted the public service and public morals. Anything less is a denial of justice to the poor people of the province, who comprise the bulk of the population and who, in the end, have to pay for the bribes which go to enrich the unscrupulous and the dishonest."

The Woodhead Commission and the Rowlands Committee could not have framed their verdict with regard to wide-spread corruption on the basis of facts placed before them by non-official witnesses and their statements. The Government must have placed *dossiers* in their hands to help them in coming to their verdict. These *dossiers* must have taken months to collect; the details of bribery and corruption must have been definite. Otherwise, the verdict of

these two Government Committees would not have been as strong as it is. The Rowlands Committee indicated one seat of evil—the way in which the number of authorized dealers in commodities that were in short supply was increased, and “people often of ill repute,” to quote the Committee’s words, were allowed “to obtain permits to purchase commodities in which they had never dealt before, and in which they had no intention of trading, except in the black market.” The committee appeared to suggest and believe that only “officials on relatively low rates of pay” were concerned with granting such permits. We do not know on the strength of what facts did the Committee pass this judgment, why it did not trace the evil higher up in the Nazimuddin Ministry whose policy of establishing and maintaining the communal ratio in the trade and commerce of the Province was responsible for increasing the number of dealers who received permits, thus introducing inexperienced and unreliable persons into these activities. The Woodhead Commission Report has stigmatized this policy. And we are upheld in our conviction that through the loophole of “communal ratio” has flowed over the body politic of Bengal the corruption that has been deplored in the Rowlands Committee’s Report. It has called attention to the “defeatist attitude” adopted by the Government and the people with regard to this evil. It is not necessary to plead *alibi* on behalf of the latter, the hoarders and profiteers who form the majority of this anti-social confraternity. We have to confess with shame that these corruptors of social morals should have come in such numbers from the heart of Indian society. But it cannot be denied that they could not have flourished and made such a parade of their ill-gotten wealth if the State in India had frowned on them. We do not know how do they deal with moral lepers like these in other countries. But we cannot believe that the State in these turn the blind eye on lapses like these. But here in India the State has been philosophically indifferent to the corruption that thrived unchecked and unashamed. We do not forget though that Mr Richard Casey, the Governor of Bengal, called attention to this deterioration in a broadcast of his in April, 1944. We have not heard since then that his Excellency has taken any positive step to sterilize the sources of evil. It may be that the reform of morals does not come within His Excellency’s many discretions and special responsibilities.

The disintegration of material and moral life that through famines and scarcities in various parts of India erupted into view during 1943-44 has an intimate relation to the system of administration that Britain has established in this country and that has been worsening conditions with every year that India remains unfree. The trappings and equipments of modern life that have followed the British rulers into India kept our people ignorant of the real character of this rule—how by a combination of the ruler and the trader the norms and forms of Indian life were wrecked beyond repair, and nothing has been placed in the vacuum to repair the destruction caused. We do not hold any individual Briton responsible for the havoc that his system of rule has wrought in our country. The whole generation that witnessed the spread of British influence over the globe, that helped



to found the British Empire, knew no better. In their treatment of their own people they were no better in dispossessing millions of Britishers of their lands and driving them to work-houses from which were recruited the 'hands' for the working of factories run by steam, and her traders covering the world with the commodities manufactured in them. An interpreter of Britain's industrial development has described this development in the following words :

"Squire Western Junior, a high farming disciple of Arthur Young who would not steal the goose from the common, but had no scruple about stealing the common from the human goose, was unconsciously recruiting for his hated rival, the machine-owning capitalist, and when the village had been emptied out into the work-house, it followed as logically as the deductions of Adam Smith, or the mechanics of his young friend Watt of Grenock, that the work-house would be emptied into the factory."

Another historian has described this process of the destruction of British institutions as and when the younger sons of British families were ranging over the world, driven thereto by this chaos in the social life of their country. They left their land because it could not hold out any hopes to them of better life. But even in their exile they found consolation in the grandeur and glory of an imperial destiny that their tiny island in the north Atlantic had secured. Blinded by this prospect, the few and the many in Britain, the privileged and the unprivileged in the country, failed to notice the "England of the poor," and were ignorant of the "black abyss which lay under the surface of England's wealth," to quote from a biography of Lloyd George. To summarise the words of another, G. K. Chesterton's interpretation of this development in his country's policy and practice, all through the 18th century, all through the Whig speeches about liberty, all through the Tory speeches about patriotism, through the period of Wandewash and Plassey, through the period of Trafalgar and Waterloo, the Central Senate of the nation, the Parliament, was passing Bill after Bill for the enclosure by the great landlords of such of the common lands as had survived out of the great "communal system of the Middle Ages." These Enclosure Acts in course of forty years (1760-1800) numbered 2,000; and the areas enclosed were 24,28,721 acres of common fields and 74,518 acres of waste lands. Arthur Young, one of the foremost of the advocates of this enlargement of the private estates, recognized all the same that "by nineteen out of every Inclosure Bills, the poor are injured, and grossly injured." The question has been asked—why should the British poor have accepted this dispensation? The reply has been—"so paramount were the needs of the nation for more food, and so deep the sense of subordination among the masses."—(*George Perris—The Industrial History of Modern England.*) And what was the result of these enclosures? England became a country of large estates. Before Waterloo there were many commoners and yeomen. Even in 1831 when census figures were available, of the 2,36,343 male occupiers of land, about two-fifths employed no labourers, while the remainder employed an average of only  $5\frac{1}{2}$  labourers per farmer. In Scotland at the same time, of about 80,000 occupiers, more than two-thirds employed no labourers, and in Ireland more than three quarters of those were poor cottiers. In marked contrast to this was the state of things in France. There were three and half million

land-owners, three millions of whom cultivated on the average only fourteen acres per head. By 1831, the old race of small independent farmers was disappearing from the British country-side. They have all nearly gone to-day, not merely the names but their blood relations also have gone out of the old habitat. Most of their successors are descended from "workers", and the tradition of hard work remains with them.

In other countries also the same development has taken place. To quote from the *Japan Times*, written about ten years ago,

"The most unfortunate aspect has been the decline in the status of the farming population which has taken place hand in hand with increase in production of agricultural produce and even with increased investments and general rising of the land wealth of the country.....We thus witness in Chosen (Korea) a development which has taken place to a degree in Japan also, namely, the welfare of the agrarians being sacrificed for progress in urban areas."

Modern industrialism of which Britain was the pioneer and has been its beneficiary for about two centuries, picking up the cream from the material life of the world—this economic dispensation imposed on the broad mass of the British people cruel sacrifices. It could not be milder to Indian interests and rights. What this has meant to India was brought out in 1943-'44, the culmination of about two centuries of exploitation. One of their historians R. Rickards, writing in the early years of the 19th century, more than a hundred years back, wrote :

"It is the system which generates, matures and perpetuates the whole evil. It commenced in error ; it has been continued through a long train of oppressive exactions, which our ablest servants have laboured in vain to alleviate ; and it finally fixes its hapless victims to the galling oar for life."

Mr. Rickards was speaking of the land system associated with the name of Lord Cornwallis in Bengal and of the Ryotwari system in Madras that broke up the socio-economic arrangements in the Provinces. The whole range of laws and ordinances that the British rulers passed and prescribed for the benefit of this country suffered a sea-change that in the result constituted an "evil" so far-reaching in its effects, that after about one hundred and fifty years of their introduction they still act as poison. And it erupts into attention every now and then. It very often happens that the people do not understand the causes and consequences of the malady. During the period we have been discussing, the Finance Secretary, in presenting the budget to the Council of State on February 29, 1944, incidentally referred to "another important inflationary measure," viz, the sale of gold that had been going on for the last six months. Mr. Jones did not like this gold sale ; he thought that investment in Government securities with the liberal terms now offered to "the 'small investor'" was a better proposition. But there were some who under the influence of the "primitive and illogical" alternative preferred gold. And, for their benefit the Reserve Bank of India was selling gold provided by the Governments of Britain and the United States of America ; and the sale proceeds were being used by them towards

the payment of their war transactions in India. Mr. Jones tendered a certificate to this way of checking inflation and the rise in the prices of commodities. This story of the gold sale looked so respectable and innocent. But members in the Central Assembly presented its other side during the same budget session. Let us indicate it in the words of Sir Vithal Narayan Chandavarkar representing in the Assembly Indian commerce in the Bombay Presidency through the Bombay Millowners' Association.

"..... it is now clear that gold is being sold by the Reserve Bank as agents of the British and United States of America Treasuries and the proceeds are utilized to pay partially for the expenditure incurred on behalf of these two countries in India. What, however, seems strange and inequitable is that, while the world price of the metal—based on the official price of 168 shillings and 35 dollars per ounce in Britain and the United States respectively—is equivalent to Rs. 42 and odd per *tola* together with charges at about 5 per cent, gold should be sold in India at as high as Rs. 71, and the worst of all this is that the entire profit amounting to nearly Rs. 29 to Rs. 30 per *tola* goes to the foreign exchequer instead of to the Government of India. If it is argued that India is now getting the gold, it need hardly be emphasised that goods are far more essential to the United States of America and the United Kingdom in these days than gold. According to market estimates, some five million (fifty lakhs) *tolas* have been sold so far, yielding a net profit of at least Rs. 15 crores. If these funds had accrued to the Indian Exchequer instead of such wealthy countries as the United Kingdom and the United States of America, the Indian tax-payer would have benefited to that extent and it would not have been necessary to levy fresh taxation on such a colossal scale. The Finance Member argues that the gold belongs to the United Kingdom and the United States of America and they are prepared to release it at the rate at which they want. Are they going to be allowed to profiteer in this country?"

The Finance Member, Sir Jeremy Raisman does not appear to have been able to bring forward a better argument in favour of his conniving at this profiteering than that it helped to decrease the sterling balances," that it "materially supplemented other anti-inflationary measures." But the full story of the transaction which has come out since then puts a more sinister meaning to the whole affair: it showed the Finance Member of the Government knowingly encouraging this "black marketing" at the expense of the people whose taxes maintained the costly paraphernalia of which he was a part. It will bear repetition in the pages of the *Indian Annual Register*. From August, 1943 to the end of February, 1944, the Reserve Bank of India had sold gold in India of the total value of £ 20 million, about Rs. 26 crores and more. People did not understand the policy and technique of this transaction till the Press in India got scent of a certain discussion in the Parliament of the Union of South Africa at Capetown. The people of this dominion had by that time, sometime in the spring of 1943, come to learn how they had been tricked, how their Government had failed to secure from the British Government a part at least of the profits of the sale of gold in India. The gold that was supplied by the latter of the Reserve Bank of India came from South Africa. It appears that in 1940 the South African gold mine-owners or the Government of that country entered into an agreement with Britain to sell all their gold to the Bank of England at £8-8s. an ounce for the duration of the war. That gold was sold to India at anything up to £16 by Britain and the United States, the latter sending her gold from her hoarded stock.

It was revealed in the Capetown Parliament that the Bank of England was still paying 171 shillings per ounce of fine gold which it has been selling at 174 shillings to America, while in India it has been selling through the Reserve Bank of India that gold at 320 shillings per ounce of fine gold. The Prime Minister of South Africa, Field Marshal Ian Smuts, tried to put the best face on the matter by showing off a moral pose that "the free gold market in India is a black market and therefore, the Union of South Africa did not wish to participate in it." But he was anticipated in this attitudinizing by the Finance Member in Lord Wavell's Executive Council when, pestered by the ill-natured criticism of members of the Central Assembly, he tried to stop them with words of consolation: "India's financial obligations were those of an ally and not of a *bania*." Sir Jeremy in his fine frenzy forgot that obligations were not an one-way affair, that something more than words would be required to justify to the conscience of the world when the full story comes to be known that the gold, which the United States bought from India during the depression at Rs. 30 to Rs. 35 and which Britain had been buying at Rs. 42 in South Africa, could honestly be sold in India at double that price, and that such transactions tolerated by the subordinate Government at New Delhi did not make them partners in the evil of "black market" in India. The Indian people by their association with Britain has learnt that profiteering is a recognized canon of State morality. But what rankles in their heart in this episode is that a Government using the name of India should have been found encouraging profiteering by alien States at the expense of the people whom it is its duty to serve. For, by no interpretation of the terms of the United Nations' organization could the Government of Britain and the Government of United States be made identical with the Government as by law established in this country. It may be that India has so many counts of injustice recorded against Britain in the Book of Fate that this one of profiteering in gold sales would not weigh much more than a feather when the final reckoning comes to be made.

Another of the matters that has been creating suspicion is with regard to the disposal of Indian assets lying blocked in London. The problem rose thiswise during the present war. Britain had to buy raw materials, manufactured goods and services from India to meet the needs of a total war, a war of survival for her as a Great Power. Instead of paying India for what she had bought, she credited the amount against India's public debt held in Britain which was in the neighbourhood of about Rs. 900 crores, more or less. The story of this debt has a history of its own. The wars of the East India Company were financed from the treasuries in India, Bengal and Bihar contributing the most towards finding these monies. When the Company transferred its authority to the British Crown, that is, to the British Government, India's accounts showed a debt of about Rs. 150 crores and more. The cost of the wars against Afghanistan, the expeditions directed against the tribes in and around what is to-day known as the North-West Frontier Province for the purpose of finding or manufacturing a

India's blocked  
sterling assets at  
London

"scientific frontier", the two wars against Burma—all the cost of these wars were entered into the bill. A part of the debt was incurred for the financing of the irrigation works and the railways, for instance. We have been told that almost all this debt stood repaid by the end of the financial year of 1942-43, and that during the war years as a result of purchases in India made on behalf of the British Government there is on credit to the accounts of India held in the Bank of England the value of which was near about Rs. 1400 crores. It was not out of superfluity that India built up this account. Her people were forced to stint in the very necessities of their not high standard of life. Her growers of cotton and jute, for instance, were cornered as their commodities could not reach the world's markets owing to this war, and owing to the control over shipping exercised by the Governments of the United States and of Britain. This case exemplified what happened to all the producers of all the raw materials of India. A people who are chronically close to starvation had been required to suffer and sacrifice so that Britain may come out of the present war with the wings of her imperialism unclipped, that she might retain her position as one of the Great Powers of the modern world. The prices of these sufferings and sacrifices are recorded in the books of the Bank of England. And it is not quite unnatural that the people and the men and women who can speak on their behalf should expect to see these in some concrete forms, that they should expect and hope to build up a better life for their people, a higher standard of life for them equitably spread over the commonalty of the land, with the help of the credits that are at present blocked in London. But their political subjection to Britain has made these blocked "sterling balances" a subject of political argument. It is an arguable proposition that Britain cannot be expected to pay out at a time the whole amount or its equivalents in British goods and services. This position has made Britain, the debtor to India, a dictator of how, when, and in what form India can expect a repayment of the debt.

And it has been asked—what can India do with this huge amount? Every one, Government and the governed, speak of industrialization, the expansion of old industries and the

#### Planning the industrial rehabilitation of India

establishment of new industries, as the way out of the economic bog into which India has sunk. Plans and planners have been abroad in the country. In 1938 when Sri Subhas Chandra Bose was President of the Indian National Congress, the National Planning Committee was appointed with Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru as the Chairman. Representative scientists and industrialists and theoreticians co-operated in its work. A number of Sub-Committees was appointed, and work divided among them to study the various phases of India's life and suggest remedies to the many ills from which she suffers. In a "Note for the Guidance for Sub-Committees," Planning was defined by the parent Committee as follows;

"Planning, under a democratic system, may be defined as technical co-ordination, by disinterested experts, of consumption, production, investment, trade, and income distribution, in accordance with social objectives set by bodies representative of the nation. Such planning is not only to be considered from the point of view of

economics, and the raising of the standard of living, but must include cultural and spiritual values, and the human side of life."

And the aims of Planning in and for India were defined to be

(a) The attainment of national self-sufficiency for the country as a whole, without being involved, as the result of such efforts, in the whirlpool of Economic Imperialism ;

(b) The doubling of the present standard of living among the people of India within a prescribed time limit, say, ten years.

The work of this National Planning Committee came to an end with the outbreak of the present war, as the Indian National Congress got entangled in a controversy with the British Government with regard to the latter's pushing India into the war without consulting Indian opinion. The heat generated thereby added to bitterness between the two countries. The Ministries in eight Provinces which owed allegiance to the Congress were recalled. The Chairman of the Planning Committee, Pundit Jawahar Lal, was put behind prison bars, and Congress activities were put under official ban. The Government busy with its war, and the people having had no heart in it, frustration appeared to be brooding over the country. The former, of course, was going about tapping the human and natural resources of the country for all that they were worth. The Eastern Group Supply Conference was organized with headquarters in India. Technical Missions from the United States and Great Britain were sent to speed up the productive activities of the country with special reference to war necessities. That from the former had Dr. Henry F. Grady for its Chairman ; the British Ministry of Supply sent a Mission headed by Sir Alexander Roger. The purpose of all these activities was to relieve Britain of the task of providing for most of the military needs of the Anglo-Saxon Powers in their fight with Japan. These had no other long-range purpose, though "the crux of the Eastern supply question is the industrialization of India," as it was recognized by the *Manchester Guardian*. But the Governments that sent the Missions and the members of the Missions refused to recognize such a responsibility. Dr. Grady, head of the U. S. Mission, was frank in this matter. On the eve of his departure from India, from his five weeks' mission during the spring of 1942, he summed up its scope in his farewell statement.

".....the function of the Mission was to make recommendations after investigation concerning ways and means by which the United States Government could assist in augmenting India's war production. The work of the Mission, therefore, has been directly related to the common war effort of the United Nations, and has been no way connected with the post-war industrial and commercial problems of India." (The italics are ours).

The Grady Mission was impressed with the inadequacies of India's industrial technique. In its report it said that most of the engineering workshops engaged in war production were "historically and actually jobbing shops." A basic change was needed. It suggested the establishment of "a War Cabinet with a strong Secretariat to control war production on all its phases." It should consist of members responsible for Production, Transportation and Communication,

The inadequacies  
of industrial in-  
stitutions in India

Defence and Finance. Out of this recommendation grew the Committee of the Executive Council of the Governor-General known as the "War Resources Committee of the Council." Owing to wartime restrictions on the publication of the news of the production and distribution of "essential" materials, it is not possible to say how India's major industries have advanced. But at the time when this Council Committee was established, students of economic data told us that India's steel production remained practically where it was before the war, that is, about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  million tons a year. The hydro-electric potential of India is said to be second only to that of the United States, but only 3 per cent. of it is being used. Leaders of Indian industrialism, men like Sir M. Visveswaraya, ex-Dewan of Mysore, hold that the political bias of the New-Delhi Government is responsible for this backwardness. His charges were definite....."just as the Indian element is entirely absent from the higher ranks of army, navy and air force services, so heavy industries have been excluded from the orders placed with Indian industrialists or firms." While this country has had to be content with the industries connected with the feeding and clothing of the fighting forces, it was not entrusted with the production of military equipments and war armaments in which Indian engineers and workmen could have acquired practice, capacity and skill. ".....in the belligerent countries associated with the Allies, *viz.*, the United States of America, Canada and Australia, orders for heavy machinery and war materials required during the war, both for Great Britain and the country concerned, were placed with the local industrial firms in, the respective countries. But this good fortune did not come to Indian industries in this war." The two centuries connection between India and Britain have been marked by apathy and indifference and of hostility on the part of the State; to India's industrial development, the financing, working and controlling of industries by Indians on their own soil, the State more often than not has been more than step-motherly in its narrow and selfish concern for British interests. A people with such an experience could not expect any sincere help from the State, any effective guidance. Rather, their experience was that State policy had been helping, it may be through ignorance or conceit of superiority, the throttling of Indian industries, depriving millions of their means of livelihood.

It is a historical fact that it took the natural leaders of our people decades to realize the ramifications of this injury. When an alien people establish their rule over a country, the disturbance created in the socio-economic life of the subject people may appear to be inevitable. Knowingly they break the back of the ruling classes from whom they wrest the powers of the State. And after a time they accept the country as their own and merge themselves into its people; the distinction between the conqueror and the conquered are erased. This is the general pattern of history. In England it happened as the Danes and the Normans, for instance, lost themselves in the British or English people. In India it happened as the Huns and the Sakas, the Pathans and the Mughals, became Indians for the practical purposes of life; the former two lost themselves in the bosom of the society into which they had intruded as aliens, and conquerors at that;

It took decades  
to realize this  
injury

the latter two maintained their separateness as a community or sects in Islam. But with the arrival of European peoples in India as traders and their struggle for monopolising the trade of the country a new spirit of adventurism was introduced into the country. The weakening of the State in India with the death of Emperor Aurengzab, the rebellious spirit of the provincial satraps of the Mughal State, the uprising of ambitions amongst them and other peoples, such as the Marhattas and the Rohillas, for carving out independent States for themselves—these personal and impersonal influences were symptoms of a disintegration in all-India life. The European traders took advantage of the eruption of these short-sighted ideas and sentiments; the French and the British taking the lead in the fight that ensued. The former were worsted, leaving the field to the latter to pick up the sceptre that had fallen from the palsied hand of the Moghul, the Marhatta and the Sikh. The system of administration that the British introduced into India was suited to a plantation out of which profits were to be extracted. The representatives of the ruling Power came here bound by a covenant to stay for a number of years and then depart from India which they were not taught to regard as anything better than a "Land of Regrets." Neither the traditions nor the training of the Indian Civil Service, the "steel frame" of British administration, favoured the thought that its members should think it worth while to attempt to identify themselves with the feelings, the sentiments and the material interests of the people of India. Rather, they were encouraged to cultivate the feeling of "aloof superiority," to regard Indian patterns of thought and conduct not only as different to their own but as inferior to theirs by every standard of modern life. A country ruled by men like these could not but wilt and wither. It is true that in the early flush of British education our predecessors had welcomed the enlightenment from the West of which the new rulers were thought to be the authentic voice. Under the influence of its glamour they could not realize those elements of imported values that were disrupting and destroying their own. Specially were they blind to the wreck of the arts and industries of their country under the impact of the new civilization, under the blows of a State that was rootless in the soil of the country, almost religiously avoiding any attempt to base itself on the affections and ideals of the people. But by the forties of the 19th century, almost after a century of stupor, the modern-educated leaders of the country were found to be growing conscious that their people were getting materially poorer under the new regime. It was not possible for them, as it is for us to-day, to trace the whole process of the evil working. They could not know that Britain's wealth was minted out of the dispossession of her own yeomen and commoners; they could not know how the ruling classes of Britain did not draw their power from the consent of their people; they could not know what John Morley wrote more than 50 years afterwards.

"Even the passage of the Reform Act (1832) which to the youthful Gladstone, before his own emancipation, seemed to be the 'work of the anti-Christ,' left six-sevenths of the male population without a vote. Upon a society so constituted, a people so fettered, the Industrial Revolution had come like a thief in the night; and not the most devastating of wars or the bloodiest could have been more



catastrophic in its social effects or more perplexing in the problems of social adjustment which it created."

Our predecessors of a century back, of the forties of the 19th century, must have heard of the Chartist Movement in Britain which embodied popular demands in a "People's Charter":

Middle 19th century developments misled them

(1) Annual Parliaments; (2) Universal Suffrage; (3) Vote by ballot; (4) Equal electoral districts; (5) Abolition of property qualifications for members of Parliament; (6) Payment of members of Parliament. In these demands the emphasis appeared to have been laid on constitutional principles and practices. And progressive people in India were enthusiastic over these. But they did not understand that the Movement represented a revolt against the conditions of unsettlement introduced into Britain by the Industrial Revolution. It was the time when the social mind of Britain was full of doubts and questionings, when Disraeli, who later on became the leader of the Conservative Party and Britain's Prime Minister, had been popularizing his theory of "two nations" in the country—the rich and the poor—the time which interpreters of British history characterized as the "Bleak Age", the "hungry forties." This crisis the British ruling classes resolved with the help of Free Trade, by making food cheaper to the people, just as the other crisis, that which began in the seventies of the 19th century, was tried to be resolved by Imperialist expansion. The characteristic feature of this remedy was the combination of exploitation of the raw material and human resources of dependent countries with exporting British capital to other countries and drawing therefrom tributes. John Stuart Mill had dubbed this as "a system of outdoor relief for the upper classes," while Cecil Rhodes who paved the way of the expansion of British dominance over Africa defined it as "a question of the stomach", stomach of the dispossessed in Britain whom doles from the tributes drawn from all over the world helped to keep satisfied. Our predecessors of the times beginning with the middle of the 19th century were under the influence of British Liberalism associated with the names of Bright and Cobden, of Gladstone. They could not rightly understand the impulses that moved British life; they were taken in by the glory and the grandeur of an imperial race who happened to rule over them, and to thrive on exploiting their country. It is true that Indian publicists of that generation, men like Akshaya Kumar Datta and Kishory Chand Mitter, Harish Chandra Mukherji of Bengal, for instance, discussed in the columns of the *Tattwabodhini Patrika*, organ of the Brahmo Samaj published in almost all the languages of the country, and in the *Indian Spectator* and the *Hindu Patriot*, problems of the agriculturists' life, of the injustices they suffered from both at the hands of native land-owners and the European planters of indigo. It is true that by the sixties of the century even our poets had begun to bemoan the lot of our weavers and black-smiths thrown out of employment by Manchester and Birmingham. But they could not relate this decay in the economic life of their people to the policy of the State under which they lived. Even during the first few years of the Indian National Congress, founded in 1885, there was no evidence of the recognition of this poverty as conditioned by developments in British conduct and thought, though there were

resolutions passed drawing attention to the decay of Indian industries, to the worsening of the material conditions of life in India.

From this malady of scattered thoughts and incoherent remedies our people were rescued by the life and work of representative men like Dadabhai Naoroji, Mahadev Gobind Ranade, William Digby and Romesh Chander Dutt. Their studies on Indian economics, as these were evolving under the impact of British methods of administration and exploitation, brought to a focus all the various elements of disintegration in the material

life of the people that had followed the regime of Britain in India. The fruits of their researches into the living conditions in India opened the eyes of their people to the process of exploitation of which they have been victims for about a century and half. Their books supplied the weapons of offence directed against the irresponsible authority of the alien rulers; these placed in the hands of public men and publicists the truth of their life in India that enabled them to judge and make the "new departure" in their methods of political struggle that was symbolized by the Swadeshi and anti-partition agitation in Bengal. Thus from more points than one the men whom we have named above can be called the economic interpreters of Indian Nationalism, founders of the School of Indian Economics. The lessons of history brought out by them helped to clear our vision, to energize our thoughts, to supply the dynamo of our activities, to put a new courage and determination into us; and these have taken us through the conflicts and struggles of the last four decades.

At the end of the last century India stood face to face with the truth of her real position in the scheme of things British. Dadabhai Naoroji and his fellow-workers lived to see that their country-men understood the significance of this truth, that they realized that without freedom in political life their country would continue to remain poor materially and spiritually. This realization called forth from the depths of national consciousness impulses to suffer and sacrifice so that the shame and ignominy of life as a subject people may be ended. The ruling power met this challenge with repression, thereby exposing the more the basic principles and practices of its rule. With the growing intensity of the fight for freedom in India, captains of trade and industry awakened to the realization that their material interests were involved in it, that they could not afford to remain disinterested spectators of this struggle between Indian Nationalism and British Imperialism. Since the emergence of Mahatma Gandhi into the leadership of the Indian National Congress, this section of the community has been more increasingly backing the political movement. With their intimate day-to-day experience of bureaucratic discrimination directed against the interests of the Indian people, they could bring reality into the discussion of public affairs, generally concerned with first principles rather than with their application to the concrete problems of existence. We have been witnesses to the evolution of this change in the habits of the industrial and commercial sections of our population.

It was thus that the public did accept the Plan of economic and social reconstruction publicized by eight of the leaders of India's industrial life. It is popularly known as the Bombay Plan or the Tata-Birla Plan after the names of two of the framers of the Plan. For a time it occupied the centre of discussion in the Press of the country, carrying, as it was surmised, a message of hope to an otherwise hopeless people. The Plan touched on all phases of India's life with its various schemes of reconstruction of Industry, Agriculture, Communications, Education, Health, Housing and Miscellaneous. The capital expenditure budgetted for it was put at Rs. 10,000 crores distributed as follows: Industry—Rs. 4,480 crores; Agriculture—Rs. 1,240 crores; Communications—Rs. 940 crores; Education—Rs. 490 crores; Health—Rs. 450 crores; Housing—Rs. 2,200; Miscellaneous—Rs. 200 crores. For the purpose of execution of the Plan, it was divided into three stages, each covering a period of five years. The expenditure to be incurred during each stage was indicated thus:

(In crores of Rupees).

Industries.	First stage.	Second stage.	Third stage.
Basic Industries.	480	1,200	2,160
Consumption Goods Industries.	310	330	360
Agriculture.	200	400	640
Communications.	40	320	510
Education.	40	80	370
Health.	40	80	330
Housing.	190	420	1,590
Miscellaneous.	50	70	100
Total ...	1,400	2,900	5,700

The capital  
required to finance  
the Plan

In P. 48 of the pamphlet describing the Plan appeared an estimate of the capital requirements to work it out. The following sources are expected to supply these:

(In crores of Rupees).

External Finance:	
Hoarded wealth.	300
Sterling securities.	1,000
Balance of Trade.	600
Foreign Borrowing.	700
	<hr/> Rs. 2,600 crores.

Internal Finance:	
Savings.	4,000
Created Money.	3,400
	<hr/>

Rs. 7,400 = Total Rs. 10,000 crores.

In this estimate there is the item of 'Sterling Securities' or Balances. The Plan has been built up on the expectation that Rs. 1,000 crores of the 'Sterling Balances' would be made available for carrying it out. This opens out the controversy between India and Britain which we have referred to above. There was always some Indian money locked up in the Bank of England as 'security' for the transactions of money, official and non-official, for which

the Secretary of State for India, a member of the British Cabinet, felt himself to be morally and legally, perhaps, responsible to his masters, the British Parliament and ultimately to the British people. But it never attained the huge amount that has accumulated during the present war. Under various disguises it is there. Compared to the British war expenses it may not appear to be much of an amount. But Britain's Chancellor of Exchequer has already begun to show anxiety about it. In April, 1943, he said

"The greater part of the additional cost of India's outer defences of the frontiers fell upon Great Britain which meant that a financial situation of some difficulty was being created for Great Britain in the future."

Since then the same personage who is Sir John Anderson known to Bengal as its Governor has on more than one occasion adverted to the subject, and he gave a broad hint about the way in which they expect to settle this question of debts. These could not be settled as "commercial" transactions, said he. But how could Britain eventually meet them is the question that is disturbing the minds of more than one country, specially the United States and India to which Britain is a debtor. The unnatural relation between India and Britain make it a sore point. The Plan of the Indian industrialists has been built on the hope of Rs. 1,000 crores from Britain either in the form of capital goods, i.e., machineries for heavy or basic industries, or services of technicians. But can Britain do it during the next few years? Whatever she can produce she will need to reconstruct the life of her war-battered people. So, it may happen that India may fall back on U. S. machineries and services. Experts say that the industrialists of the great Republic are capable of helping India, and more than willing. That would require the conversion of India's 'sterling assets or balances' into United States dollars to pay for goods and services from that country. It is reported that at the Bretton Woods Conference held to build up an international fund and an international exchange ratio, two of the Indian representatives, Sir Shanmukham Chetty and Mr. Shroff, pleaded passionately for the conversion of India's balances in Britain into U. S. dollars, not all of these, but sums equal to 50 million dollars per annum. British representatives are reported to have put up the plea that the question could not be taken up then and that the U. S. representatives upheld this British contention. This story is no longer a secret in India. It has given rise to mistrust and uneasiness among the leaders and organizers of modern industries in India; and in the Central Assembly the Finance Member, Sir Jeremy Raisman, was hard put to it to squarely meet the criticism of the members. It is being apprehended that with a view to discharge the debts Britain may resort to any one of the three devices or a combination of these. She may "de-value" her currency and substantially reduce the amount due; she may ask for "a revision" of the Financial Settlement which at present regulates the division of military expenditure between India and Britain; or she may stage a "gift" from India to Britain and thus have a considerable part of these written off, a device which was adopted during the last great war when about Rs. 150 crores

How can  
Britain pay  
her debts?

was secured as a "gift" from India, as a token of her loyal support to Britain's war against the Kaiser.

The Indian Federation of Labour also produced a Plan which was broadcast as a counter-blast to the Bombay Plan. Two pamphlets "People's Plan" appeared about the middle of 1944, the first, analysing for economic development in India or as the authors phrased it "ex-raying" the Bombay Plan; the second embodied the concrete suggestions for reconstructing India's economic life. Socializing the means of production, and restoring the original purpose of all production which is satisfaction of all the demands of community life, was put forth as the instrument of all progress, of fighting poverty, the central problem of Indian economy. The framers of the Bombay Plan had spoken of political freedom as the pre-condition of its success, that "underlying our whole scheme is the assumption that on the termination of the war or shortly thereafter, a National Government will come into at the centre which will be vested with full freedom in economic matters." The People's Plan spoke of the "Federal Democratic State of India," of the control by the State over private capital already invested in the industries of India; this it called 'rationed' capitalism guaranteed a revenue of 3 per cent by the State. In the fore-front of its programme the Plan put the acquisition by the State of all rights in land, over or under, on the basis of compensation at 7 times the nett income from land all over India. Thus, taking into account compensation to be paid to rent-receivers in Zamindari areas, to non-cultivating owners in Rayatwari areas, for lands which are devoted to public purposes, for acquiring mineral and fisheries rights, etc., the total cost of this nationalization works out to about Rs. 1,735 crores. The Plan is to be pushed through in course of ten years, the expenditure to be distributed as follows.

(In crores of Rupees).

Agriculture.	2,950
Industry.	5,600
Communications.	1,500
Health.	760
Education.	1,040
Housing.	8,150

Total ... 15,000

The money needed for the execution of this Plan was expected to be provided from the following sources :

(In crores of Rupees).

Sterling Balances.	450
Initial finance—estate duty, inheritance tax, death duties etc, etc.	810
Income from nationalized land in the pre-first year of the plan.	90
Income from agriculture for re-investment during the period of the plan.	10,816
Income from industries for re-investment during the period of the plan.	2,834

Total ... 15,000

Both the Plans—the Bombay Plan and the Indian Federation of Labour Plan—and the other individual Plans have given importance

to the "Sterling Balances" as forming part of the initial finance for the different Plans. And as these monies are held in London a vast amount of negotiation must precede their release. All the Plans that we have seen postulate the establishment of a "National Government" in India for their successful working. Thus are politics and economics inter-linked in India, and the hopes of an economically better life for India made dependent on political power coming under the control of the Indian people. The situation thus visualized takes us into the heart of the Indo-British problem, to the solution of the political deadlock in India. The bureaucracy has so contrived affairs that all the separatist conceits and ambitions have sprouted out in the country, making it difficult to construct a common platform for all. In every age and in every clime are nursed in the heart of the people these narrow feelings and sentiments. It has been the duty of the State to train and broaden these trickles into the stream of national feeling. In our country owing to the alien origin of the State authority and its interests that are different from those of the people, this obvious duty has not been fulfilled by it. Rather, it has taken every opportunity to irritate and inflame these separatist conceits and ambitions. The law of its being forced this policy on it.

One of the earliest of British rulers in India, Mountstuart Elphinstone, a historian of India who showed a certain amount of insight into India's life and thought, indicated this policy in the words: "*Divide et impera* was the old Roman motto, and it should be ours." The founder of the Aligarh College has been accepted as a representative of the Muslim mind as it has been oscillating between nationalism and communalism. Before the birth of the Congress he could define the word *Nation* in India as including "both Hindus and Muhammadans because that is the only meaning that I can attach to it."

"With me it is not worth considering what is their religious faith, because we do not see anything of it. What we do see is that we inhabit the same land,....., and the pangs of famine also we suffer equally. These are the different grounds upon which I call both these races which inhabit India by one word, i.e., *Hindus*, meaning to say that they are inhabitants of Hindustan..."

But the influence of the first Principal of the Aligarh College, Mr. Theodore Beck, soon changed the spirit of the dreams of "the ageing leader", and in course of a speech delivered at the Kaiser Bagh, Lucknow, in 1888, he delivered himself of words that had a narrow

Sir Syed  
Ahmed's  
changes

sectarian ring :

"We the Mahommadans are those who ruled India for six or seven hundred years. From our hands the Government was taken by the English. Is the Indian Government so foolish as to suppose that in seventy years we have forgotten all our grandeur and all our empire?"

The Government of the day under Lord Dufferin encouraged and pampered this conceit and pretension. Replying to a farewell address presented by the Mahommedan Central National Association of Calcutta, His Excellency said: ".....Descended as you are from those who formerly occupied such a commanding position in India, you are excep-

British policy  
encouraged  
this

tionally able to understand the responsibility attaching to those who rule." About twenty years later, on the occasion of the Aga Khan Deputation led before Lord Minto, the same game was played. The Governor-General summed up the Deputation's case better than what it could do: "..... you justly claim that your position should be estimated not on your numerical strength, but in respect to the political importance of the community and the services it has rendered to the Empire. I am entirely in accord with you." But it was not solicitude for the Muslims but the protection of Imperialist interests that was the guiding principle of the Minto dispensation. The official mind was reflected in a letter received by the wife of the Governor-General on October 1, 1906, from an official :

"I must send Your Excellency a line to say that a very big thing has happened today, a work of statesmanship that will affect India and Indian history for many years. It is nothing less than the pulling back of 62 millions of people from joining the ranks of the seditious opposition."—(*Lady Minto's—Indian Diary.*)

The last forty years have proved that the prescience of the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy has worked on the line set when British rule was young in this country. As Syed Ahmed Khan was transformed so has Mr. Jinnah been. In their moods and phases of nationalism and communalism they represent the mind of their community afraid of their minority position in India and at the same time dreaming dreams of regaining their dominant position in the economy of India's life which they occupied when Muslim kings ruled at Delhi. Between these two moods the community is uncertain of what would best secure their interests. They are not prepared to take their chance with their neighbours. From this feeling has grown up the scheme of what has come to be known as "Pakistan," a division of the unity and integrity of India, and on this division constructing Muslim States and Hindu States independent of one another. It was at the Allahabad session of the All-India Muslim League (1930) that the poet Mahommed Iqbal first gave voice to this separatist ambition. In successive volumes of the *Annual Register* since 1936, specially since the second half of 1938, we have traced the history of this demand. The All-India Hindu Mahasabha has never been able to think of such a sacrilege; other organizations, Hindu, Muslim, Sikh and Christians have been opposed to it both in theory and practice. The Indian National Congress has been wobbling; no other word can better describe its attitude. In April 29—May 3, 1942, at a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee a resolution was passed opposing "any proposal to disintegrate India." The ex-chief Minister of Madras, Mr. Rajagopalachari, moved a resolution supporting the Muslim League demand; in it appeared words about "the doubtful advantage of maintaining a controversy over the unity of India." The resolution was defeated. Since then he has been persistent in the pursuit of his policy of arriving at an agreement with the Muslim League. In the first part of June, 1944, the Indian public was startled by the announcement that he has succeeded in persuading Gandhiji to accept his formula of "appeasement" of the Muslim League by conceding its demand with a view to get its support for the constitution of "popular" government in India, at the Centre and in the Provinces. Gandhiji

The prophetic  
note of the quota-  
tion justified

was released on the 9th. of May, 1944, and Mr. Rajagopalachari took the earliest opportunity to take up the thread of his discredited attempt, heartened by the endorsement of Gandhiji. This was his formula : and its acceptance by Gandhiji even as a basis of discussion showed that the Anglo-Indian official was right when he wrote to Lady Minto that the device of separate electorates would have far-reaching effects on the development of India.

*Rajagopalachari Formula*

(1) Subject to the terms set out below as regards the constitution of a free India, the Muslim League endorses the Indian demand for independence and will co-operate with the Congress in the formation of a provisional interim Government for the transitional period.

(2) After the termination of the war a commission shall be appointed for demarcating contiguous districts in the North-West and East of India wherein the Muslim population is in absolute majority. In the areas thus demarcated, a plebiscite of all the inhabitants, held on the basis of adult franchise or other practicable franchise, shall ultimately decide the issue of separation from Hindustan. If the majority decides in favour of the formation of a sovereign State separate from Hindustan, such a decision shall be given effect to, without prejudice to the right of the districts on the border to choose to join either State.

(3) It will be open to all parties to advocate their points of view before the plebiscite is held.

(4) In the event of separation, a mutual agreement shall be entered into for safeguarding defence, commerce and communications and other essential purposes.

(5) Any transfer of population shall only be on an absolutely voluntary basis.

(6) These terms shall be binding only in case of transfer by Britain of full power and responsibility for the governance of India.

This episode should close the discussion of the "Home Polity" of India during the first six months of 1944. The main features of the story were not modified in any way by the war events happening near and far. During this period Japan in the expeditionary forces of Japan, stationed in Burma, came nearer to India than in any other time during the last twenty-seven months. The Japanese detachments invested Imphal, the capital of the small State of Manipur, captured almost the whole of Kohima, the small hill town headquarter station of the Lushai Hill district ; they approached the Dimapur Junction of the Bengal and Assam Railway. If they had succeeded in any of these adventures, the eastern Provinces of India, Assam and Bengal, would have been open to them. But before the end of June, 1944, with the arrival of the monsoon in the hilly tracts in the Indo-Burmese frontier, the momentum of the Japanese advance was lost ; and the Japanese detachments faded from the area. Why ? The future only can say. One interpretation suggested was that owing to differences between the Jap High Command and the Indian Army chiefs organized under the leadership of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, the former thought it best to pull out of the Manipur-Kohima area as they felt that without full-hearted Indian support it would be dangerous to risk at such distance from their main communications lines this adventure in the plains of Hindustan. In the far waters of the Pacific the Japanese fared no better. The re-conquest of the Philippines by General MacArthur is too near us, as we write, to be susceptible to any other interpretation than that the productive power of the United States mills and factories was winning the war in the Pacific as it has done in Europe with the surrender of Germany. It is not



easy today to recapture the hopes and fears of peoples in the United States and Britain, of peoples in Nazi-dominated Europe, as the Western Allies, the United States and Britain, put their forces on the Normandy beach for the invasion of Europe. On June 6, 1944, in Berlin, in Moscow, in Rome just occupied by the Allies, rulers of countries faced up to the fact that at long last has come the war against Germany not on two fronts, from the east and west, but on three fronts—west, south, east—the war that German strategists have ever feared the most, that would spell defeat to any Power, however great and organized. The immeasurable might of Russia's hosts was rolling up the German hoardes from their wrecked land, driving them over the ways that had taken the invaders to the Caucasus. On the Normandy beach 4000 ships, not counting small crafts, 12 battleships plus cruisers, escorted by 80 destroyers, poured out of their bellies the men who were to help to carry the flags of the victors to Berlin before twelve months were out. 7,500 planes had covered them. And the significant thing was the absence of the *Luftwaffe* when the landing craft and the troops disembarking were so vulnerable to attacks. Hermann Goering is reported to have told the creation of his genius, the *Luftwaffe* and its leaders, that "the invasion must be beaten off even if the *Luftwaffe* perishes." But the *Luftwaffe* failed to rise up to the occasion, and it missed the chance of a life-time when it let the Allied forces cross the English Channel without having a try at destroying or dispersing them. Instead, mechanically moved, pilot-less bombers were sent over Britain to defeat the invasion. These two facts symbolized that Germany's, Nazi Germany's bid for world domination was doomed to frustration. The war in Europe is ended by the time we write these lines. A United Nations Conference has been sitting at San Francisco on the western coast of the United States. Japan is in retreat from her lately-conquered territories. The world that had witnessed another world war, another great victory, and a great betrayal of its hopes and aspirations, is in no mood to go in for tumultuous celebrations of the victory over Germany, for the return of a peace. For, its eyes had seen the forces of greed and destruction triumphant, had seen social life disintegrated, and the patterns of economic arrangements disrupted and shattered over two continents. And those eyes will take time to rekindle with joy and hope.—(Specially contributed by Sri Suresh Chandra Deb.)

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Proceedings of

THE

Central Legislative Assembly

The Council of State

AND

Provincial Legislative Assemblies

*JANUARY—JUNE 1944*

# The Council of State

Budget Session—New Delhi—15th February to 6th. April 1944

## RAILWAY BUDGET FOR 1944-45

The Budget Session of the Council of State commenced at New Delhi on the 15th. February 1944 with a brief sitting during which formal business was transacted, and the President, *Sir Maneckji Dadabhoy*, made references to members past and present who had received honours recently and adjourned the House till the next day, the 16th. February, when the Railway Budget was presented.

*Sir Leonard Wilson*, Chief Commissioner of Railways, in the course of his speech presenting the Railway Budget for 1944-45 said :

"A year ago I spoke of our efforts to procure additional goods engines and wagons and the result of these is that we expect to have received by the end of next month 106 broad gauge engines, 214 metre gauge engines, about 1,900 broad gauge wagons and about 2,950 metre gauge wagons. The engines are coming from America, also most of the metre gauge wagons. The broad gauge and some of the metre gauge wagons have been manufactured in this country except for some components imported from abroad. The manufacturing capacity for both broad and metre gauge wagons has been stepped up and we expect a much better rate of production in India during the coming months. In order to provide for increased facilities for the repair of broad gauge locomotives, the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway shops at Dohad which had been employed on the manufacture of munitions were relieved of this work in September 1943 and have since then been re-employed on the repair of locomotives.

"Throughout the war there has been a steadily increasing gap between the quantity of coal required by consumers and the quantity which could be delivered to them. This has been due partly to shortage of transport but in recent months to a serious fall in the raising of coal. Action has been taken by Government to encourage an increase in raisings and in the railway collieries mechanical excavators have been introduced first to remove the overburden and then to increase the quantity of coal raised. In the past and by arrangement with the coal trade, the supplies of coal to railways from railway collieries were limited to about 35 per cent of their requirements, but with the present shortage of coal it has become necessary to increase the output from railway collieries to the maximum possible. It has not been possible to maintain supplies of coal for other essential purposes and at the same time maintain railway coal stocks which have fallen so low that it is now necessary to increase them if rail services are to be ensured ; in doing so there must be a cut in supplies to other consumers. When raisings increase to the desired level, there will be the ever present difficulty of allocation of transport capacity for the movement of coal, foodstuffs and other essential commodities. Some relief may be expected as and when the new engines and wagons come into service, but these additional engines will to some extent put up the railways' consumption of coal which is about 40 per cent of the coal consumed in India. It will be of interest to note that the despatches of coal for the public have been maintained during the past 12 months at a level slightly above that of the previous year, but this has only been possible at the expense of railway stocks and, even so, the supplies to the public have not covered their increased demands." *Sir Leonard* revealed that the Government have to pay Rs. 51 lakhs on account of compensation to the Madras and Southern Mahratta and South Indian Railway Companies for loss of earnings due to the premature termination of their contracts on 31st March 1944 instead of 31st December 1945. In conclusion, he stated : "There is a shortage of experienced staff to deal with the ever-expanding activities of the railways and the strain on all the staff has been heavy especially on the supervisory staff on whom so much depends when the railways are working at full pressure throughout the year and are still unable to meet all demands. The men have stuck to their work, except for a few minor strikes, throughout the war despite the economic pressure brought about by the rise in prices for which relief could not be given to all affected. This should be remembered when the war is over and the pay and conditions of service are reviewed in the light of the circumstances then existing. I trust that Honorable Members of this House will agree that the way in which railwaymen have stuck to

their work and the way in which most of their unions have encouraged them to do so are commendable.

### INDIA'S FUTURE CONSTITUTION

18th. FEBRUARY :—The Viceroy's speech was commented upon by a number of members of the Council of State in the course of the debate on Mr. *Kumar Sankar Roy Chaudhury's* resolution urging that steps be taken to frame India's future Constitution. The resolution was rejected without a division. The resolution favoured federal principles, making provision for functional representation in the Legislatures of agricultural, commercial, industrial and intellectual interests, with equal representation for capital and labour and representation of such racial and religious minorities as desire it.

Moving the resolution, Mr. Chaudhury said that the British Government had said that the future constitution of India must be framed by Indians themselves. This was difficult owing to the existence in India of an alien bureaucratic Power and the political deadlock which had been brought about by the incarceration of Congress leaders. If a false sense of prestige did not allow the British authorities to release Congress leaders, their absence should not prevent others from hammering out a constitution. Mr. Chaudhury suggested the adoption of non-federal principles, which involved the creation of different units before they could confederate. Referring to Pakistan, he said that India had been one economic whole, united politically and socially, even during the times of Muslim rule. He also criticised the Muslim League's demand for half the seats in the Executive Council.

The Leader of the House, Sir *Mohammad Usman* reminded the House that HMG had left the question of framing the future Constitution of the country to Indians. If the mover of the resolution could convince the country that his scheme was best suited to it, and that there would be an agreed basis on which the future Constitution could be framed, nobody would be better pleased than himself. Government would leave discussion of the resolution to non-official members and Government members would remain neutral. "My individual opinion is that, if this is the way in which you are going to deal with the Muslim League and Muslims, it is not going to bring about an agreed solution".

Mr. *E. N. Mahatha*, referring to the Viceroy's address, said it meant "no negotiations, no deputations and no consultations." Of the two important political parties in the country, one was behind prison bars. How could any agreement be reached in these circumstances?

Mr. *Hussain Imam* said that the country was not yet in a position to solve the communal question, and the mover of the resolution was seeking to introduce new elements to complicate matters. He criticised the Viceroy's reference to geographical unity, and asked why Belgium and Holland, Norway and Sweden, Spain and Portugal were separate countries. If there was to be an independent Hindusthan, there should be Pakistan for the Muslims.

Mr. *Roy Chaudhury*, winding up the debate, said that he did not wish to raise the communal question. All that he wanted was to find some platform on which the different parties could come together to discuss these matters.

### RIGHTS OF DETENUS

The House then took up *Pandit Kunzru's* resolution, the debate on which had been postponed, recommending that all persons detained under the D. I. Rules should be informed of the grounds of their detention and that such charges together with evidence in support of them and explanations submitted by detenus should be placed in each province before a Judge, or a committee of Judges, of the provincial High Court, who might be asked to submit a report to the Government concerned on each case. Pandit Kunzru referred to instances in which the Executive had abused their powers. He also pointed out that the benefit and advantages claimed to be given by Ordinance 3 of 1944 applied only to these persons who were detained without trial.

Sir *N. Gopalaswamy Iyengar* urged the Government to overhaul the ordinance relating to detention of persons without trial, and bring it into line with the corresponding law in England. There was no dearth of legal talent to prevent the appointment of advisory committees such as existed in the U.K. The committees would be only advisory in character and the final decision would always rest with the Executive.

The Home Member, Sir *Reginald Maxwell*, replying, said that, on the first two points made in the resolution, Ordinance 3 of 1944 adequately met the wishes of the Opposition. Dealing with the third part of the resolution, he referred to

Ordinance 3, which replaced Rule 26, and said that, although the Ordinance was much criticized in this House, he failed to notice any appreciation of the great advance in certain points made by it in securing certain rights for persons arrested or detained. The statement had been made that powers given to the Executive were not properly used, but, he said, the objections which might have been raised to the action taken in certain cases were based on allegations only. No one, not even High Courts, had heard in full the evidence on which the Government's concerned had acted. The Home Member quoted from the House of Commons debates to show that it had been recognized by eminent lawyers and administrators in England that detention without trial was a function of the Executive, which was responsible for the safety of the realm, and not a function of the Judiciary. Although the case for advisory committees had been forcefully and weightily urged, Government could not see their way at present to accept it. He suggested, however, that it did not mean Government would never consider it at any time. After Pandit Kunzru had replied, the resolution was rejected by 26 votes to 14, and the House adjourned till Monday the 21st.

#### THE CENTRAL EXCISE BILL

21st. FEBRUARY:—There was a brief debate on the Central Excise Bill during which Mr. Greenfield explained that it was in the interest of efficient administration as well as in public interest that the various acts relating to Central Excises should be consolidated in one single enactment. Mr. Hoosain Imam welcomed the Bill which, he said, had certain desirable features, but there were certain other features which sought to make the law more stringent. Provisions which were probably necessary in the case of certain commodities such as salt were now made applicable to all excisable commodities. He thought it would have been better if in matters of this kind Government set up Joint Select Committees of both the Houses of Legislature. Pandit Hridayanath Kunzru said that the Bill was not purely a consolidating measure. He asked why special provisions which were necessary in the case of salt should now be applied to all excisable goods. He also criticised the wide penal powers which Government had taken under the provisions of the Bill and said it would have been better if they had treated salt and tobacco in this respect differently. Pandit Kunzru also mentioned that complaints had reached him from Chittagong that the authorities were not permitting manufacture of salt for domestic consumption without duty. The speaker asked how the Bill would affect excisable goods produced in Indian States coming into British India. Mr. Badsha congratulated Government for bringing forward such a measure of consolidation. He, however, complained that, instead of liberalising existing provisions, they had taken the opportunity to stiffen the laws so that provisions which were applicable to particular commodities now applied to all excisable goods. Mr. Greenfield, winding up the debate, stated that in Excise matters, Government usually tried to carry the Indian States along with them. He also promised to look into Pandit Kunzru's complaint that manufacture of salt for domestic consumption was not being permitted in Chittagong. Mr. Greenfield referred to apprehensions which had been raised about the power of Courts to order forfeiture of animals, vehicles, etc., used in carrying the goods in violation of the Act, and said that the Courts which would exercise these powers would take into consideration all the circumstances of the case. Referring to the question of transport by sea, Mr. Greenfield said that provisions in this regard did not apply to all commodities, but Government would by notification limit the operation of these provisions to particular commodities. The Bill was passed by the Council as it had emerged from the Lower House.

The Council next passed the Bill to further amend the Coffee Market Expansion Act and the Bill to consolidate and amend the Law relating to Central Duties of Excise, both as passed by the Legislative Assembly. The Council then adjourned till the 23rd.

#### DEATH OF MRS KASTURBA GANDHI

23rd. FEBRUARY :—The Council of State adjourned for half an hour today before taking up the business on the agenda as a mark of respect to the memory of Mrs. Gandhi. Pandit Kunzru, making a reference to her death, said that irrespective of differences of opinions the entire nation mourned the death of Mrs. Gandhi and suggested that the Council should be adjourned as a mark of respect to her memory and also a telegram might be sent to Mahatma Gandhi expressing the sympathy of the House in his bereavement.

#### GENERAL DISCUSSION OF RAILWAY BUDGET

When the Council met again after half-an-hour's adjournment, Pandit Kunzru and several other members were absent. On account of the adjournment, the

question hour was dispensed with and the Council then began general discussion on the Railway Budget. Sir *Parsuram* regretted that in spite of the big surplus, passenger fares were to be increased. The Government were killing the goose that laid the golden egg ; in his opinion it was the third class travelling public who had contributed most to the railway earnings. He was not convinced by the reasons adduced by Government for enhancement of the passenger fares and asked "how can this act as an anti-inflationary measure ?" Sir *Parsuram* referred to the question of transport and said it intensified famine conditions. Cochin and Travancore, for instance, were still suffering because railway help was not adequate. If it was absolutely necessary to raise fares, he considered that a 12½ per cent rise would be more appropriate.

Sir *Shantidas Askuran* criticised the railways for bad accounting, faulty estimates and failures to utilise the opportunities created by the war.

Sir *David Devadoss* contended that nobody in these days travelled for pleasure. At any rate, so far as South India was concerned, he could assure the House that they did not have money to spend on unnecessary travel. It was unfortunate that the people of lower classes should be taxed more.

*Haji Abdus Sattar* stated that enhancement of rates would not relieve overcrowding or combat inflation in the country. He drew attention to the unsatisfactory arrangements for food on the railways and urged the War Transport Member to remedy these defects.

Mr. *Badshah* did not think the increase in fares would have any deflationary effect as the measure affected only that section of the population that travelled in trains and he characterised the increase as an attempt to profiteer on the part of the railways and 'share in the general plunder.' He contended that the present overcrowding in trains was not due to plentiful money as the Transport Member had stated but due to lack of alternative modes of transport and increased military traffic.

*Sardar Sobha Singh* strongly opposed the 25 per cent increase in railway fares and said that 82 per cent of the travelling public were third class passengers and it would be unfair to impose this additional burden on them. He said that unless these third class passengers were exempted from this rise, he must ask the House not to support the budget.

Mr. *Hossain Imam* pointed out that the working expenditure had increased during the last five years from 78.08 crores to 114.10 crores and offset the 60 per cent increase in income during the same period and he thought that this increase in working expenditure was not justifiable. Regarding the proposal to effect certain improvements on the Assam, Bengal and Eastern Bengal Railways, Mr. *Imam* said that these railways had always been deficit railways and during the last five years they showed a deficit of Rs. 169 lakhs. Now for effecting these improvements, their capital outlay was going to be increased by 40 per cent. There was no justification to do so. These improvements were obviously intended for military purposes and therefore, this additional expenditure on these railways should be debited, not even to the Government of India, but to His Majesty's Government and certainly not to the railway revenues. Referring to coal transport, Mr. *Imam* suggested that H. M. G. should be asked to obtain coal from South Africa and secure some shipping space to transport this South African coal to places in India particularly on the west coast and in South India. If this were done, it would meet the situation created by the shortage of wagons and at the same time relieve the coal scarcity in this country.

Winding up the debate, the War Transport Member, Sir *Edward Benthall*, said that he appreciated the expressions of appreciation by some members of what the officers and men of the railways were doing. Such appreciation would encourage the men who were carrying out an onerous task. Referring to Sir A. *Shantidas Askuran's* remarks that the budget estimates were faulty, the War Transport Member said the method adopted by Government was the only practical one. He thought that both expenditure and receipts would increase with the arrival of new locomotives and wagons, which he hoped, would also increase their efficiency. Sir *Edward* said several members had pointed out the shortage of lights in carriages and that appeared to, apply particularly to the Bengal and Assam Railways. The difficulty there, he said, was purely one of getting the material. But the trouble started with the public stealing the bulbs and fittings in very large numbers. On the question of the food shortage in Travancore and Cochin, he said that the Food Department was fully aware of the sufferings of the people and were doing all they could to help. Sir *Edward* maintained that the fact that more people were

travelling in trains was certainly due to the greater circulation of money in the country. He quoted figures to show that the increased traffic was confined not only to the third class but also to the upper classes. He would not agree that overcrowding was mainly due to increased military traffic. He pointed out that in the year 1942-44 the revenue from civilian passengers showed an increase of Rs. 10 crores while the corresponding revenue from military passengers travelling on ordinary trains showed an increase of only about three crores. Sir Edward said that another cause of overcrowding was pilgrim traffic. The Council at this stage adjourned.

#### STABILISATION OF PRICES

24th. FEBRUARY :—After question hour, the Council of State passed Mr. Hossain Imam's resolution recommending that price control and adequate supply of the requirements of the agriculturists be taken in hand. Replying on behalf of the Government, Mr. B. R. Sen said : Government of India had taken up the question of increased supply of consumers' goods to agriculturists very seriously and were doing their best in the matter. The resolution was rather wide in its scope, but he assured the House that so far as essential articles were concerned Government were doing all they could.

#### REHABILITATION PROGRAMME

The Council then took up Mr. M. N. Dalal's resolution recommending the appointment of a consultative committee composed of non-official representatives of the Central Legislature and representatives from Indian financial and commercial interests to advise Government to rehabilitate the economic structure of the country. After some discussion the resolution was withdrawn.

#### MANUFACTURE OF LOCOMOTIVES

Pandit Hridaynath Kunzru then moved a resolution recommending that steps be taken to manufacture broad gauge locomotives in India. He said his object in raising discussion on this question was to stress the responsibility of the Government and the Railway Board for the present situation. The need for locomotives was extremely urgent and Government should have taken steps earlier to meet this need. The debate was at this stage postponed, and the House adjourned.

#### GENERAL DISCUSSION OF BUDGET

7th. MARCH :—The Council today began its debate on the Budget. Sir Shantidas Askuran, referring to India's defence expenditure, stated that it had risen  $6\frac{1}{2}$  times since 1938 and that the country could not afford this "terrible scale" of expenditure. He apprehended that if offensive operations against Japan began this year, the estimates might be exceeded by a large margin. Regarding EPI, he suggested that out of the 19.64% proposed to be immobilized, Government should be content to keep only half as deposit and leave the other half to the industry. If this was not done the incentive for further production would be taken away to the detriment of the war effort.

Mr. M. N. Dalal urged the Commander-in-Chief to consider the possibility, consistently with war exigencies, of bringing back to India more Indian troops from abroad to replace British troops whose maintenance was more costly. Indian troops, whose achievements had drawn praise from all quarters, could surely be trusted to defend their native soil.

Sir A. P. Patro felt that the question of production and industrial expansion had received very little attention from the Finance Member, and said whatever was proposed would take effect only after the war. The incentive to agriculture would be lessened with prices falling and there was already a noticeable sliding down towards that. He hoped Government would not fail to encourage agriculture and industries now, and said no country had grown prosperous by utilizing imported raw material.

Pandit Hridaynath Kunzru, dealing with defence expenditure, said although the country had no constitutional means of disputing the decisions of the Defence authorities, he was afraid that in spite of the maximum requirements of India being fixed, this would include requirements which were not purely Indian. The reconquest of Burma was an Imperial concern for which HMG should bear the burden. He wanted to know the proportion of Indian and British troops in India. He asked whether African troops in India were paid on the same scales as Indian soldiers or at a higher rate. Why was it necessary, he asked, to bring these troops into India when Government were claiming that they were able to raise a purely voluntary army of over 2,00,000 in the country. Pandit Kunzru wondered how the Government of India could agree to the "scandalous" procedure of allowing

Britain and the USA to sell gold in India at profitable rates and asked why HMG could not transfer the gold to the Indian Government at the exchange rate.

Mr. J. H. Burder congratulated the Finance Member on the salient features of the Budget. He appreciated the relief given to the poor man by raising the taxable minimum to Rs. 2,000, and suggested that Government should do everything in their power to encourage production of consumer goods in the country and where that was not possible for import of essential goods, for the benefit of the poor. Referring to allocation of revenues from income-tax between the Centre and the Provinces, he hoped that the Central Government would give attention to Bengal to ensure that the finances of that province were not left in such a state as to prevent her from embarking on any programme of post-war reconstruction. Bengal had suffered and was suffering more than any other province by reason of her proximity to the area of military operations.

Mr. G. S. Motilal declared that his general impression of the Budget was that the keynote of British policy in India was exploitation of the people of this country—exploitation in time of peace and greater exploitation in war-time. The imposition of excise duty on textiles and the principle of Imperial preference, he said, were designed to help England to sell her goods to India and now in war-time every facility was given to England to buy goods from India. He also criticized the defence expenditure, about which they had no detailed information.

Mr. Hossain Imam complained that adequate provision had not been made for relief of evacuees in India. Referring to dollar resources he suggested that these should be available to the Reserve Bank for circulation in India and the Reserve Bank Act should be amended suitably. Mr. Imam questioned the intentions of the Government to import more consumer goods into the country during the coming year, because he found no increased provision under revenues from Customs duties for the period. "There is no word to apply to the Budget except robbery," he declared.

The President objecting to the word "robbery" as unparliamentary, Mr. Imam amended it to "dishonest." "It is a misnomer to call the Budget a budget or even a statement of affairs : it is a statement of actions taken by Government at their own discretion," Mr. Hossain added.

#### MANUFACTURE OF LOCOMOTIVES

15th. MARCH :—The Council passed without a division *Pandit Kunzru's* resolution recommending that steps be taken for the manufacture of broad gauge locomotives in India. Mr. Kalikar, resuming the debate, referred to the complete unanimity of opinion prevailing in the country, both among officials and non-officials on this question, and complained that the Government were persistently resisting the public demand for the manufacture of locomotives. Sir A. P. Patro thought that the war should act as a stimulus to Government to undertake the manufacture of locomotives immediately. Since Government had accepted the recommendations of the expert committee, there was really no dispute between the Government and the rest of the House on the necessity of manufacture of broad gauge engines. Mr. Hossain Imam argued that the manufacture of locomotives was not a purely civil affair. It was one of the urgent needs of the war situation and he felt that if the Government pressed their demand for machinery, they would succeed in getting it from abroad. Sir S. N. Roy, Secretary, War Transport Department, accepted the principle underlying the resolution and said that Government were going ahead with the scheme. He pointed out that the question of designs and layouts in regard to the Kanchrapara factory was under correspondence with the consulting engineers and assured the House that Government were determined to push forward with the scheme. He, however, stated that there were difficulties in obtaining machinery and tools which were of a complicated character. Government, he added, accepted the resolution only with the one proviso that it could not be immediately put into operation, owing to difficulty in getting the necessary machinery. *Pandit Kunzru* regretted that government had not prevailed upon themselves to assure the House that they would get over the difficulties in the way of making a start immediately and said this policy of Government had caused both annoyance and anxiety in the country. Nothing that had been said by Sir S. N. Roy in the Council or by the War Transport Member in the Assembly had removed the impression that the inability to manufacture locomotives at present was due to the slackness of the Railway Board and their failure to take up this question earlier. Sir S. N. Roy's assurance was satisfactory so far as it went. The members were afraid that the importation of locomotives from America in large numbers might furnish a fresh argument to the railway authorities to put off manufacture in India.



But he was very glad that Sir S. N. Roy had given a clear assurance on this point by stating that even if the cost of manufacture was more than in other countries government would still take steps to manufacture locomotives in India. Winding up the debate, Sir *Edward Benthall*, Member, War Transport, explained that it might take two and half years to see the first locomotive engine after the setting up of a factory. It was a matter of extreme urgency to see that the present traffic moved and that was met by the importation of engines and by more efficient repair work. Had it not been for the fore-sight of the Government in deciding to import engines, Sir Edward said, we would have been in a sorry plight to-day. Dealing with the difficulties that faced government in the setting up of a locomotive factory now, Sir Edward said that they would have to make provision for the immediate repair works and also some vital work carried on in workshops. The setting up of a factory was a big undertaking which had got to be treated with seriousness. He assured the House that Government were doing everything possible to finalise the plans and efforts to put through would be pushed forward with the maximum possible energy and speed. They would have two or three workshops for the manufacture of locomotives but what precise time it would take did not lie in his hands. The House passed the resolution and adjourned.

#### DEBATE ON THE FOOD SITUATION

16th. MARCH :—Mr. *B. R. Sen*, Director-General of Food, moving the consideration of the food situation in the country, expressed the deep sense of sorrow of the House for those who suffered and lost their lives during the last famine in Bengal and also expressed India's gratitude to those friends across the seas in distant lands whose active sympathy in their hour of trial had been a source of solace and strength. Dealing with the immediate problem, Mr. Sen said that it was the considered view of the Government of India that the question of procurement could not be solved by reversion to free trade or by the establishment of a Central foodgrains monopoly. They had, therefore, agreed to the provinces continuing to shoulder the responsibility of procurement both on their behalf, whether for their own consumption or for export to deficit provinces and on behalf of the Central Government for Central Government needs, including the Defence services. At the same time, it was incumbent on the Government of India to exercise a degree of superintendence and control, necessary to secure the effective discharge of that function. Replying to the charge that the quality of foodgrains supplied to deficit areas from surplus areas was the responsibility of the Central Government, Mr. Sen re-stated that under the present system the responsibility of arranging for inspection for despatch of food grains from the supplying areas with a view to ensuring quality was that of the receiving provincial Government and not of the Central Government. Mr. Sen assured the House that every one concerned was conscious that transport movement, no less than purchase, would be a determining factor in the success of the procurement scheme. Referring to the present food situation in Bengal, Mr. Sen said they had been blessed with a very bountiful rice harvest. They had imported substantial quantities of food grains and were now almost in daily touch with His Majesty's Government on the subject of future importation programme. Mr. Sen said that it was the public leaders and the Press, in whose hands the outcome of the issues largely lay. It was their over-riding duty in this hour to help their own people. Mr. Sen stated that there was no intrinsic scarcity in Bengal as a whole this year. The problem was essentially one of distribution within the province and the Aman procurement scheme, with certain modifications, was in operation in the province since January. The operation of the scheme during the last two and half months had brought out some interesting fact. The cultivators appeared to be holding on to their crop as they had never done before. Mr. Sen dealt at length with the conditions obtaining in Malabar, Travancore and Cochin and said that the Government of India had decided to send 4,000 tons immediately to Cochin for providing a reserve, in addition to the quotas which would be allotted to Travancore and Cochin jointly under the basic plan.

The *Maharaj Kumar of Nashipur* said that there seemed to be a suspicion in the minds of the agriculturists generally that the Government might attach the standing crops and commandeer them for army use. Government, he said, should publicly proclaim that they have no such intention. The food requirements of the army, he thought, had been over-emphasised in the past to the neglect of the civilian population. He urged for the elimination of competitive buying. The present ministry in the province, he said, had failed to tackle the situation and suggested that means might be found for the formation of a ministry, consisting of all the

principle political elements in the province, and thereby strengthen the hands of the new Governor of Bengal.

Mr. *Susil Kumar Roy Chaudhury* said that the improvement in Bengal, though not substantial, was due to the Aman crop harvest. He complained that the Government of Bengal were not doing all they should. They were busy suppressing news in regard to the food situation. Supplies that were made available now were bad in quality and it appeared to him that they were hoarded stocks. To improve the present situation and to avert a greater calamity, Mr. Chaudhury said that the Government of India, through the provincial Government, should take more energetic steps. He also urged that a Government, representing all the parties in the province, should be set up.

Mr. *G. S. Motilal* asked how many of the recommendations of the Foodgrains Committee had been given effect to by the Government. He emphasised that, instead of expecting outside help, the Central and provincial Governments in the country should do all they could to improve the situation.

*Rai Bahadur S. K. Das* gave a picture of the conditions in rural Bengal. Measures should be taken to utilise tracts of waste land for the production of food crops.

*Sardar Sobha Singh* urged that the transport system should be improved. The most important thing was to bring all cultivable land under the plough.

Sir *David Devadoss* complained that military contractors were offering higher prices than those prevailing in the markets and, thus, increasing the price level. Government should also see that the money which they were granting to cultivators should actually reach them. He wondered whether even 75 per cent of the amounts thus granted was actually reaching the cultivator. Lastly, he urged that the military should make it a rule to grow their own vegetables. For want of green vegetables, in Madras many people were suffering from scabies.

Sir *A. P. Patro* complained that other parts of India, especially the west coast—Malabar, Cochin and Travancore,—had not received the same attention as Bengal. What had happened in Bengal in 1943 had also happened all along the west coast. He urged that the same degree of assistance and relief should be extended to South India as to Bengal and stated that the agriculturist in South India was in no way in a better position than in Bengal.

Sir *Parsuram* accused middlemen, profiteers and hoarders of creating black-markets and 'sucking the very blood of the people' and urged Government to take steps to eradicate this evil.

Mr. *Mohendra Lal Das* complained that Assam had received very little attention from the authorities. Assam's voice was so weak that it was rarely heard.

17th. MARCH :—Pandit *Kunzru* said that Mr. Sen's speech yesterday had created the impression that the Government were rather optimistic. He compared the situation in the country with that obtaining in Britain and said in spite of the fact that Britain was faced with greater difficulties, she was able to find shipping space to import half of her food requirements. He commended the steps taken by the Madras Government to increase the weekly quota of food grains to Malabar from 10,000 tons to 15,000 tons but complained that the Government were still trotting out difficulties of transport to explain their inability to feed the people. He regretted that Mr. Sen had not made any reference to South Kanara in his speech. He had information, which was supported by the collector of the district, that the district would require about 18,000 tons more of food grains. He hoped Mr. Sen would look into this. In regard to Orissa, Pandit *Kunzru* appealed to the Central Government to show more consideration. It would not be correct for the Central Government to practically compel the Orissa Government to go on exporting food at the present time as in the past. The export of rice, he added, was only made possible because of the poverty of the people. Referring to Bengal, he said that with over 12 million tons of food grains at its disposal this year, he would expect there would be no shortage of rice in the deficit districts and that the prices would be within reach of everyone. But he was sorry to say that information in his possession did not enable him to believe that the position was satisfactory in either of these respects.

Mr. *Hussain Imam* thought that Mr. Sen's statement yesterday was a comprehensive and clear statement of facts and he welcomed the progress made in pursuance of the Foodgrains Policy Committee's recommendations. Mr. Imam deprecated attempts being made in Bengal by interested parties and interested persons to create difficulties and asked the Central Government to state clearly their policy in this respect. Did they want to encourage such actions? Did they want that

there should be no confidence in the authority of the Government? Was that Government's policy or did they want to rehabilitate confidence? Mr. Imam urged the Government to make available to fishermen in Bengal more boats either free of cost or on easy hire-purchase-system. Government should not be content with giving back only 10,000 boats. On the question of rationing, Mr. Imam thought that the ration of one lb. of rice and wheat was not sufficient. He urged that this be increased to 2 lbs. per head for manual labours and one and half per head for ordinary citizens. The existing rations if necessary be supplemented by other food grains. Mr. Imam suggested that Government should import tractors from abroad for collective farming. They might even take over some lands in Assam for this purpose and run a farm on scientific lines.

Sir Jogender Singh, member for Education, Health and Lands, stated that 100 tractors had been ordered from the U. S. A. and ought to be delivered here at any time now. He dealt at length with various measures taken by Government to afford medical relief to Bengal and disclosed that the military was using jeeps and water transport to reach these supplies to outlying areas. He paid a tribute to the military authorities who had rendered invaluable assistance to Bengal in this respect. There were 16 military hospitals, each with 100 to 300 beds spread over 10 districts. Besides mobile trucks, by the production of a suitable injection for starvation cases in a state of collapse, the All India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health had enabled a 90 per cent death rate to be converted into 90 per cent cure rate. The situation had really improved and cholera mortality had fallen to 60 per week. 600 cases had been treated by medical personnel upto the 16th February. Besides military assistance the Government of India had made available to Bengal the services of a number of medical officers.

Sir Satyendranath Roy, Secretary, War Transport Department, stated that Government had never contended that the Transport Department had been able to move all that there was to be moved, but as far as foodgrains were concerned he could claim that, by and large, the Department had moved the requirements of the Food Dept. In Bengal, especially certain parts of Eastern Bengal, movement was dependent on boat transport. For internal movement in Bengal, Government had allotted 95 broad-gauge wagons and over 30 metre-gauge wagons per day, but he should be wrong if he were to say that the situation in regard to internal transport was satisfactory. Government, he added, realised the difficulties and were doing their best to overcome them.

Winding up the debate, Sir Jwalaprasad Srivastava claimed that but for the measures adopted by the Food Department to meet the situation, losses in Bengal would have been far greater and the province would have been faced with a much bigger disaster. Government of India, he said, were having an All-India policy in regard to food and were giving effect to it. H. E. the Viceroy in his various public utterances had made it plain that policy. He claimed that the Food Department, since last August, had played a very important part in alleviating the food situation. Nobody regretted more than himself the appalling loss of life in Bengal but he was sure that had it not been for what the Food Department had done, this loss would have been far greater and Bengal would have been faced with a much bigger disaster. Sir Jwala Prasad pointed out that there was enough food in Bengal this year. The conditions for success had also been created. The world and the rest of India would place a heavy responsibility on the Government and the people of Bengal, if they failed to feed themselves this year. The food debate concluded and the House adjourned till Wednesday March 22.

#### MERCHANT SHIPPING AMEND. BILL

**22nd. MARCH:—**The Council passed Mr. Hoosain Imam's Bill to amend the Indian Merchant Shipping Act, 1923 as passed by the Assembly. Mr. R. N. Banerjee, Secretary, Overseas Department, pointed out that the present war conditions were not suitable for enforcing the Bill but gave an assurance that Government would not unduly delay its enforcement as soon as the abnormal conditions cease to exist.

#### EXCHANGE RATIO OF RUPEE

Mr. Hoosain Imam's resolution suggesting the appointment of a Committee consisting of members of the Central Legislature, businessmen and agriculturists to recommend a suitable permanent exchange value of the rupee to help the agricultural and industrial rehabilitation of India in the post-war period was rejected without a division. In the course of the debate on it, Mr. Imam said he had not suggested any specific ratio because he thought it should be left to the

Committee to decide. He referred to the plans emanating from the United States of America and Great Britain for regulating post-war international exchange and currency and said once an agreement was reached there would be no scope for unilateral action for individual nations to regulate their exchange rates. He criticised the present exchange rate of 1s. 9d. and said this was intended to be a temporary measure. Pandit *Hridaynath Kunzru* said: The crux of the matter was not that the exchange rate should be fixed at present, but that India's freedom to determine an exchange ratio suitable to her interests should not be taken away from her. Apprehensions had been created in the minds of the people in this country in regard to what bearing the decisions of the International Conference which was likely to be held in the near future, would have on the country's economy, it was, therefore, necessary that Government should clarify their policy. Mr. *C. E. Jones*, Finance Secretary, regretted he could not accept the resolution. He recalled that the passing of the Reserve Bank Act by the Legislature entailed recognition on their part of the provision that the Reserve Bank was the proper body to advise Government in this matter. His first objection was on this score. Secondly, present conditions were far too full of uncertain factors to enable any body of men to recommend suitable rates of exchange for the Indian rupee whether in terms of pound sterling or dollar or gold. For this reason, the appointment of a Committee would be premature and ineffective.

#### CITIZENSHIP RIGHTS OF INDIANS IN AMERICA

The Council next passed Mr. *G. S. Motilal's* resolution recommending that early steps be taken to secure right of citizenship for Indians resident in the U. S. A. He said that India had played a great part in the war and this fact alone should be enough for the U. S. A. to accept the Indian claims for entry into the U. S. A. Sir *Olaf Caroe*, Secretary for External Affairs, accepted the resolution on behalf of the Government. His reason for intervening in the debate at this early stage was to bear witness to the efforts that the Government of India made to emphasize the need of goodwill and understanding on the U. S. Government. He was anxious that the debate should be centred on the future rather than the past. Sir *Olaf* referred to the two Bills that had been introduced in the U. S. legislature and said the one introduced in the Upper House sought to give citizenship rights to Indians who had been resident in the U. S. prior to 1924. This would have no effect on Indians who might wish to enter the U. S. A. in future. What Indian opinion wanted was the enactment of a measure giving exactly the same treatment to Indians as had already been accorded to the Chinese—entry under quota and the right to obtain citizenship. The second Bill, which was recently introduced in the House of Representatives, aimed at securing for Indians this position. In the U. S. A. only private members could introduce legislation and not the Government, and he hoped that nothing would be said in the debate today which would make it difficult for the authorities, who were very sympathetic to secure the objects which were desired. The Council at this stage adjourned till March 27.

#### INDIAN COCOANUT COMM. BILL

27th. MARCH :—The Council held a brief sitting today and passed the Indian Coconut Committee Bill, an official measure, as passed by the Assembly. The Bill provided for the creation of a fund for the improvement and development of the cultivation, marketing and utilization of coconuts.

#### DEBATE ON THE FINANCE BILL

29th. MARCH :—The Finance Bill as recommended by His Excellency the Viceroy was introduced in the Council of State today by Mr. *C. E. Jones*, Finance Secretary. Mr. *P. N. Saprú*, who opened the debate on behalf of the Opposition, considered it a "sin" to vote for the Finance Bill, but at the same time made it clear that his vote must not be regarded as a vote against the war efforts of the country. "We are not opposed to India's participation in the war in terms of honourable co-operation," he said. "We are asked to vote for a bill, which will become law with or without our approval and will place funds at the disposal of an Executive Council whom we neither regard as representative of the popular will nor efficient for carrying out the war efforts of this great country." He realised it was not in their power to turn the Government out, but in the existing circumstances their votes had a moral significance. Referring to the defence expenditure Mr. *Saprú* said that last year the Government stated that the expenditure on defence services would not be higher this year than in 1942-43, but actually the expenditure had mounted up.

Mr. Jones the Finance Secretary intervened to explain that the Government's expectations did not materialise. If more divisions had moved into Burma, the Indian tax-payer would get a relief to the extent that the expenditure of the troops moved in would not fall on him.

Mr. Sapru wanted to know if the departure of Indian troops would not result in British troops taking their place. He asked what would be India's maximum liability in the financial agreement between His Majesty's Government and the Government of India. The agreement was between two unequals, between his Majesty's Government and its subordinate branch. Mr. Sapru asked what the Government had done for the social security of the people. He criticised the new taxes and urged the Government to improve the machinery for the collection of vital statistics. Dealing with the political situation in the country, Mr. Sapru said that there was a deadlock in this country because Government spoke with mental reservations. Government's intention to make India self-governing was not trusted either by the Congress or by the League, or even by the so-called loyalists. He likened the August Resolution of the Congress to that of a trade union resolution which mentioned general strikes if certain things did not happen. Government wanted that Congress leaders should come forward, "not in sack cloth ashes" and declare "oh I please, sir, we are sorry we passed the August Resolution." "You want to break the morale of the Indians", Mr. Sapru added, "you want to import the Versailles spirit in dealing with the Congress leaders. You want an admission of defeat." Mr. Sapru thought that that was not the spirit in which the Government would be able to solve the Indian problem. It was of vital importance that they should achieve independence and there could be no compromise on the principle of independence. Mr. Sapru stressed the importance of an accredited representative of the Indian people participating in the Peace Conference. He thought it was a "scandal" that there had been no general election in India for the last so many years.

*Sir A. P. Patro* thought the taxation proposals were inevitable, for the war was the primary concern of everyone. The Finance Bill, he regretted, did not contain any proposal for industrial, agricultural and social development of the country.

Mr. S. N. Mahatha, opposing the Finance Bill, said that the Government of India had been disclaimed and disowned by all sections of people in the world. Despite all this, "led by Maxwell, they continued to wax well and tax well."

*R. B. Lala Ram Saran Das* said that the present policy of the Government was such that he had no other alternative but to oppose the Finance Bill.

The *Rajah of Nashpur* opposed the Finance Bill on the ground that the Government of Bengal were greatly responsible for the food shortage in Bengal and the catastrophe that followed. He deplored the taxes on tea and tobacco which, he said, "are the only items of solace" to the masses.

*Mr. Kumar Sankar Roy Choudhry* said the new taxes were unjustified and complained that the Government had no proper plans in regard to the future. He disapproved of *Sir Ramunni Menon's* suggestion that taxes should be enhanced further with a view to find money for post-war reconstruction. The House at this stage adjourned.

30th. MARCH:—*Mr. V. V. Kalikar* said that unless HMG made up their mind to take the people of India into their confidence he saw no bright future for the efficient prosecution of the war effort. He expressed dissatisfaction with the administration of the country and complained that the sons of the soil were denied their due share and foreign experts were being imported for administering the country.

*Pandit H. N. Kunzru* said that it would be impossible for him to support the Finance Bill 'because of the arrogant insistence of the Government on having its own way.' They thought that when the certified Bill was placed before them Government would let them know their decision in regard to the proposed increase of 25% in railway fares. The War Transport Member announced in the Assembly a few days ago that all financial measures would be considered together and that Government would arrive at a decision after the Budget had been considered. The Budget debate in the Assembly was over and the Governor-General had now certified the Finance Bill. *Pandit Kunzru* asserted that the new loans floated in this country were practically for the purpose of obtaining funds to pay for Britain's war purchases in India. The proceeds of net permanent loans were expected to amount to about Rs. 530 crores and the interest charges had increased since 1942-43 by Rs. 10.80 crores. He said that India paid 3% interest while England paid only

1½% on the sterling balances. He urged that the difference should be paid by England. Pandit Kunzru went on to criticize the inadequate news from the E. front. He expressed his appreciation of the fact that the C-in-C informed the House the other day of the position in Manipur even before the publication of the SE Asia Command communique. "Frankly speaking, what I and others feel is that what is taking place in Manipur shows that information which is of the greatest importance to us has been withheld longer than was necessary." If the C-in-C took the trouble of meeting the elected members of the Assembly he would find that there was deep feeling with regard to the manner in which India was being dealt with about war news. He knew that the C-in-C personally never minimized the situation but yet the general feeling of the man-in-the-street in regard to the various announcements was that India was not going to be invaded. One morning they were told that the Japanese were within the borders of India. Speaking on the Defence Services Pandit Kunzru said that in spite of the recent increase the pay of Indian soldiers was only one-third of that of the British. He urged the appointment of senior Indian officers as battalion commandants and asked for an increased number of Indians occupying staff appointments. He inquired whether Government were thinking of reconstruction in the Defence Services. Pandit Kunzru urged that three or four thoroughly efficient Indians should be given command of brigades. If that was done they might hope to see an Indian Division commanded by an Indian major-general.

Mr. Hossain Imam referred to the gold sales in the country and asked whether there was any justification for allowing even Abyssinia to sell gold at high prices in India? It looked as if we were a band of philanthropists to enrich everybody. S Africa was claiming a share in the loot of H.M.G. Was it not surprising that the Government of India had not entered the field at least as an 'also-ran' if not a winner? The reason for all this lay in the position of the Government of India which was no better than that of a jamadar vis-a-vis H.M.G. Mr. Imam said the Finance Member's statement in the Assembly in regard to sale of gold had encouraged speculators and the price of gold was rising rapidly. The U. S. A. and the U. K. were selling gold at exorbitant prices. It was nothing but legalized robbery. Mr. Imam criticized the allocation of Defence expenditure and said there was no shadow of justice for the British Army in India being paid by the Government of India. Did Britain pay for the U. S. army in Britain and did the U. S. A. charge for the pay and salary of her personnel which were sent to India? Mr. Imam added that the peoples of India wanted to fight the British Government and not the Government of India. He had great sympathy for the members of Treasury Benches. Some of them had told him privately how powerless they were on certain occasions.

Sir N. Gopalaswami Iyengar said that on the broadest of financial considerations alone the financial proposals in the Bill were indefensible. And as there would be no opportunity afforded for amending or improving its provisions and as the House would be asked to vote only in favour of or against the Bill as it stood, he found himself unable to give his support to it. He drew attention to the fact that the amount of the closing balance estimate at the end of 1944-45 would be 571.89 crores and asked what financial justification could there be for the Government to attempt to raise petty taxes affecting a large number of people yielding eight or nine crores. The amount of four crores proposed to be raised by taxes on betelnuts, coffee and tea was less than 1/60th of the total taxation revenue. The yield was so miserably poor that it was against the essential canons of taxation to levy it. He pointed out that there was enough money on the ways and means side of the budget not merely to bridge the budgetary gap but the entire inflationary gap as well in the budget year and that, therefore, the House could not in reason agree that all the proposals contained in the Finance Bill were essential for the interests of India.

Referring to the political situation, Sir Gopalaswamy said that the present Executive of the Government of India had failed to react in a reasonable manner to the criticisms of the representatives of the public in the Legislature and they had displayed neither wisdom nor political imagination in tackling the situation. An Executive irremovable for a term, when it had to deal with a democratic Legislature, must, if possible, try and behave in a manner consistent with democratic principles "in so far as the truncated constitution under which that democratic Legislature is constituted functions." Where the Legislature did not agree with the Executive, it was the duty of the Executive to see whether by negotiation and compromise it was not possible to meet the wishes of the Legislature

in such a fashion as to prevent its refusing supplies altogether. The rejection vote in the Assembly could have been averted by the Executive giving effect to the cut in the Railway Budget by dropping the proposal to enhance the railway passenger fares, dropping the excise duties on coffee, tea and betelnuts and by amending the alterations made in the Income Tax and E. P. T. "The mere prestige of the Executive should not stand in the way of acceding to popular opinion when that opinion certainly does not deserve to be brushed aside as being crooked or unreasonable", he said. Referring to the establishment of a National Government it was his view that the essential preliminary to such a development was the release of the political leaders who were now in jail and affording an opportunity to them for getting into contact with public feeling as it was to-day and taking steps for the bringing about of an agreement amongst the important sections of political opinion which would enable them to join hands in running the Government of the country during the period of the war. He maintained that the release could not at the present time be considered to be fraught with any risks to public tranquillity even from the standpoint of the present Executive. "But even a more preliminary gesture than this", he said, "for example, of permitting contact between the political leaders in jail and those outside with a view to the exploration of the possibilities of a solution of the present deadlock, if the present Government had the imagination to make it in the course of the debate in the Assembly, would almost certainly have effectively averted the turning down of the Finance Bill in the Assembly." He regretted that the Government had been unwilling to move in that matter.

Sir *Mahomed Usman* said that the Opposition had discussed the Finance Bill in an unreal atmosphere. They were in the midst of a great war, the greatest war that the world had ever seen. The United Nations had made a wonderful recovery. The victories won ensured the final victory of the Allies. But they could not yet afford to lessen their vigilance and relax their efforts. Germany was reeling under the blows in Europe but the arrogant and brutal Japan was still to feel the might of the mightiest combination of nations. She was still threatening their country and they had to remain prepared to meet that threat. Such continued threat, Sir Mahomed said, should, as in other countries, have led to cementing the bonds between different elements in the country. But unfortunately this was not the case here. The House would remember that Lord Linlithgow when he was the Viceroy at the outbreak of the war, called important leaders of various parties and tried to bring them together on a common platform—resistance to the enemy. He failed in that attempt. "The most common accusation against the British Government is," Sir Mahomed went on, "that their policy is to divide and rule. But here was the Viceroy trying to bring various parties together on various occasions, but the parties failed him and refused to come together. Later, came the Cripps Offer which as H. E. Lord Wavell told us when he addressed the two Houses is still open. It is for us to come together, agree among ourselves, give the Muslims and minorities their rightful place in the administration of the country." Sir Mahomed continued, that for years, the Congress Party had been crying for independence, but when in the Cripps Offer such independence, full, complete and secure, was offered, they rejected it for two reasons: one that it recognised at the same time the Muslims' claim to self-determination and their right to have a separate union of their own if they so desired and secondly, because the British refused to abdicate in favour of the Congress in the midst of the war.

Replying to criticisms against the Executive Council, the Leader of the House said: "I may remind the house that patriotism is not the exclusive monopoly of political parties. I do not owe an apology to anybody for being an Executive Councillor to-day. I deem it a privilege that I have been asked to shoulder the responsibilities of office at a time when I can be of real service to my country and at a time when others refused to respond to the call and deserted their post of duty at the first signal of danger. (Cheers.) Had the Congress shown a sense of responsibility and not resigned office in seven Provinces when the clouds of war started gathering around the country and shared the perils and sacrifices of a nation at war, they would have been amongst the wise and patriotic men of the world. But to be responsible and responsive is not in their nature and in their constitution. They had always on one pretext or another shirked the responsibility of office. They do not even hold themselves responsible to those who trusted them and sent them as their representatives in seven out of eleven Provinces. All the political ills of this country are due to the fact that they are not responsive to the rights and claims of others." "We are accused" Sir Mahomed



continued, "of being irresponsible as if it is of our own creation. But I ask : has this ancient land ever seen an age in which the Executive was responsible to an elected House ? All the progress that has been made in India as a result of British connection has been through the so-called irresponsible Executive Council. A responsible executive system "of the British type" based on the system of simple majority rule will not suit India on account of great communal differences." Unfortunately in India, Sir Mahomed said, there was absolutely no national spirit. It was all communal. It was that that was responsible for retarding the political progress of this country and for preventing the formation of a National Government. When this was the case, why blame the British Government ? he asked.

*Rai Bahadur S. K. Das* supported the Finance Bill but thought that the tax on tobacco, betelnuts and tea was unfair as it would affect the poor in the country.

*Mr. Sushil Kumar Roy Chaudhury* criticised the tax on betelnuts, which, he said, was an agricultural product and as such a provincial subject. He was also opposed to the levy of income-tax up to Rs. 3,000, considering the high prices prevailing for all necessities of life. He could not extend his support to the Bill on principle because the representatives of the people had no control over expenditure. The Bill had been rejected by the Lower House twice. On a much lesser issue, he pointed out, the Prime Minister of England was threatening to resign unless Parliament passed a vote of confidence in him.

31st. MARCH :—*His Excellency the C-in-C.* replied to a number of points regarding the defence services raised by previous speakers. He referred to Mr. Kalikar's remarks that cadets and officers were discharged ostensibly not on the ground of inefficiency, but really on account of their political record and said that Mr. Kalikar had been misinformed. Membership of ordinary peaceful political organisations was not a bar to service in the armed service. In a few cases, however, the War Department had taken action when some persons after getting commission were found to be concerned in subversive or revolutionary activity. Removals on the ground of inefficiency were done after careful scrutiny. The officer was always given an opportunity to show reasons why he should not be removed and whatever reasons he cared to give were carefully considered by the commanding officers, by himself (C-in-C.) and by the Viceroy. The Commander-in-Chief referred to the statement he made in the Assembly about the Burma Front and said it gave an impartial picture of the situation as it existed to-day. Pandit Kunzru had suggested that it was queer that the Japanese should be advancing eastwards when we were advancing westward. Queer things did happen in war, but he added, what had happened was this. We had not exactly advanced west except by air. We had flown in troops into Burma behind the enemy and they were now getting busy destroying and interrupting the enemy's communications and the effect of their efforts would make itself felt. He hoped these efforts would also help to stop the enemy's westward advance. Answering the question whether the army was representative of the nation, the C-in-C. said the armed forces to-day were more broadly based than ever before. They represented all classes and communities and he could, if necessary, produce figures to show the proportion in which the armed forces drew their recruits from various parts of the country. He paid a tribute to their spirit and enthusiasm and said such enthusiasm and spirit could not be created by coercion. The spirit and the desire to show that they could make good were not confined to any one class, it was widespread and universal. The proportion of Indian officers in the army was steadily rising. The ratio of British to Indian officers now was 1.3 to one, compared with 5.5 to one in 1939. This did not however include British service officers who were attached temporarily to the Indian army during the war. The C-in-C. added that he was prepared to take every Indian officer he could get, provided he was fit to be a leader of our men. He would like to tell the house however that he was not getting the standard of men he wanted and he was alarmed at the poor quality of men who were coming forward. Steps were being taken to improve the machinery of selection to secure men of the right stamp. On the question of appointing Indians in High Commands and staff appointments, he stated the situation was steadily improving. The matter was under his constant—almost daily—care and watch. He would ask the House to leave it to him to ensure that Indian officers received fair play.

*Mr. C. E. Jones*, Finance Secretary, winding up the debate, recognised with appreciation the definite statement that had been made on the floor of the House that the vote on the bill was not an indication of opposition to war efforts. He appreciated that because that gave them some common ground on which to discuss



matters. He reminded the House that it was the tempo of war efforts in India which determined the volume of rupees in this country and the tempo of war efforts had to be regulated by military and operational events and not by financial considerations. He appealed to the members, even to those who proposed to vote against the bill, to co-operate with Government in maintaining economic stability of the country, irrespective of political differences, by assisting in all Government's anti-inflationary measures. That seemed to him to be the fundamental duty of every patriot. Referring to the bullion market the Finance Secretary sternly warned speculators and said that Government would be prepared to take most drastic measures to deal with the situation. (Cheers). Sales of gold, Mr. Jones said, have been made by the Reserve Bank for some time at a price which was regarded as not unfair to the investor having regard to the rise in the prices of other commodities. Sales were made with the dual object of providing the U. S. Government and H. M. G. with rupees for use on their war expenditure in this country and as an anti-inflationary measure. The end of last week and early days of this had witnessed the results of scare-mongering by interested parties on the minds of the public. A wave of speculative buying of gold had developed with the result that the market price of gold had outstripped the price at which the Reserve Bank were prepared to sell. The Finance Secretary assured the House that when that unreasoning speculative fever had abated the price of gold would undoubtedly subside to the loss of certain unfortunate people and the Bank would be able to continue sales at more reasonable rates. Referring to H.M.G.'s contribution to the direct defence expenditure of India, Mr. Jones said that apart from the British navy which defended India and whose value could not be exaggerated, India was importing equipment and stores of all sorts not made in this country free. It was not possible to give a complete evaluation of the help we received but Mr. Jones pointed out that the value of aircraft we had received was about a hundred crores of rupees. Besides several categories of A.-A. guns (and one variety must have cost H.M.G. ten crores) and petrol valued approximately seventeen crores had been imported into India, India also received free engineering equipment, signal equipment, specialised instruments of various sorts and she was getting monthly about 4,000 tons of ammunition—apart from what we manufactured. To the list might be added a hundred thousand tons of tinned food imported last year for the troops in the forward areas. He pointed out that India charged for everything supplied to H.M.G. even if it was for her own troops fighting beyond her borders for the protection of India. Britain was said to be ungrateful and after what he had stated he thought comment was superfluous.

The House passed the motion that the financial proposals be taken into consideration by 27 votes to thirteen and later adopted the bill without a division. The House then adjourned till April 4.

#### HINDU MARRIAGE LAW BILL

4th. APRIL :—The Council of State adopted a motion today, moved by Mr. Lal, Secretary, Legislative Department, concurring with the resolution passed in the Legislative Assembly recommending that the Bill to codify the Hindu law relating to marriage be referred to a joint committee of eighteen members of both the Houses. In commending the motion to the acceptance of the House, Mr. Lal hoped that there would not be any serious objection to it. He realised that there might be room for honest differences of opinion in respect of certain provisions of the Bill, and that was why it was being referred to a joint committee, where it could be fully discussed and the largest measure of agreement reached. The Bill, as it would emerge from the joint committee, would again be circulated for eliciting public opinion. Government, he said, would welcome constructive and helpful criticisms. He acknowledged with gratitude the labours of Sir B. N. Rau and his colleagues on the committee and the clarity with which they had expressed themselves on the many knotty problems. Mr. P. N. Saprú supported the motion and said that, left to himself, he would have gone much further than the Bill itself. If we claimed political, economic and social justice, he said, it was our duty to approach the problems raised by the Bill in a spirit of true liberalism. There was no hope for progress for a society which denied justice to its women, he said. Mr. Sushil Kumar Roy Choudhury took the opportunity to contradict a statement made by Mr. Ghulam Bhik Nairang in the Lower House that the presence of Muslim members in the select committees dealing with matters which affected the Hindu community alone did not prejudice the Hindu cause in anyway, and said that, on one occasion, non-Hindu members did participate in voting in committee

and influenced vital matters affecting Hindu interests. He said that if any Muslim member wanted to be in the proposed committee, then he would say that monogamy should be applied to all persons in British India, irrespective of their religion. *Sardar Sobha Singh* extended his support to the motion. *Pandit H. N. Kunzru* pointed out that dissolution of marriages under certain conditions was not unknown to Hindu law. Some stated that if divorce was allowed, then the very foundations of Hindu society would be shaken. *Pandit Kunzru* said that experience of Western countries showed that divorce was an exception and not the rule. He was glad that the Bill would be circulated for eliciting public opinion, because, thereby, they would be able to carry a larger volume of public opinion in favour of the Bill with them. He, however, urged the Government that the measure should not be unduly delayed and asked the Government to give an assurance that the Bill would be brought before the House in the next Winter Session. *Sir Mahomed Usman*, Leader of the House, referring to *Mr. Sushil Kumar Roy Choudhury's* remarks in regard to the presence of non-Hindu members in the committee, said that, as far as the Council of State was concerned, members of the Muslim community had better stand aloof from the committee. *Mr. Kumar Sankar Roy Chaudhury* also supported the motion which was passed.

The House agreed to the following members being on the joint committee : *Pandit H. N. Kunzru*, *Mr. Kalikar*, *Mr. P. N. Sapru*, *Mr. Sushil Kumar Roy Choudhury*, *Mr. G. S. Motilal*, *Sardar Sobha Singh*, *Sir N. Gopalaswami Iyengar*, *Sir Jotsna Ghosal* and *Mr. S. Lal*. The House then adjourned.

#### U. N. R. R. A. AGREEMENT

5th. APRIL :—The Council of State debated to-day a motion approving the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration signed at Washington on 9th November 1943. *Mr. Y. N. Sukhtankar*, Joint Secretary, Commerce Department, who moved the motion yesterday, declared that the Government of India before approving the U. N. R. R. A. proposals had held that the help which India should give must be limited on account of her physical and financial difficulties and that before making any contributions the approval of the Legislature should be obtained. Pending such approval, the Government of India provisionally agreed to the scheme and authorised the Agent-General to sign the Agreement and also agreed to his being nominated to that body exactly on the same footing as other representatives. After explaining the constitution of the U.N.R.R.A. and how it would operate, *Mr. Sukhtankar* said that the attitude of the Government of India towards U.N.R.R.A. was one of sympathy and they had made it plain that any assistance which India gave must be on a limited scale and subject to the approval of the Legislature. So far they had made no payment whatsoever. Referring to the amendment discussed in the United States Congress for the inclusion of India within the scope of U. N. R. R. A. relief, *Mr. Sukhtankar* said that any assistance which the U. N. R. R. A. might afford was limited by shipping. Mere extension of help, he said, did not mean that much help would be coming. On the contribution of one per cent of the national income to the U. N. R. R. A., *Mr. Sukhtankar* was asked what would be India's contribution. He said that various estimates ranging from Rs. 67 to Rs. 112 per annum per head were calculated.

*Pandit H. N. Kunzru*, while supporting the motion, pointed out that any contribution that India might be called upon to bear should not be larger than was warranted by her resources. He urged that the Indian representative on the U. N. R. R. A. should be one who had the confidence of the people here, and Government should not follow the past precedent by nominating their own representatives. *Mr. Kumar Sankar Roy Chaudhury* supported the motion and said that the Legislature should elect a representative for the U. N. R. R. A.

*Sir K. Ramunni Menon* said that the U. N. R. R. A. was a good illustration of international union and welcomed India's participation in it. He wanted that India should have an adequate share of the personnel of the administration of U. N. R. R. A. *Sir N. Gopalaswami Iyengar* further supported the motion. He urged that India's contribution should be commensurate with her low economic standard.

#### ENTRY OF INDIANS INTO KENYA

6th. APRIL :—The Council of State to-day passed *Mr. P. N. Sapru's* resolution recommending immediate steps for securing the withdrawal of regulations having the effect of restricting the entry of Indian immigrants into Kenya which came into force recently. *Mr. R. N. Bannerjee*, Commonwealth Relations Secretary accepted the resolution on behalf of the Government. He said that they had received

the categorical assurance from the Governments of Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika that the Regulations were purely temporary and would be terminated with other wartime regulations and that they would be applied to all non-native immigrants without any distinction whatsoever. With regard to the provision prohibiting the re-entry of persons, who had been away, for more than two years, the Government of India had the assurance that this part of the regulations would not be enforced rigidly but due allowance would be made to the circumstances of each particular case.

Pandit Kunzru, Mr. Hossain Imam, Mr. Kalikar and Mr. Sapru, in the course of their speeches, urged the need, which they said had been shown by the circumstances of this regulation, for the appointment of a diplomatic representative for India in East Africa. Mr. Banerjee pointed out that Indian residents in East Africa apparently felt strong enough to safeguard their interests and were not anxious to have an agent. But in view of the strong feeling expressed in the country the Government of India should take up the matter.

#### MUSLIMS' SHARE IN SERVICES

The House rejected by 22 votes to 4, Mr. Hossain Imam's resolution recommending that the share of Muslims in Central services be increased to 30 per cent of the total, direct recruitment and promotions being combined.

#### DELHI MUSLIM WAQFS AMEND. BILL

The Council passed Mr. Khurshid Ali Khan's Bill to amend the Delhi Muslim Waqfs Act, and the official Bills to extend tariff protection to certain commodities and amend the Factories Act.

#### U. N. R. R. A. AGREEMENT

Resuming discussion on Mr. Sukhtankar's motion (moved yesterday) approving the U. N. R. R. A. agreement, Mr. P. N. Sapru gave his support to India's participation in the scheme but urged that the vote of the Indian legislature should prevail in the matter of selecting representatives. In regard to India's contribution, he urged that her peculiar circumstances must be taken into consideration. The Commerce Member, Sir Aziz-ul-Haque, winding up the debate, said that there seemed to have been some misunderstanding about the scope of the U. N. R. R. A. It was not intended to provide relief to areas affected by war conditions, but its object was to give relief to those areas which would be liberated by Allied forces either by conquest or by the retreat of the enemy. He opposed the suggestion that the representatives from India should be elected by the Legislature and said whether it was a Government working under the present constitution, or any other future constitution, they could not possibly select an international representative by discussion in the Legislature. He referred to the remarks that India was not represented on the Supply Council and other Councils and said the Government of India would not let the matter go. He, however, doubted whether it would be possible for him to find experts to go out of the country to sit on these committees.

The House passed the motion and adjourned '*sine die*.'

# The Central Legislative Assembly

Budget Session—New Delhi—7th. February to 5th. April 1944

## ADJOURNMENT MOTIONS DISALLOWED

The Budget Session of the Central Legislative Assembly commenced at New Delhi on the 7th. February 1944. Five adjournment motions were disallowed either by the Chair or by the Governor-General. The Governor-General, in a message on Mr. A. C. Datta's motion to discuss the appointment of Mr. Casey as the Governor of Bengal, declared that it related to a matter which was not primarily the concern of the Governor-General-in-Council.

The Chair ruled out *Sardar Mangal Singh's* two motions, one, on the dispersal of the Mahasabha procession in Amritsar, and the other on the incidents in Haripur where a Gurdwara and a temple were burnt by an unruly mob. The Chair held that they were matters within the Provincial Government's sphere.

Mr. *Kailash Behari Lal* attempted an adjournment motion to discuss "the disappearance of rice" from Patna and Bhagalpur as a sequel to the partial introduction of rationing. The *Food Member* said that the Government of India were not aware of the facts but from enquiries made after receiving notice of the motion, he had been told that the facts were not as stated in the motion. Rice was still to be found in sufficient quantities in these two places. Government, however, were awaiting reports from the Provincial Governments. Mr. *Kailash Behari Lal* reiterated that his facts were correct and added that during a visit which he paid to Bhagalpur after giving notice of the motion he found that no rice was available in the market. The *Chair* suggested that the mover should put down a question.

The *President* ruled out *Sardar Mangal Singh's* adjournment motion to discuss the Orders issued on the *Hindusthan Times* and the *National Call* prohibiting the publication of statements made by or attributed to Mahatma Gandhi or members of the Congress Working Committee. *Sir Reginald Maxwell*, Home Member, objecting to the motion explained it was issued under the Defence of India Rules.

## GOVT. ORDER ON MRS. NAIDU

The Assembly next rejected by 42 votes to 40 Mr. A. C. Datta's adjournment motion to censure Government on their order on *Mrs. Naidu* directing her not to make any public speeches or issue directly or indirectly any statement to the press or otherwise communicate her views to the public. *Sir Reginald Maxwell*, Home Member, defended the official policy in imposing a ban on *Mrs. Sarojini Naidu*. He tried to import into his argument that it was unfair to give freedom of speech to *Mrs. Naidu* which was denied to her colleagues of the Congress Working Committee. Mr. *Abdul Qayum* and Mr. *Lahiri Chowdhury* were the only two speakers from among the twelve Congress members who attended the session to-day. Both of them challenged the Government to give the Congress a chance to defend itself against the various allegations made by Government propagandists. But the Muslim League, which also supported the censure motion, adopted a different line of attack, demanding that, if the Government still thought *Mrs. Naidu* dangerous enough, then she would not have been released at all. The Nationalists, however, differed from this view and supported the motion because the ban orders on *Mrs. Naidu* amounted to a declaration of the Government policy that they did not want a solution of the deadlock. Mr. *Krishnamachari* and Mr. *Neogy* picked out the weak spots in the Home Member's armour. To the Home Member's suggestion that Gandhiji himself could have published his letter to the people of Orissa, advising them of their attitude in the event of Japanese invasion, Mr. *Neogy* effectively retorted that Gandhiji was not then, as he is now, thrown on his defence.

## RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS

8th. JANUARY :—The Assembly to-day rejected without division Mr. *Lalchand Navalrai's* resolution recommending the release of political prisoners with a view to removing the present political deadlock and furthering the war effort. The Home Member, *Sir Reginald Maxwell* said that if Government were asked to release the Congress leaders, they must be assured that the results would be beneficial to India and to war effort. The Home Member gave an outline of the story of the deadlock

and said it was a story of consistent and repeated refusal of all offers of the Government intended to secure the co-operation of the Congress with other parties in the war administration and to secure a settlement of the deadlock. Mr. *Abdul Qaiyum* (Congress) said they would not ask or beg for the release of the leaders and added: "There can be no question of withdrawal of the resolution of August 1942. If there is going to be any withdrawal, it will have to be done by the Government. There can be no retreat, you can keep these gentlemen in jail as long as as you like." The President disallowed Mr. *T. T. Krishnamachari's* amendment to the resolution on the ground that it was beyond the scope of the resolution. The amendment sought to recommend the dissolution of the present Legislative Assembly after the present budget session with a view to holding fresh elections and reconstitution of the Governor-General's Executive Council so as to include in it persons commanding the confidence of all the important groups in the Assembly.

Speaking on the resolution, Mr. *Lalchand Navalrai* pleaded for the release of political prisoners on the ground that it would be a right step in ending the deadlock. No political party in India would object to this. He thought that the atmosphere in the country had now changed for the better as was evidenced by the new Ordinance relating to the detention of persons. He hoped that when the Viceroy addressed the Legislature next week, he would be gracious enough to direct that all these prisoners would be forthwith released. Their release was essential, he added, if the present tangle was to be ended. The Congress leaders must be enabled, he urged, to hold consultations amongst themselves on the one hand and with other important parties on the other before any settlement could be reached.

#### WORKING OF WOMEN UNDERGROUND

The House then took up Mrs. *Renuka Ray's* adjournment motion, to censure the action of the Government in permitting women to work underground in mines in Jharia and its neighbourhood, was lost by 41 votes to 23. The Europeans voted with the Government, while the Muslim League party, the Independents and the Congress Nationalist party voted for the motion. Congress members had left the House earlier. Mrs. Ray, moving the adjournment, reminded the House that the Government of India was one of the signatories to the Geneva Labour Convention prohibiting the employment of women underground in coal mines. The convention did not contain any clause enabling any participant nation to suspend the convention. The Government of India was thus guilty of a gross breach of international convention solemnly entered into. Apart from this, Mrs. Ray declared that even in England to-day, it had not been found necessary to permit women to work underground. She asserted that shortage of labour on coalfields was due to low wages and bad living conditions and she said that the average wage in Jharia, even with the present dearness allowance, amounted to not more than Rs. 14 or Rs. 15 per month. It ought to have been possible, she insisted, for the Government to find other means to remedy this shortage of labour without permitting women to work underground. Dr. *Ambedkar*, answering the debate, asserted that Government did not take the decision to allow women labour underground in a headlong or wanton manner. He emphasised the temporary nature of the notification and made it clear the moment it was found that the provision was not necessary, he would have no hesitation in withdrawing it. He also mentioned the steps the Government were taking to recruit labour from outside and send them to the mines and also labour camps to provide labour for military contractors so that they might not attract labourers from the mines. The Government had also insisted that the women should get the same wage as a man so that women would not be exploited. After a brief reply by Mrs. Ray, the motion was pressed to a division and declared lost.

#### EXECUTIVE ONSLAUGHT ON BAR

9th. FEBRUARY :—The Opposition censured Government today for "the reign of terror" it had established in the country. It was a single vote that turned the scales against the Government, but the Opposition made the most of it by vociferous cheers and loud thumping of desks. The motion, which stood in the name of Mr. *M. A. Kazmi*, raised a issue, namely, the onslaught of the Executive on the Bar and the Bench in India. The cases of Mr. *Pardiwala* of Bombay, and Pandit *Baijnath* of Agra, were held up by the speakers on the non-official side as instances of unscrupulous victimisation of members of the legal profession for no greater offence than that of defending political suspects. Mr. *Frank Anthony*, the Anglo-Indian member, delivered a scathing condemnation of the entire system of Judicial administration in this country which vested judicial and executive functions

in the hands of the Magistracy. He described the system as "reign of terror par excellence." Pandit *Lakshmi Kanta Mitra*, who followed Mr. Anthony, was so carried away by his own vehement denunciation of the executive that he strongly resented an interruption from the Home Member and snapped back: "You have no business to interrupt me." Raising his voice to its highest possible pitch, Mr. *A. C. Dutta*, Deputy President of the Assembly, asked the Home Member: "You say it is the Defence of India Act. But whose India is it? Is it the India of the bureaucrats and not the India of the Indians?" The *Home Member* intervened at this stage of the debate. But his defence was based on much the same grounds as those on which he opposed admission of the motion itself earlier in the day. His plea that the Centre was powerless in the face of the Constitution Act to interfere with provincial administrations was met with ironic booings from non-official benches. Warming up in his argument, he asked in a rhetorical flourish: "What would the Muslim League Party say if, for instance, the Centre interferred with the League Ministers in Sind or Bengal?" The Hindu members from Bengal and Sind denied that there were League Ministers in those provinces but it was enough to bring *Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan* to his feet. The Deputy Leader of the Muslim League Party used the occasion to have a fling at the Food Member, Sir *Jwala Prasad Srivastava*, who could issue directives from the Centre in petty matters like the number of private and Government shops. His contention was that the Governor of a province was the real custodian of law and order.

#### WORKING OF RECIPROCITY ACT

10th. FEBRUARY :—The Assembly disposed of three official Bills today and adjourned till Monday next. The *Chair* called on Mr. *Govind Deshmukh* to move the adjournment motion which had been admitted to censure the Government on their dilatory tactics to defeat the purpose of the Reciprocity Act, as evidenced by the answers given by the Indians Overseas Member." Dr. *N. B. Khare*, appealing to Mr. *Deshmukh* not to move the motion at the present stage, gave an assurance that Government were doing everything they could in the matter. Negotiations were going on at present between the Governments of India and South Africa. Mr. *Deshmukh* agreed and withdrew the motion.

Earlier, the *Commerce Member's* Bill to amend the Coffee Market Expansion Act of 1942 was passed.

#### CENTRAL COCONUT COMM. BILL

Mr. *J. D. Tyson's* Bill to provide for the creation of a fund for the improvement and development of the cultivation, marketing and utilization of coconuts in India was referred to a Select Committee. The Bill sought to establish an Indian Central Coconut Committee with an independent source of income, which, Mr. *Tyson* said, would probably come from the levy of a cess on coconuts. There was reason to believe, he added, that the present production of coconuts could be increased in a comparatively short time by the adoption of better cultural and manurial practices. Coir and coir-manufactured goods would for the present be exempted from the purview of the proposed committee in deference to the wishes of the Government of Travancore and the Chambers of Commerce in the State.

#### CONSOLIDATION OF EXCISE LAWS

14th. FEBRUARY :—The Assembly today took up for consideration the Finance Member's Bill to consolidate and amend the law relating to Central excise duties, as reported by the Select Committee. The Finance Member, moving consideration, stated that the measure was essential as it consolidated a number of enactments in respect of excise, some of which dated back 60 years or more. It was highly desirable that the law relating to Excise duties should be simplified and made uniform so that it could be understood by the public. Mr. *T. T. Krishnamachari* (Nationalist) opposed the Bill on the ground that its full implications had not been made clear to the public at any stage. The price paid for uniformity should not mean that people should be subjected to more harassment and restrictions. Mr. *Essak Sait* (Muslim League) asked for an assurance that beyond consolidating the existing provisions of law, the Bill did not introduce any new principle. Such an assurance would facilitate the passage of the Bill. Dr. *P. N. Banerjee* thought that the measure went beyond mere consolidation. So far as the Government were concerned it might simplify their task but for the public the Bill sought to give very wide powers to excise officers and the Revenue Board, which would be very unsatisfactory. There was

no urgency for bringing a Bill of such far-reaching consequences before the House. He suggested that the Bill be given fuller consideration. Winding up the debate, the *Finance Member* said that the Bill had been before the public since the last session of the Assembly. Not a single line of criticism had been received from any chambers of commerce or other bodies which might be affected by the Bill. The apprehensions entertained by the previous speakers were vague beyond amendments, which were inevitable when trying to reproduce the gist of no less than 17 enactments, the Bill contained only one new item, which was included in the rulemaking powers; but there was no principle involved in it. By consolidating the provisions of the different excise Acts, he thought the public would be able to understand the law more easily. He was convinced that the House by passing the Bill would be doing an important and useful duty to the country.

During the debate on the clauses of the Bill, Mr. *Krishnamachari* moving his amendment relating to salt manufactured for domestic purposes, said that it was but meet that legislative sanction should be accorded to a practice which had been in existence for the last 13 years, ever since the Irwin-Gandhi Pact. Mr. *M. Nauman* (Muslim League) could see absolutely no reason why the Government should not be willing to place on the statute book the exemption sought by the amendment, as it had been in vogue for such a long time. The *Finance Member* declared that the Government did not intend to retract from the Irwin-Gandhi Pact, would be quite willing to meet the desire of the House if there was no technical difficulty. He suggested that the amendment be left over to enable him to look into the matter closely. He added that the Government did not intend to levy any duty on salt collected or manufactured for domestic purposes by any person. The House then adjourned till Wednesday.

#### RAILWAY BUDGET FOR 1944-45

16th. FEBRUARY :—The railway estimates presented by *Sir Edward Benthall* in the Assembly to-day forecast for 1943-44 a surplus of Rs. 43.77 crores (1.30 crores less than last year but 7.73 crores more than the original estimates) and for 1944-45 a surplus of 52.21 crores.

In 1943-44 total traffic receipts are expected to be 178½ crores, 23 crores more than last year and 28½ crores more than the original estimates. Total working expenses including 16.88 crores for depreciation and 1.71 for payment to worked lines, are 108.58 crores and exceed last year's expenses by 24.32 crores. Of the expected surplus of 43.77, general revenues will receive 32.27 crores which is 12.14 crores more than the original budget, the balance of 11.50 crores going to the Railway Reserve.

After considering the recommendation of the Railway Convention Committee, Government have decided to make an additional appropriation of 4 crores to the depreciation fund as an emergency provision to cover excessive wear and tear of assets during the war. The net accretion to the Fund will be 5.86 crores, raising the balance to 87.93 crores. The balance in the Railway Reserve will rise from 9.35 crores to 20.85 crores.

Passenger fares, except for suburban season tickets will be raised by 25% from April 1. 1944. The additional earnings are estimated at 10 crores. They will not be shared between general revenues and railways but will be placed in the Railway Reserve specifically earmarked for expenditure on lower class travel amenities. Since there is now no slack season, the surcharge on coal will be continued at 20% throughout the year instead of being reduced to 15% for seven months of the year as hitherto. Railways' capacity to move traffic will also be greater next year due to receipt of additional locomotives. For these reasons the budget estimate assumes traffic receipts of 192 crores, 13½ crores more than the current year. Total working expenses including depreciation and payment to worked lines, are estimated at 114.28 crores, 5.70 crores more than the current year.

The surplus for commercial lines is anticipated to be 53.36 crores and the loss of strategic lines 1.15 crores giving a net surplus of 52.21 crores. After earmarking 10 crores for amenities for lower class travel (the earnings from increase in passenger fares), the surplus for commercial lines will be divided between general revenues and railways in the proportion of 3 : 1, the same as in 1943-44. The general revenues will get 31.37 crores and 10.84 crores will be transferred to the Railway Reserve, which will, at the end of the year, stand at 31.69 crores or including the amount earmarked for amenities at 41.69 crores. In the depreciation fund there will be a balance of 82.05 crores.

Against a works programme of 58.17 crores which includes 8 crores for the purchases of Madras and Southern Mahratta and South Indian Railways, 52 lakhs for the balance of the purchase price of Bengal and North Western and Rohilkund and Kumaon Railways and 67 lakhs for the purchase of Guzerat and Dhond Baramati Railways, there is a provision of 51.7 crores (28.7 crores from capital and 23 crores from depreciation fund) out of which no less than 34.24 crores is for rolling stock.

Sir Edward Benthall disclosed a picture of rising receipts and growing expenditure combined with an ever-increasing strain on Railways. With no increase in the number of engines and coaches and negligible increase in the number of wagons, the railways have, in the first six months of the current year, achieved 8.6% more freight ton miles and 30% more passenger miles, the bulk of the later increase being under civilian traffic. Steps are being taken to increase bus service in areas where the war effort is likely to suffer from the existing congestion of passenger traffic. The publicity campaign against unnecessary travel will also be intensified.

There have been delays in both engine and wagon delivery programmes but both metre and broad gauge engines are now coming forward in a steady flow to meet the growing demand for rail transport. It is expected that before March 31 106 broad gauge and 214 metre gauge locomotives and 1,900 broad gauge and 2,950 metre gauge wagons will have been received and in the next year another 284 broad gauge and 288 metre gauge locomotives and 5,824 broad gauge and 10,626 metre gauge wagons are expected. For the repair of engines and wagons, workshop capacity is being steadily taken back from the manufacture of munitions although 20,000 workers are still engaged on munition work.

To increase line capacity Government are doubling 750 miles on certain sections of the Bengal Nagpur, Bengal and Assam and East Indian Railways and adding a fourth line between Asansol and Khana.

During the year, breaches occurred on 13 railways, the greatest havoc having been caused by the Damodar river breaching its bund, which interrupted traffic on the East Indian Railway for 64 days. As a measure of security against interruption of communications, a scheme, costing 24 lakhs, for providing wireless communication between important control points is well advanced.

Coal stocks have during the year 1943-44 fallen to the lowest figure on record and drastic steps have been taken to render the position more secure, which include more raisings from railway collieries.

While paying a tribute to the great loyalty of railway workers who have stuck to their work in difficult circumstances, Sir Edward Benthall described the ameliorative measures taken by Government who, claimed Sir Edward, had endeavoured to carry out their undertakings to the letter and in a spirit of appreciation of the services of the staff.

In Dec, 1943, 521 grain shops functioned and 776,000 ration card holders were served with 1,015,000 mds of food. The estimated loss on grain shops is 10 crores in the current year and 11½ crores in the next, when a further expansion is expected in the range of commodities. The possibility of the establishment of cost price canteens to provide for the necessities of life of higher paid railwaymen is also under investigation. It has been decided to abolish the Lower Gazetted Service in due course but the proposal is not being proceeded with at present in order to avoid piecemeal reorganization. In due course, a comprehensive review of the salaries of all Government servants in the light of economic conditions which may be expected to prevail is foreshadowed.

Planning of post-war reconstruction has been taken vigorously in hand and the principal subjects on which the Railway Board are concentrating, in addition to the problem of rehabilitation, are (i) the implementing of the decision to construct locomotives in India, (ii) the improvement of the amenities of travel particularly for lower class passengers, (iii) development of staff welfare work, (iv) the improved handling of post-war traffic, (v) the participation of railways in road services and (vi) the development of railways in accordance with the general policy of road and rail transport.

Sir Edward Benthall discussed at length ways of financing post-war measures, many of which would be unremunerative. He stated that it was clearly financially unsound that non-paying expenditure should be financed by loan and he gave reasons why the railways would not be able to meet such post-war schemes out of future surpluses. The question, therefore, arose whether it was reasonable to increase rates and fares. Rail transport was among the cheapest things in India today;



there had been only a 4½% overall increase over pre-war fares and the ability of passengers of all classes to pay for travel is greater than railways can cater for. It was not a mere coincidence that the increase in travel took place in the period in which the inflationary tendencies became more prominent. Sir Edward Benthall continued that there were three good reasons for increasing the fares, namely, the effect that such increase might have on reducing or at any rate preventing further increase of passenger travel, the deflationary effect owing to the immobilization of substantial volume of currency and the opportunity of taking the first step towards building up a fund for post-war reconstruction purposes.

As regards the latter, he stated : "The argument in favour of building up a fund for post-war purposes is to my mind paramount and irrefutable and the Governments of the future would rightly blame our short-sightedness and lack of courage if we failed to put them in a position to carry through the post-war plan which we are preparing for their fulfilment." For these reasons, Government have decided from April 1, 1944, to increase rail fares (including fares for military passengers travelling at their own cost) by 25% so long as present conditions exist. Sir Edward Benthall made it clear that money taken from the railway-user now would be expended for his benefit later when times were less good. The entire proceeds from this increase, which are expected to be 10 crores in 1944-45, will therefore be placed in the Railway Reserve but earmarked for an amenities fund for lower class passengers. This was the first positive move towards the finance of post-war reconstruction.

Sir Edward Benthall concluded by thanking the Chief Commissioner, Sir Leonard Wilson, and other railwaymen for the work they had done. The increase of traffic achieved with little or no new equipment was work to be proud of. But more and more traffic had got to be moved and every operation on the railways had got to be speeded up. For many the work was arduous and the strain prolonged, but he ended by recalling to the railwaymen the words of Sir Francis Drake on the eve of battle : "Lord God, when, Thou givest to Thy servants to endeavour any great matter, grant us also to know that it is not the beginning, but the continuing of the same until it be thoroughly finished which yieldeth the true glory."

#### THE CENTRAL EXCISE BILL

The Assembly later passed the Central Excise Bill with the amendments accepted on Monday, but without the provision embodying the Irwin-Gandhi Pact relating to salt. Members of the Nationalist Party made an effort to add a separate clause giving statutory form to the provisions of the Pact, but after an assurance by the Finance Member they decided not to press their demand. In the course of the debate the Finance Member first explained that the Government had given considerable attention to the matter. There was a good deal more in the agreement of March 5, 1931, and in the explanatory Press communiqué of May 26, 1931, than was included in the amendment suggested. The Government had no intention of departing from the practice which had been adopted ever since the agreement was entered into; but at the same time there were included in that agreement certain safeguards and these must always be included so long as an arrangement of this kind was in force. In his own opinion, the arrangement was already suitably embodied in the form of the agreement, and in that form was well understood, both by the villagers and by departmental officers. He could not see that it was a matter which ought to be given an unduly rigid form by being included in the statute as a separate section. All other exemptions of this kind and special arrangements were covered by exemption notifications or by rules made to secure the desired effect. He, however, had endeavoured to see in what form it could be incorporated in this measure, and he read out a draft amendment which while exempting from the purview of the Act, salt collected for domestic consumption, laid down provisions against abuse of the provisions. A number of members suggested postponement till tomorrow so that a more comprehensive amendment could be attempted. The Finance Member declined to agree to this. He reiterated that nothing would be gained by pressing an amendment of the kind suggested. The debate had the effect of making the Government reaffirm their intention to abide by the letter and the spirit of the agreement. The Bill was passed.

#### H. E. the Viceroy's Address

17th. FEBRUARY :—The following is the text of the address delivered by H. E. the Viceroy to a joint session of the Central Legislature to-day :—

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It has been the practice of Viceroys to address the Legislature at the first opportunity after taking office. Hitherto it has happened that the earliest opportunity has been about six months after the Viceroy's arrival. For myself, as you know, the first opportunity occurred within so short a time that I felt obliged to postpone the occasion. I have now spent some four very busy months in my post ; and am prepared to offer you such views and guidance as I can, at this momentous stage of India's history. You need not regard them as final views. I always look forward to making fresh contacts and gaining fresh knowledge. But they indicate certain principles on which action for the progress of India must, I consider, be based.

The last address to you by a Viceroy was at the end of the longest term of office in the history of the appointment. It was not only the longest term but the most exacting. Lord Linlithgow's patience, strength and administrative skill were shown to the full in those difficult years. The war inevitably interrupted or hampered much of the work which was nearest to his heart, to further the material prosperity and constitutional progress of India. As time goes by, the greatness of the service he rendered to India in those critical years will become even more apparent.

Though not entirely a stranger to this Legislature, I have till lately served India as a soldier. As a soldier, in the positions which I have held during this war, I know better perhaps than anyone what the United Nations owe to India for our success in the struggle against Nazism and Fascism and the barbarous ambitions of Japan. I shall do my best to see that the debt is acknowledged and paid, not only with tributes of words but with practical aid. I will also try to pay my personal debt to the Indian soldier for his gallant and enduring service by doing my best to further the welfare of the Indian peoples of whom the Indian soldier is the fitting representative. Though the soldier stands in the limelight, it is not only to the soldier that the United Nations owe gratitude. The Indian worker also, and many others in India, have made a very great and vital contribution to the war effort.

#### WAR AGAINST AXIS

My first task here is to assist the South-East Asia Command to drive the enemy from the gates of India. There can be no peace or prosperity for India or anyone else till the Japanese ambitions are utterly destroyed. I need say little to you on the general course of the war. You have seen for yourselves how the United Nations took and withstood the dangerous shocks of three years of war—war for which their enemies had planned and prepared, while they had planned for peace ; and how they rallied from those shocks in irresistible strength. You have seen how the spirit of the British people flashed like a sword from its sheath at the challenge of the disasters in France ; how they faced a triumphant Germany for a year, almost alone and unequipped, but undaunted ; how they won the Battle of Britain against the mighty German air force, and the battle of the Atlantic against Germany's many U-boats, and, with the aid of the Dominions and India and the United States, the Battle of the Mediterranean and Africa against the combined strength of German and Italian sea and air forces. You have seen how Russia met the mightiest, the most formidably equipped, the most mobile, the most highly trained, the most arrogantly confident force of fighting men ever launched by land ; and has hurled them back in defeat and ruin, as she did another would-be world conqueror 130 years ago. As one who has seen much of the Russian soldier both in peace and in war, I have watched with special interest the prowess of an army and people I have always liked and admired. You have seen too how the United States of America has recovered from the treacherous surprises of Pearl Harbour and Manila, and how powerful a fighting machine she has organised to carry her counter-offensive to Japan. You have seen China indomitable for over six years though almost unarmed. You are joined with four of the toughest nations of the world in spirit and action. The end is certain and you may be proud of your contribution to it.

When the end will come it is difficult yet to say. Germany is reeling under a series of shocks, physical and moral, which may well put her out of the ring at an early date, though we must not count on it. We shall then be able to intensify the war against Japan. You realise the physical difficulties of the reconquest of Burma and of the other territory seized by the Japanese early in the war. It will be accomplished, but it needs careful training and preparation.

## INDIA'S FOOD PROBLEM

India, as one of the principal bases of the war against Japan, must be organised. To maintain stability we must solve our economic problems. Food, which is the most important of them, was so fully debated in both Houses at the last session of the Legislature that I need say little here about it. It is an all-India problem, which my Government is trying to organise on an all-India basis. The key points in our plan are the strict supervision of dealers under the Food-grains Control Order, the avoidance of competitive buying in the procurement of Government requirements, statutory price control over movements, and rationing in the larger towns. We rely for success on the administrative energy of the Provincial Governments and on parallel action in the Indian States, and I am glad to say that during the past four months we have made progress. We are not out of the woods yet, but, backed by substantial imports, I believe we can improve our food position greatly in 1944. Our aim is not to favour the townsman at the expense of the cultivator, but to see that the stable foodgrains are available to all at prices at once fair to the cultivator and within the means of the poorer members of our population. The "Grow More Food" campaign has already produced valuable additions to our supplies and will, I am sure, produce more. There is likely to be a world shortage for some years after the war during the period of recovery, and India must be prepared to stand by herself as far as possible. A bold agricultural policy will be necessary.

The situation in Bengal is special, and has caused my Government grave anxiety. But there too conditions have improved, and I trust will continue to improve. We must run no risk of last year's disaster being repeated.

The food problem is closely linked with the inflationary threat, which we are determined to avert. The Finance Member will deal fully with this in introducing the budget, and I do not intend to speak now of the remedies he will propose. I need only say that there has been a distinct improvement in the rate of savings and that we have made some progress in increasing the supply and bringing down the prices of consumers goods manufactured in India, as well as of those imported from abroad. The new Department of Industries and Civil Supplies has a formidable task ahead of it, but has made a good start with standard cloth, the release of woollen goods to the general public, and the control of the prices of imported drugs.

The transportation system has been subjected to great strains which it has supported creditably, thanks to the fine work of our railwaymen, to whose steadiness and regularity we owe a great deal. I know that conditions of travel are not easy for the general public; I am afraid that that is inevitable in wartime and is a condition obtaining practically throughout the world at present.

The latest problem to confront not only the transportation authorities, but public bodies, industrialists, and private households throughout India is shortage of coal. The seasonal fall in raisings which occurs in the last quarter of the year was abnormally great in 1943. There were reasons for this—an exceptionally good harvest, the presence of easier and better paid work in the coalfields, difficulties about the supply of food, and the epidemic of malaria, combined to draw labour away from the mines and to take their return slow. Labour conditions are beginning to return to normal; but there is much to be done to improve the raising and distribution of coal and conditions in the coalfields. My Government has appointed a Coal Commissioner to study all the factors bearing on production and movement and to see that the policy of the departments concerned is effectively carried out. We shall, I hope, effect a considerable improvement though it may take time.

## GOVERNMENT AND THE WAR

Unless and until some other form of government can be established with general consent, the present Government of India, mainly an Indian Government, will continue to carry out to the best of its ability—and I am satisfied that it is a very good ability—the primary purposes of any government—the maintenance of law and order, the duties of internal administration, and the preparation for the work ahead at the end of the war. The winning of this war is our first task, but it must not exclude preparation for the future.

We are approaching the end of the greatest of all wars. On the whole, in view of the scale of the dangers and disasters to the world as a whole, India has come through it with less hurt than any other nation in the front line. And the war has in many directions enhanced her opportunities and prospects. It has

hastened her industrial development, it will increase food production, it has strengthened her financial position. That it has not brought, as in certain other countries, an increased unity of spirit and purpose is an unhappy circumstance which we all deplore. There is, however, nothing more unprofitable than to indulge in recriminations about the past. We must look forward and not back. The post-war world will be for India a world of great opportunities and great dangers, in which she has an outstanding role to play. It is our present business to prepare her materially and morally for these testing years.

Let us count the blessings first. India has great undeveloped resources, in agriculture and in industry. Her soil is not yet cultivated to its full fruitfulness; with improvement in methods, in irrigation, and in fertilisation, we can increase our food supply greatly both in quality and quantity. We can much improve the breed of cattle. There is wide scope for development in India's main industry, agriculture. There are also great commercial possibilities in India. There are mineral resources still undeveloped; there is abundant labour, a portion of which has now attained a considerable degree of technical skill. India has many experienced and able men of business. Her financial position at the end of this war should be a good one. There are almost unlimited markets, internal and external for her produce.

Such are her main economic assets. She has, however, also many economic difficulties and disabilities. The pressure of increasing population, the small percentage of educated persons, the low standard of health services, the poor conditions in which the greater part both of agricultural and labouring populations live, the flagrant contrast between wealth and poverty, the inadequacy of communications, all mark the immensity of the problem which confronts India in raising the standard of living. Our task is to use rightly and to best advantage her great economic assets not to increase the wealth of the few, but to raise the many from poverty to a decent standard of comfort. A hard task indeed, but a noble task, which calls for all for a spirit of co-operation, a spirit of hope and a spirit of sacrifice.

The present Government means to prepare the way for India's post-war development with all earnestness of spirit and with all resources, official and non-official, which it can enlist. We have to consider first of all the "winding-up" process that follows all wars—the demobilisation and re-settlement of soldiers, the termination of wartime contracts with industry and the orderly return of industrial labour to peace time tasks; the dispersal of property and stocks of goods acquired for war purposes. Our great aim must be to plan for economic and social development so as to raise our standards of living and general welfare. We must lift the poor man of India from poverty to security; from ill-health to vigour; from ignorance to understanding; and our rate of progress must no longer be at bullock-cart standard but at least at the pace of the handy and serviceable Jeep.

#### POST-WAR PROBLEMS

"As you know the development of India is being dealt with by a Committee of my Executive Council, which is assisted by a number of other committees with a strong non-official element. I am considering means to strengthen our planning organisation and to accelerate our progress. Much useful preliminary work has been done, and we have now reached a stage at which, for certain subjects at least, as for example the demobilisation and resettlement of soldiers, definite planning can begin in some detail. Over the greater part of the field, our actual conduct after the war will depend to some extent—often to a great extent—on international factors, such as tariff policy in international currency, of which we can at present know little. But we need not wait on these; on the big questions of policy we have to make certain broad assumptions, and we are now deciding what our assumptions should be. Concurrently, we are appointing individual development officers—not committees—to draw up outline plans for subjects such as electrification, industries, road development, irrigation and agriculture. We are also arranging to give opportunities for bodies of Indians connected with industry, the health services, and other branches of development to visit the United Kingdom, and if required, the U. S. A., to study for the benefit of India the latest developments in their line of work. For the main social services we already have the Educational Adviser's memorandum, and shall later have the report of the Bhoré Committee on Medicine and Public Health. I believe that during 1944 our plans will take shape: they must cover the whole of India and the Provinces and States will, I

am sure, co-operate with the Centre in producing the best and most comprehensive possible statement of our needs. I and my Government are in earnest in doing all we can to further India's progress after the war.

#### BOMBAY ECONOMIC PLAN

We welcome constructive suggestions ; and my Government is examining with interest the plan recently propounded by seven prominent business men. The views of the authors of this plan on the objects to be achieved are in principle the same as those of my Government—we must work for a substantial increase in standards of living and social welfare. We may, on examination, differ on the methods to be employed, their relative importance in the plan as a whole, the part to be played by the State and by private enterprise, and the financial practicability of development on the scale contemplated within the time suggested by the authors ; but our aim is similar and we welcome any sincere contribution to the problem that sets people thinking and makes them realise both the possibilities and the pitfalls ahead of us.

As I said at Calcutta, it may in the initial stages be necessary for the Government of India and the Provincial Governments to devote the larger proportion of the resources available to economic development, agricultural and industrial, so as to increase the wealth of the country. But you may rest well assured that the vital matters of health and education will not be allowed to stand still, and that the recommendations of the Educational Adviser and the Bhole Committee will receive the most earnest consideration. So much for India's economic future. It should be possible, if all goes well to make good progress ; and to lay plans well ahead. It is more difficult at present to plan India's political future in any detail. I can state to you what I know is the point of view of practically the whole of the British people, of His Majesty's present Government and I am confident, of any future Government of the United Kingdom. It is their genuine desire to see India a prosperous country, a united country, enjoying complete and unqualified Self-Government as a willing partner of the British Commonwealth. That last desire is not prompted by any sense of imperialism or wish for domination, but by a real belief that, in such association, India can best find security and help in the testing years ahead, and that peace in the East can so be best assured.

I am absolutely convinced not only that the above represents the genuine desire of the British people, but that they wish to see an early realisation of it. It is qualified only at present by an absolute determination to let nothing stand in the way of the earliest possible defeat of Germany and Japan ; and by a resolve to see that, in the solution of the constitutional problem, full account is taken of the interests of those who have loyally supported us in this war and at all other times—the soldiers who have served the common cause, the people who have worked with us ; the rulers and populations of the States to whom we are pledged ; the minorities who have trusted us to see that they get a fair deal. We are bound in justice, in honour, in the interests of progress, to hand over India to Indian rule, which can maintain the peace and order and progress which we have endeavoured to establish. I believe that we should take some risk to further this ; but until the two main Indian parties at least can come to terms, I do not see any immediate hope of progress.

#### CRIPPS OFFER

The Cripps Offer was a bold and generous offer and gave India a great opportunity to progress towards solution of her problem. Be well assured that it was not made in any panic. I can say that with certainty : I was Commander-in-Chief at the time and in a position to know that there was no panic in the Councils of those in authority, either in India or in the United Kingdom. We are not a people who panic easily in the face of danger. The offer was made in the hope that, as the war had come so close to India and threatened its national life, it might arouse, as in other countries, a spirit of unity and co-operation that would have overridden political differences in the hour of danger. That hope was not fulfilled. There is no profit in recriminations about the reasons for the rejection of the Cripps Offer. But since that Offer, as has been stated more than once by His Majesty's Government, is still open, it may be well to restate it here.

Nearly two years have passed since the Cripps draft declaration was made public, but it stands forth to-day as the solemn pledge of His Majesty's Government

that India shall have full control of her own destiny among the nations of the Commonwealth and of the world. It declared in unmistakable terms that India should have the same status as the Dominions or the United Kingdom itself under the constitution of her own devising. It also embodied a constructive suggestion by His Majesty's Government to aid India in the attainment of that status. Proposals were made for setting up a constitution-making body, representative, both of British India and of the Indian States ; and His Majesty's Government undertook to accept and implement the constitution framed by this body, subject to two conditions. First, the declaration recognised the right of a province not to accede to the Indian Union. Such provinces could either retain their present constitutional position ; or if they so desired, His Majesty's Government would agree with them upon a new constitution giving them the same status as the new Indian Union itself. Second, the declaration made provision for the signing of a treaty between His Majesty's Government and the constitution-making body to provide for matters arising out of the transfer of power, including protection for racial and religious minorities. It was made clear beyond all doubt, that this treaty would not impose any restrictions upon the power of the Indian Union to decide in the future its relationship with the other States of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

The Cripps Offer was an offer to India of full Self-Government, of the right to frame her own constitution, and even of the right, if she so desired, to sever her partnership with the British Commonwealth. Because of the military situation—which still obtains—it was provided that, pending the framing of the future constitutions, the direction of Defence should remain the responsibility of His Majesty's Government, but it was contemplated that Indian leaders should be associated not only with the Government of their country as under the existing constitution necessarily, till a new constitution was framed and accepted—but with the counsels of the Commonwealth and of the United Nations.

#### 'QUIT INDIA' RESOLUTION

The offer of co-operation in the Government on this basis by the leaders of Indian opinion is still open to those who have a genuine desire to further the prosecution of the war and the welfare of India. But the demand for release of those leaders who are in detention is an utterly barren one until there is some sign on their part of willingness to co-operate. It needs no consultation with any one or anything but his own conscience for any one of those under detention to decide whether he will withdraw from the 'Quit India' resolution and the policy which had such tragic consequences and will co-operate in the great tasks ahead.

Not the least of those tasks is the preliminary examination of the constitutional problems of India by an authoritative body of Indians. We should be ready to give this body every assistance it might desire in carrying out its task. For the present the Government of the country must continue to be a joint British and Indian affair—with the ultimate responsibility still remaining with the British Parliament, though it is exercised through a predominantly Indian Executive—until it can be transferred to a fresh constitution. But the framing of that future constitution is essentially and properly an Indian responsibility. Until they can agree on its form, the transfer of power cannot be made. We offered a suggestion in the Cripps Proposals, which may or may not have been suitable. If Indians can devise a method which will produce agreement more readily, so much the better. If I may offer a personal opinion, born of some experience, the smaller the body which discusses a difficult and controversial problem, the more likely it is that a profitable solution will emerge.

#### PAKISTAN

On the main problem of Indian unity, the difference between Hindu and Muslim, I can only say this. You cannot alter geography. From the point of view of defence, of many internal and external economic problems, India is a natural unit. What arrangements you decide to make for the two great communities and certain other important minorities, as well as the Indian States, to live within that unit and to make the best use of its wealth and opportunities is for Indians to decide. That two communities and even two nations can make arrangements to live together in spite of differing cultures or religions, history provides many examples. The solutions of the problem have varied. England and Scotland, after centuries of strife, arrived at an absolute union ; in Canada the British and French elements reached a federal agreement which operates satisfactorily ; the French, Italian and German elements in Switzerland agreed on a different form of federa-

tion. In all the above, there were religious as well as racial differences. In the United States, many elements, racial and religious, have been fused into one great nation with a federal structure, after the bitter experience of a disastrous civil war. In Ireland, the conflicting elements have so far failed to unite, and Ireland has a sort of Pakistan, though the analogy is, of course, only relative. The Soviet Union in Russia seems to have devised a new modification of its already flexible system, which will also no doubt, repay careful study. These examples are before India for her constitutionalists to study. It is for her to say which will most nearly fulfil her own needs. But no man can alter geography.

I have spoken to you frankly and bluntly as I have been taught to speak, as a soldier. Let me re-state the main principles which guide me in my heavy task and responsibility. Our primary object over-riding all others, must be not merely to make certain of winning the war—the United Nations have already done that by endurance through adversities, by sacrifice of comforts, by unity of spirit, by unremitting hard work—but to win it as speedily as possible and with the least draft on future prosperity. That is a great administrative task. The second task is to prepare for the future, economically and politically.

We cannot settle the future of this country without the full co-operation of the British and Indian people and the co-operation within the Indian people of Hindus, Muslims and other minority groups and of the Indian States.

I am conscious of the co-operation of many elements in this country—the eminent and patriotic Indians of my Executive Council and of Provincial Governments; the fighting forces of India, the largest forces ever raised in history by voluntary enlistment; the leaders and workers of industry who have made such a contribution to the war; the rulers of the Indian States. All these place India first in their thought and aims, but they have a practical view of the necessity for co-operation to realise progress.

#### CONGRESS POLICY BARREN AND UNPRACTICAL

There is an important element which stands aloof; I recognise how much ability and high-mindedness it contains; but I deplore its present policy and methods as barren and impractical. I should like to have the co-operation of this element in solving the present and the future problems of India. If its leaders feel that they cannot consent to take part in the present Government of India, they may still be able to assist in considering future problems. But I see no reason to release those responsible for the declaration of August 8, 1942, until I am convinced that the policy of non-co-operation and even of obstruction has been withdrawn—not in sackcloth and ashes, that helps no one—but in recognition of a mistaken and unprofitable policy.

During the last three months, I have visited seven out of the eleven main provinces of British India and two Indian States. I am setting out to-morrow to visit two more provinces. I have seen something of the rural life as well as of the towns. I wonder whether, in considering India's economic and political problems, we always remember how much of India is countryside and how little urban, how many live in villages and how few, comparatively, in towns. I am impressed everywhere by the work which is being done for the betterment of India, both by officials and non-officials. India has a very small official administration for its size, but it has very fine services; the way in which they have stood up to the additional strain and work thrown on them by the war has been admirable. There are also a very large number of non-official bodies and persons who are doing great work for India. There is much goodwill and wisdom in India if we can harness it to a common purpose.

I have no desire to make invidious comparisons, but I do feel it worth while to point out that coalition governments by Indians for Indians is not an impossible ideal. It is being carried out at the Centre without friction; it has been carried on for nearly seven years with conspicuous success in the Punjab. Thanks to the leadership of men of good sense, goodwill, and good courage, the affairs of that province have prospered with the minimum of communal friction; they have administered their province in the interests of the province, but also with regarding the interests of India and of the war effort of the United Nations to which the Punjab has made so striking a contribution. I will make bold enough to say that had all provinces worked the 1935 Act in the same spirit and with the same efficiency, India would now be very close to complete self-government.

We have come a long way together up the steep and difficult mountain at the



summit of which lies complete Indian self-government. We are almost within sight of the top, but, as with most mountain climbs that are worth doing, the final cliffs are the steepest and most baffling of all. At such a time, it is doubly necessary to test each handhold and foothold, to cut adequate steps in slippery ice, so that the whole party roped together, may not fall back in ruin. It is not the moment that prudent mountaineers choose to unrope, to dismiss their guides, and after militant dispute, to take separate routes towards different peaks. We must go on together; we cannot halt too long at the heights which we have reached, and we cannot with honour or safety turn back. We may have to pause to reconnoitre or cut steps, but we must endeavour to go on climbing, even though the rate may seem slow to impatient watchers or to the climbers themselves. Finally, we must keep in mind the splendour of the view that lies before us when the summit is reached—the prospect of an India at peace within herself, a partner in our great commonwealth of nations, the mother of a great people, a shield for peace in the East, busy and prosperous, yet with leisure to develop the thought and poetry and art which are the real salt of life and of which India has already contributed much to the world. Not an immediate vision, but I do not think it unattainable, if we work together with patience, good sense and goodwill.

I believe firmly in the future of India. I am a sincere friend of India and should like to help her to political advance, but my military training has made me quite certain that no objective is ever gained without the fullest measure of co-operation from all concerned.

#### DEBATE ON RAILWAY BUDGET

21st. FEBRUARY :—The Assembly held the general debate on the Railway Budget to-day. Prof. P. N. Bannerjee, Leader of the Nationalist Party, opening the debate, characterised the proposal of increasing the fares as an unconscionable burden on the people, an iniquitous impost; and highly injurious to them. It was astounding that instead of providing comforts to the travelling public and in spite of the demand for reduction of fares, because of the appalling conditions of travel, the Government of India should want to increase fares. Lack of transport had resulted in the Bengal famine, he declared, and over-crowding had led to accidents. As for the argument that the increase in fares was intended to discourage unnecessary travel, he stoutly denied that the third class passengers travelled for pleasure or as a matter of luxury. He was sure that the elected members of the House would turn down the proposal for increase of fares. Sir Yamin Khan declared that the burden of the increase would mostly fall on the Government servants and the general public connected with war work. If travel was curtailed as a result of increase in fares, it was war effort that would be affected. Sir Henry Richardson, leader of the European Group, said that his group now, more than ever before, gave full support to the strengthening of railway reserves and to the steps contemplated by the Transport Member in this direction. "Individually, we may dislike paying more for railway travel just as my friends on the other side may dislike it, but the three reasons which have been given by the Transport Member for taking this course are, in our opinion, valid reason." Mr. Hussainbhai Laljee, leader of the Independent Party, complained that the Government's promise to manufacture locomotive had not been carried out. Strongly opposing the increase in fares, Mr. Laljee declared it would create embitterment; people would feel that an attempt was being made to prevent them from seeing their kith and kin. Mr. A. C. Datta asserted that the imposition of higher fares was neither just nor would it serve the intended purpose. The object of the increase was declared to be to prevent over-travelling; but was there any scope for further reduction of passenger traffic? The civilian travel, he said, had already reached the reducible minimum. On the other hand, one single member of the Executive Council occupied as much space as 20 ordinary passengers. Mr. Jamnadas Mehta characterised the Railway Budget as predatory in its purpose, oppressive in its results and contemptuous of public opinion. He vigorously refuted the argument that railway travel in India was the cheapest in the world. It was, he asserted, actually 400 per cent costlier than in England. Sir Abdul Halim Ghaznavi saw in the Railway Budget the "Tyranny of monopolists." During the war, two increases had already been made in the rates and fares, in addition to cutting down free allowances of luggage, so much so that even a walking stick and articles of food were now weighed. It had really developed into a "pay more campaign" from a "travel only when you must" campaign. Mr. Frank Anthony deplored the allegations of inefficiency made by Dr



Bannerjee against railwaymen. He complained that enough had not been done to ameliorate the conditions of the railwaymen. Mr. N. M. Joshi complained that the number of days allotted for discussing the Railway Budget had been cut down to three days from six days and said that this was a breach of convention and appealed to the Chair to safeguard the privileges of the House in this respect. S. Mangal Singh declared that the proposal to raise passenger fares had created bitterness all over the country. The arguments in favour of the increase were amazing and, judging from them, he thought the country should be prepared for many more measures of taxation in the general budget. Sardar Mangal Singh referred to the overcrowding in trains in the Punjab and the stoppage of 71 trains at one stroke by the N. W. R., and expressed the view that the Government was being vindictive to the Punjab because of the Transport Member's controversy with the Punjab Ministry. The *War Transport Member*, replying to the debate, placed before the House further facts in support of his stand that the Government's proposals were wise, fair and reasonable. The increase of 156 million passengers last year, equivalent to 600 trainloads a day, he said, could only be explained by increasing ability to spend and not by any corresponding increase in war activity. The possible inflationary effect was negligible, he said, while the deflationary effect of removing the money from circulation was obvious. If the contribution to the general revenues were cut, he gave a solemn warning that the cut would have to be replaced by other taxations in the general budget. Sir Edward pointed out that out of the ten crores which the railways were spending on cheap food for the staff, the amount spent on officers would not exceed three lakhs. He also calculated that the total amount of benefit to railwaymen under dearness allowance, cheap food, etc., was about 19 crores. He denied that there had been lack of food in Bengal due to shortage of transport to that province. The Transport Member replied that adequate arrangements were now in existence for this purpose and for handling food. Referring to the criticism of the cutting down of 71 trains on the N. W. R., the Transport Member said coal shortage was the sole reason for this regrettable step. He announced, however, that eight of those trains were being put back and would be in operation from to-morrow. The House then adjourned till wednesday.

#### STATEMENT ON MRS. GANDHI'S DEATH DISALLOWED

23rd. FEBRUARY :—In the Assembly, to-day, after questions, Dr. P. N. Bannerjee, Leader of the Nationalist Party, sought the Chair's permission to make a statement. The Chair held that no statement could be made. Thereafter, members of the Nationalist Party withdrew from the House. It was learnt in the lobby that Dr. Bannerjee's statement was intended to refer to Mrs. Gandhi's death. The Congress Party members were not present when the House met today.

#### POST-WAR CIVIL AVIATION

The Government of India's plans for the development of post-war civil aviation in India were indicated by Sir Gurunath Bewoor, Secretary, Posts and Air, in the course of the debate on his bill to amend the Indian Aircraft Act. The post-war plan, he said, contemplated the establishment of daily air services on the main trunk air routes, covering India north to south and east to west with link routes connecting the trunk routes at suitable points, and with extensions to the capitals of adjacent countries. The services, said Sir Gurunath, would be mixed passenger, freight and mail services to ensure safety, regularity and reliability, to ensure that the air service met the real needs of the country : to discourage the growth of mushroom organisations and wild-cat schemes and to prevent uneconomic competition, involving waste of national energy and of national assets. It was with these objects that the Government of India were now proposing to take powers to make rules under the Bill for the regulation of air transport services. *Rai Bahadur Shiva Raj* feared that the bill was likely to be misunderstood by the people as an attempt to check private enterprise in the matter of air development in India and he warned the Government against giving any such impression. He declared that if the Government were serious and wanted their scheme to succeed, they should take every step to manufacture aircraft in India and to provide civil employment for the thousands demobilised from the Indian air force after the war. The Bill was passed with an amendment, providing that rules framed under it shall be laid on the table of the House for its consideration.

# MANAGEMENT OF BANKING CONCERNS

Certain undesirable features in the structure and management of banking companies in India were sought to be removed by the Commerce Member, Sir *Azizul Haque's* Bill further to amend the Indian Companies Act, which was passed earlier. One of the main provisions of the Bill laid down that no banking company shall, after the expiry of two years from the commencement of the Bill, employ or be managed by a managing agent or any person whose remuneration or part of whose remuneration takes the form of commission or a share in the profits of the company or any person having a contract with the company for its management for a period exceeding five years at any one time. In the course of discussion of the clauses, Government accepted Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta's* amendment to the effect that any contract for management may be renewed or extended for a further period not exceeding five years at a time if and so often as the directors think fit. Besides Mr. Mehta, others who took part in the debate on the Bill were Mr. Hussain Bhai Lalji, Mr. Nauman, Sir Frederick James, Sir Ziauddin Ahmed. The Assembly then adjourned.

# VOTING ON RAILWAY BUDGET DEMANDS

**24th. FEBRUARY:—**The House commenced voting on Railway Budget to-day. It recorded its verdict against the Government's proposal regarding the increase in railway fares, by carrying the cut motion of Mr. *B. Das* (Congress) that the demand under the head "Appropriation to Reserve" be reduced by Rs. 10 crores. This amount of Rs. 10 crores was expected to be got as the result of the proposed increase in fares. The motion was adopted by 51 votes against 46. The Congress, Muslim League, the Nationalists, the unattached members and some members of the Independent Party joined hands to defeat the Government.

Moving that the demand under the head "Appropriation to Reserve" be reduced by Rs. 10 crores, Mr. *B. Das* commented on the fact that the European Group was the only supporter of Government in this matter. He said that overcrowding which was mainly caused by military traffic would not be checked by the increase in fares. It might be that the Transport Member had provided a few wagons for the carriage of foodstuffs to the famine areas but that was not enough. He criticised the despatch of rolling stock from this country to Iraq, Iran and other countries. The Finance Member, Sir *Jeremy Raisman* explained the Government's point of view with regard to the references made to the relationship which the proposal to increase passenger fares bore to the inflationary situation. Broadly speaking, and putting it in non-technical language, he would say inflation was the state of affairs in which the rupees going out of Government's hands exceeded the rupees coming back to them. There could be no question, therefore, as to how the increase in passenger fares would operate. Whatever brought money back to the Government was anti-inflationary. The Finance Member went on to explain that in the case of increase of freights, there was an inflationary effect which neutralised the deflationary effect. If Government were to increase freights, it would in the first instance be deflationary in its effect but since the cost of additional transport would in certain commodities be passed on throughout the price structure, that would be inflation and would neutralise the advantage which we gained by additional income to Government.

The Finance Member gave the warning that if nothing was done to deal with inflation, much greater hardships would be caused; over-crowding, overcharging, all these things were insignificant compared with the untold misery which uncontrolled inflation was capable of inflicting on the country. Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta* declared that if anyone had any doubt about the unwisdom and impropriety of raising passenger fares, it would have been removed by the Finance Member's speech. The Finance Member did not argue it at all on the basis of the cost of running railways. He quite frankly admitted that the increase in fares was required not because the transport service wanted it but because he needed it. It was thus a non-railway proposition, foisted on the railway owing to exigencies of general finance. It was the Finance Member, Mr. Mehta continued, who had raised the storm of inflation and now wanted to visit the consequences on the taxpayer. That was the long and short of it. Mr. Mehta asserted that no public body favoured the increase.

Mr. *Abdul Qayyum* (Congress) declared that the debate had shown how utterly out of date the expanded Executive Council was; if that Council could claim to represent any constituency it was the constituency of the European Bloc. He did not know how any Indian, even an Indian in the expanded Executive Council, could be a party to the iniquitous impost. (a voice : Were they consulted ?)

If they were not consulted that made the matter all the worse. Mr. Qaiyum called on Government, if it had any respect for the wishes of the House and the wishes which were strongly expressed outside, to retrace its steps and give up the increase.

Sir *Edward Benthall*, replying to the debate, remarked that it had taken the form of another general discussion on the budget. So far as the Government was concerned, it had endeavoured to base its case on reason (Voices : no, no. No reason). The Government had given reasons for increasing fares and he confessed that the Government had received little constructive criticism from the Opposition. Sir *Edward* went on to observe that if he was in charge only of the Railways, he could have agreed that all the surplus should be put in reserves, but he was a member of the Government and he must consider the finances of the Government as a whole, and so must the House. He asked the House to vote on merits and support the measure, which was intended to achieve social benefit and provide a nation-building fund for the future (Mr. Mehta : Question).

Concluding he explained what the effect of the motion would be and said that the motion disapproved the transfer of ten crores to the reserve and if it was passed the sum would be left in the railway surplus with the automatic result that it would be transferred to general revenues (Voices : Don't mislead us). If this cut motion went through, it would defeat the object of everyone ; it would deprive the third class passengers of the fund intended to improve amenities for them. (Cries : No, no, you are misrepresenting, Don't shed crocodile tears). He did not think that was the intention of the House (A voice : Wait and see.) The motion was pressed to a division and carried by 51 votes to 46 amid loud Opposition cheers.

Mr. *K. C. Neogy* wanted to move the Nationalist Party's cut motion to discuss "the enhancement of railway fares". He explained that the motion was intended to obtain a straight vote on the increase. The President held that as the matter had already been discussed, the motion was out of order. Pandit *L. K. Mitra* moved the next cut motion to reduce the demand under the head Railway Board to Rs. 1 to mark "refusal of supplies". After some discussion the motion was rejected without division and the House adjourned.

25th. FEBRUARY :—A cut motion by Mr. *N. M. Joshi*, demanding that the compulsory dearness fund be extended to cover all railway employees, was passed by 43 votes to 42 to-day. An interesting situation arose over a cut motion by Sir *Frederick James* to discuss the general financial position of the railways, with special reference to post-war development. When the motion was put to the vote, the European Group evidently did not desire a division, but members of the Congress and Muslim League and the Nationalist and Independent parties combined in pressing for it. When the House divided, the European members abstained ; 17 members of the Opposition parties voted for and 38 against it. The motion was rejected. Sir *Frederick*, moving the cut, said that in the post-war years, India's railways would be faced with a dwindling income, increased working expenses, high cost of materials, a drive for the betterment of travelling conditions and the need for a renewal of workshop plant, rolling stock and track. There would also arise the question of improvement of open lines and the development of new lines. If the war lasted for two more years, railway resources at the end of that period which would be about Rs. 150 crores, would not be enough. The railways would need greater assistance from general revenues. The inadequacy of the railways to meet the present situation was largely due to the past policy of starving railway development. Railway rehabilitation and reconstruction was an indispensable element in any programme for India's agricultural and industrial development ; it would be unwise to postpone all investigation until after the war. Mr. *Radhabhoy Subbarayan*, after pointing out that the vital questions at present in India were how to live and how to secure political freedom, offered suggestions for the improvement of railway travel. She said modifications should be made to provide more berths in upper class carriages and there should be more third class compartments. The use of free passes by railway officers and their families should be severely restricted and pleasure journeys absolutely forbidden. Sir *Ziauddin Ahmed* questioned the propriety of financing post-war reconstruction programmes out of general revenues : in every other department such schemes were to be financed by loans. Sir *Frederick James*, he said, had based his figures on the assumption that the war would last two more years : he calculated that it would last for five. He thought the figures quoted by Sir *Frederick* were too low—they could be expected to be more in the neighbourhood of Rs. 250 crores in two years. Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta* said he supported the cut motion but for reasons different from those of

Sir Frederick James. He complained that after 20 years of the convention to Indianize the railways, there were still about 2000 foreigners. He also objected to the statutory provision of 8% of posts in the railways for Anglo-Indians. *Sir Edward Benthall* gave an outline of the programme of post-war reconstruction under the heads, rehabilitation, locomotive manufacture, improvements, staff welfare, travel amenities and construction of new lines. He estimated that the total expenditure under these heads for seven years after the war would amount to Rs. 319 crores. They would have to spend a large amount of money on repairs and renewals on account of the present heavy wear and tear. Staff welfare schemes, like housing, etc., were likely to cost Rs. 43 crores in seven years. They had plans to construct 14,000 miles of new lines and if the whole scheme was worked out it would cost about Rs. 56 crores. At the present rate, the whole of the depreciation funds would be exhausted by 1966, even on the assumption that they were able to obtain replacements and renewals at pre-war prices. It was therefore necessary to build up reserves and depreciation funds. For these reasons, he asked the mover to withdraw the cut. *Sir Frederick* would not agree to withdraw his cut motion.

The House rejected without a division *Rao Bahadur Shivraj's* cut motion to discuss the "non-representation of the scheduled castes in the railway services".

26th. FEBRUARY:—A division today on Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta's* cut motion to discuss "the meagre dearness allowance to railway workers" resulted in a tie, 42 voting on each side. The President gave his casting vote in favour of the Noes and the motion was rejected. *Sir Edward Benthall*, War Transport Member, replying on the debate said that in arriving at their policy in regard to dearness allowance for railway workers, Government had to consider the views of other departments as well as provincial Governments and could not take an independent line of action. The Government was constantly reviewing this intricate all-India problem. The dearness allowance scheme had cost the Government Rs. 7 crores and the cheap grain shops scheme had cost Rs 10 crores last year. The combined relief afforded by those two schemes amounted to 50% or 60% of the pay of the railway worker. The War Transport Member contended that railway workers would have suffered a great deal if Government had not opened grain shops. The effect of of this action was to stabilize the principal items of the poor railwayman's budget round about the prices which ruled in Aug 1942, i.e., before the big rise in prices took place. The War Transport Member informed Mr Frank Anthony that Government were trying to inaugurate "cost price canteens" to help the kind of employees—workers getting from Rs. 250 to Rs. 300—to whom Mr Anthony had referred in his speech, and maintained that the benefits which would accrue as a result of the extension of the scheme of the cheap grain shops and stabilization of the cost of living on the Aug. 1942 level would be real. Even Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta* had agreed that the cost of living was now showing signs of being stabilized. Any increase was, therefore, less justified now than before. Government considered that what they had done to meet the needs of "a very deserving service" had been fair.

When the guillotine was applied at 5 p. m. and the first demand under "Railway Board" was taken up, Mr. *Abdul Qaiyum* asked the War Transport Member to state whether the Government still persisted in increasing the passenger fares by 25%. He wanted a reply because on it would depend the attitude of the Opposition parties to the demands.

*Sir Benthall* : I do not think I am called upon to give an answer.

*Sir Yamin Khan* made a renewed plea to the War Transport Member to reply.

*Sir Edward* repeated that he was not in a position to give a reply.

The voting on the first demand resulted in a tie with 43 on either side.

The *Chair*, following the principle of maintaining the status quo, announced by mistake that he gave his vote to the Noes. This was received with loud cheers by the Opposition, but the President later corrected himself and said his vote was with the Ayes, and the demand was carried. The other demands were all carried without a division.

The Assembly next carried by 44 votes to 42 the Muslim League Party's cut motion to censure the Government's policy of granting extensions to super annuated personnel.

The Government also suffered another defeat by 47 votes to 40 on another cut motion moved by a member of the Muslim League Party to discuss the stoppage of a number of trains,

28th. FEBRUARY:—The Assembly passed today supplementary Railway demands for 1943-44 totaling over Rs. 25 crores. The demand of Rs. 4,03,32,000 for appropriation to the depreciation fund raised a brief debate.

#### BAN ON KISAN CONFERENCE

The Assembly by 43 votes to 42 rejected Dr. Govinda Deshmukh's adjournment motion to discuss the Madras Government's order preventing travelling on the M and S. M. Ry. to Bezwada to attend the All-India Kisan Conference. Dr. Deshmukh said this was another instance of the misuse of the DI Rules. The conference was being convened to consider the food problem and to further the "Grow More Food" campaign. Therefore the conference was actually furthering the war effort. He referred to the difficulties in enforcing such an order and said that apart from the merits of the conference itself, the order curtailed the civil liberty of citizens to proceed to Bezwada if they wanted to. The Home Member, Sir Reginald Maxwell, dealing first with the legal argument maintained that Provincial as well as Central Governments were given the power to require that certain persons shall not be carried on railways. Provincial Governments were given that power for the reasons that a situation might arise in which they might have information to show that a large number of people proposed to use the railways in order to travel to a place to form an unlawful assembly or to a place which was an infected area. That was his answer to the question how a Provincial Government could pass an order in a matter affecting a Central subject. As for the contention that the object of the kisan conference was a proper one and to interfere with the holding of it was a misuse of power, the Home Member said that in the first place he would not admit that the order in question, if passed, would interfere with the proposed conference. He himself did not know whether that conference would be allowed by the Madras Government. The Home Member went on to give certain information which, he said, he had in his possession regarding local conditions and which he thought might have influenced the Madras Government's action. The House then adjourned.

#### FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR 1944-45

29th. FEBRUARY:—Introducing the Government of India Budget for 1944-45 in the Assembly today, the Finance Member, Sir Jeremy Raitman, disclosed a revenue deficit of Rs. 92.43 crores for the current year and a prospective deficit of Rs. 78.21 crores next year on the basis of existing taxation. The Finance Member then announced his proposals for new taxation. These were:—

Three new Excise duties to be levied namely, on tea, coffee, and betelnut at 2 as. a lb.

Under income-tax, relief is proposed to be given to persons whose incomes are below Rs. 2,000 by raising the taxable minimum from Rs. 1,500 to Rs. 2,000.

There will be no change in existing incidence on incomes up to Rs. 10,000, but on the slab from Rs. 10,000 to Rs. 15,000 the Central surcharge is to be increased by two pies from 16 to 18 pies over the basic rate of 24 pies; and on the balance above Rs. 15,000 the surcharge will be increased by four pies from 20 to 24 pies over the basic rate of 30 pies. This latter rate will apply to companies and in every case where the tax is to be charged at the maximum rate.

The existing emergency surcharge of 20% on Customs duties will continue for another year. In the case of tobacco and spirits the surcharge will be increased from 1/5 to 1/2.

The tobacco excise to be increased to yield Rs. 10 crores of additional revenue.

Under the proposals for compulsory deposits is a provision for a pay-as-you-earn scheme under which an assessee has the option to pay income-tax in advance quarterly, such advance payments carrying 2% interest.

A system of death duties on non-agricultural property to strengthen Provincial finances after the war.

Under super-tax there will be an increase of half-an-anna in the Central surcharge of slabs between Rs. 35,000 and Rs. 2 lakhs.

The Corporation tax will be increased by one anna to three annas, but a rebate of one anna in the rupee will be given on so much of a company's total income as is not distributed in dividends other than dividends payable at a fixed rate.

As regard EPT, while there is no change in the present rate of 6½%, EPT nor in the proportion of the tax to be refunded, the compulsory deposit of 1/5 of the tax prescribed in the Ordinance of 1943 will be increased by 19/64 of the tax. This is designed to immobilize as deposits the whole of excess profits remaining

after EPT has been paid thereon and income-tax and super-tax paid on the balance. This compulsory deposit has no been hitherto payable in connexion with the provisional EPT assessment, but hereafter at the time of provisional assessment a compulsory deposit of 19/64 of the tax provisionally assessed will have to be paid.

A special provision to be made for life insurance business by which the combined rate of income-tax and super-tax is limited to 63 pies in the rupee. This will have retrospective effect from the year 1943-44.

The total estimated revenue from the new proposals will reduce the prospective revenue deficit from Rs. 78.21 crores to Rs. 54.71 crores.

The salient features of the Budget are: The Financial Settlement stands. The setting up of the South East Asia Command does not of itself either add to or diminish India's liability for Defence expenditure. The several anti-inflationary measures adopted by Government in 1943-44 are contributing in various ways and degrees to the desired result. Government's loan programmes have had a striking success, total borrowing (including sale of counterparts) amounting to Rs. 547 crores since the beginning of the war of which more than half has been raised during the last 12 months. Estimates for 1944-45 provide increased grants for scientific and industrial research. A Dollar Fund is to be built up, to be available for post-war development.

The actual deficit for 1942-43 is Rs. 112.17 crores as against Rs. 94.66 crores anticipated in the revised estimates for that year.

The revised estimates of revenue for 1943-44 are expected to amount to Rs. 254.50 crores, an improvement of Rs. 35.50 crores over the Budget estimates. There is a net increase of Rs. 87.34 crores under expenditure charged to Revenue, taking Defence and Civil Expenditure into account. The current financial year is thus expected to close with a revenue deficit of Rs. 92.43 crores.

Taxes on income, as a result of the measures adopted to speed up assessments, are expected to yield Rs. 138 crores against Rs. 102 crores envisaged in the Budget. EPT is likely to yield Rs. 62.25 crores as compared with the forecast of Rs. 40 crores. This amount excludes some issued last summer, which for accounting purposes are treated as deposits pending regular assessments. The share of the Provinces from the divisible pool of Income-tax will amount to Rs. 19.50 crores, Rs. 7.40 crores above the Budget estimates.

The revised estimates of Defence expenditure for 1943-44, amount to Rs. 262.64 crores under Revenue and Rs. 38.30 crores under Capital. The details are:—

Revenue portion		(Crores of Rs.)
(1) Basic normal budget	...	36.77
(2) Effect of rise in prices	...	13.01
(3) India's war measures	...	204.53
(4) Non-effective charges	...	8.33
Total	...	262.64
Capital portion		
(1) Air Force—Airfields	...	14.67
(2) Capital Outlay on Industrial Expansion	...	6.00
(3) Reciprocal Aid—Airfields	...	10.85
(4) New Construction for RIN	...	2.58
(5) Capital Outlay on Tele-communications	...	
Scheme	...	4.20
Total	...	38.30

The increase of Rs. 77.52 crores in item (3) of the Revenue portion is one mainly to the rise in the price levels of stores and to the grant of improved scales of rations to Indian troops from July 1, 1943, as well as to the inclusion of a portion of the recurring expenditure on the air forces provisionally placed under suspense last year; also to increases in the strength of forces in India and to increased supply and services rendered by India to the USA on Reciprocal Aid terms.

The setting up of the new South East Asia Command, stated the Finance Member, did not itself either add to or diminish India's liability for Defence expenditure. While this did not mean any slackening of the country's war effort, "the Government of India have made it clear," he observed, "that no further

substantial increase in the overall quantum of war demands on India's resources can be met without grave risk of an economic collapse and that an early lightening of her present burden by the release, for vital civil needs, of certain types of supplies and productive capacity at present appropriated for war purposes, is essential in order to counteract the unhealthy tendencies now manifesting themselves."

Land forces reached during the year approximately the strength held to be necessary and sufficient for local defence purposes. Should the strength of troops in India at any time exceed this limit, the cost of such excess would not fall on this country. Further improvements in the conditions of service of officers and other ranks of the Indian Army have been introduced or are in contemplation. A larger amount of money is now being spent on the welfare and well-being of the services than in any previous period, and at the same time, a good deal of the attention is being paid to the protection of the interests and well-being of the men's families.

The programme of new construction of ships for the RIN is now well advanced and a considerable fleet of war vessels is now in commission. Units of the RIN have operated in British waters and participated in various operations in the Mediterranean including the invasion of Sicily.

Satisfactory progress has been made in implementing the Ten-Squadron plan of the IAF. To back this Air Force steps have been taken to develop a maintenance organization. Some other measures of expansion have also been undertaken including the Indianization of the Balloon Squadron of the Air Forces in India and the inauguration of the Indian Air Training Corps.

The allocation of Defence expenditure between India and the UK continues to be governed by the terms and principles of the Financial Settlement and developments in the war situation and the establishment of the South East Asia Command have not rendered it necessary to depart from these principles. In accordance with those principles India's liability for the cost of forces serving within her geographical frontiers is subject to the condition that such forces are both necessary and available for local defence purposes. The strengths of forces for such purposes at any time are subject to maximum limits, which are indicated by the Defence authorities from time to time.

"While the Defence estimates exclude the cost of forces serving in India in excess of ceiling strengths, India also bears no financial liability for other units or formations employed in India on duties unconnected with her local defence or for measures such as those relating to the expansion of administrative and maintenance organizations, the acquisition and holding of additional stocks and the improvement of internal transportation and port facilities, which are incidental to the setting up of the South East Asia Command or to the utilization of India as a base for largescale offensive operations against Japan."

Civil expenditure in the revised estimates for 1943-44 shows an increase from Rs. 76.78 crores (budget) to Rs. 84.29 crores. An excess of Rs. 2 crores is accounted for under financial assistance to evacuees and families in India of British subjects detained in enemy-occupied territories. Assistance to the extent of Rs. 2 crores has been given to Provinces and States in furtherance of the "Grow More Food" campaign. Central assistance to Bengal for famine relief up to Rs. 3 crores has also been provided for.

The question whether the somewhat uneven effects of the impact of war on provincial share of the Income-tax pool was examined but it has been decided that the situation does not call for any modification at present.

A scheme for the further liberalization of dearness allowances is under consideration. On the present basis Rs. 2½ crores has been provided for dearness allowances to Central Government servants, other than those paid from the Railways and the Defence Estimates. Provision of supplies for them at concessional rates will entail an expenditure of Rs. 41 lakhs.

The value of orders placed by the Supply Department rose from Rs. 184 crores in 1941-42 to Rs. 256 crores in 1942-43 and amounted to Rs. 129 crores in the first nine months of 1943-44.

Total revenue estimates for 1944-45 amount to Rs. 284.97 crores as compared with Rs. 254.50 crores in the revised estimates for the current year. Anticipating more shipping space for imports, 'Customs' revenue is placed at Rs. 27 crores as against Rs. 25.94 crores in the current year. An improvement of Rs. 1.25 crores is also expected under Central Excises. Rs. 10½ crores is expected to be collected under "tobacco" as against Rs. 9 crores in the current year. Corporation Tax and

income-tax are expected to bring in Rs. 174 crores, including Rs. 73 crores from EPT. The share of the divisible pool available to the Provinces is placed at the high figure of Rs. 23.69 crores. Posts and Telegraphs surplus is estimated to be Rs. 11.31 crores.

The Budget estimates of Defence expenditure for 1944-45, amount to Rs. 276.61 crores and Rs. 24.60 crores under the Revenue and Capital heads respectively, the relevant details being :—

Revenue portion	(Crores of Rs.)
(1) Basic normal budget	... 36.77
(2) Effect of rise in prices	... 15.05
(3) India's war measures	... 215.58
(4) Non-effective charges	... 9.21
<b>Total</b>	<b>... 276.61</b>

Capital portion	
(1) Air Force—Airfields	... 10.00
(2) Capital Outlay on Industrial expansion	... 2.00
(3) Reciprocal Aid—Airfields	... 5.20
(4) New construction for the RIN	... 1.60
(5) Capital Outlay on Telecommunications Scheme	... 5.80
<b>Total</b>	<b>... 24.60</b>

The decrease of Rs. 13.70 crores under Capital portion as compared with the Revised Estimate for 1943-44, is due to the completion of the bulk of airfields and a reduction in the capital expenditure on expansion of factories and dairies. The tele-communications scheme is expected to be completed next year.

The Finance Member stated that, after preliminary discussions, it was agreed that the talks relating to the possibility of India's entering into a direct Mutual Aid Agreement with the USA should be suspended in view of the difficulty of determining India's post-war policy in certain respects at this stage. The Government of India, however, he said, had accepted the principle underlying mutual aid and continued to receive Lend-Lease goods and services from the USA and grant reciprocal aid in return.

The estimated cost of reciprocal aid to be afforded to the USA on present information during 1943-44 and 1944-45 is about Rs. 26 crores and Rs. 43 crores respectively. The total cost of such aid up to the end of 1942-43 was Rs. 12½ crores. The estimated progressive total up to the end of 1944-45 is a little more than Rs. 31 crores.

It is not possible at present to say what the total financial benefits that India will receive as a result of Lend-Lease supplies from the USA during the same period will amount to, because the allocation of Lend-Lease goods and services received in India between the Government of India and HMG has not yet been determined. The total value of Lend-Lease up to the end of 1944-45 is estimated to be Rs. 350 crores. It is reasonable to assume, the Finance Member said, "that India's share in these benefits will not be less than one-third."

Civil expenditure shows an increase of Rs. 2½ crores as compared with the current year, or an increase of Rs. 6½ crores if the reduction of about Rs. 4 crores in the amounts transferred to War Risks Insurance Funds, consequent on the reduction in the rate of premium, is taken into consideration. It accrues mainly under the head "Interest" where the liability increases with increased borrowings and the success attending the savings campaigns. A contribution up to Rs. 1½ crores towards Bengal's expenditure on famine relief increases the expenditure estimates. In connexion with industrial research provision has been made for a grant of Rs. 10 lakhs for the construction and equipment of glass and fuel research laboratories and for general planning for other institutions. The Council of Scientific and Industrial Research has been asked to draw up plans for a scheme of co-ordinated research, through a chain of research stations on the assumption that Rs. 1 crore, spread over a period of 3 or 4 years after the war, will be forthcoming towards capital expenditure. The institutions in contemplation, besides the two mentioned above, are a National Physical Laboratory, a National Chemical Laboratory, and a National Metallurgical Laboratory. "This step", said the Finance Member, "will be regarded as a practical expression of Government's resolve to foster the development of Indian industry."



The final position for the coming year can be summarized as follows :—  
( in crores of Rs. )

Civil Estimates	... 86.57
Defence Estimates	... 276.61

Total Expenditure estimates	... 363.18
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Total revenue at existing level of taxation	... 284.97
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Prospective deficit	... 78.21
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Sir Jeremy Raisman said : "This is the fifth war budget which it is my duty to present to the House, and I do so at a time when the growing ascendancy of the United Nations over their enemies has created in us all the fullest confidence in a victorious outcome, though the precise time and manner of that victory are still hidden from us. We can now look back and survey the grim vicissitudes through which we have passed. In India the last 18 months has been a period of economic storms.

"The rapid advance which brought the Japanese to the eastern threshold of India had produced a widespread feeling of uncertainty, at the same time as it called for the most active measures to meet the threat. The execution of those measures necessitated very heavy expenditure and a vast and rapid diversion of resources from civilian to war consumption. At that critical moment there was an outburst of internal disturbances which aggravated the loss of confidence and the economic instability. Natural calamities—cyclone, flood and pest—also played their part in destruction and dislocation. Soon hoarding, speculation and profiteering manifested themselves in every form and on a scale to cope with which the administrative machine was but poorly equipped.

"There was a time when it seemed that there could be no check to the ravages of these pernicious forces and that salutary measures of control could never overcome them. At that moment the economic perils which beset the country were as grave as the military threat, and if they have now receded somewhat, the aftermath has been a measure of human suffering which will stand out even in the record of this devastating war.

"Many of the problems with which we have had to grapple are still with us, if not in so acute and intractable a form. There is still cause for anxiety and need for constant vigilance. But he would be a pessimist indeed who denied that in many respects the economic situation has greatly improved, and that a gratifying degree of stability has been achieved and maintained in recent months. The resolute measures of a two-fold character launched by the Government, in the monetary field and in the sphere of control of commodities, have had a distinctly salutary effect on price tendencies.

"There has also been a marked psychological reaction, a growth of confidence in the determination and the ability of the Government to enforce its policy of control and to overcome the resistance of sectional interests which, in this country as elsewhere, place their own advantage above the common good. In spite of the limitations of our administrative machinery, the vast territories and multitudes with which we have to deal, and the constant opposition of those who hoped that we would fail, we have made definite and welcome progress towards our broad economic objectives. At times, when solemn warnings had failed to check unhealthy practices and tendencies we have taken very drastic action and have been encouraged to find it endorsed by the mass of public opinion. We cannot, of course, emulate the results achieved in much more highly organized and closely integrated countries who can employ large qualified staffs to operate their controls and can count on the intelligent co-operation of a highly educated public. We can only claim that our efforts should be judged in the light of the experience of other countries similarly situated and at a comparable stage of development, who have, like us, been exposed to the turbulent forces released by the alternating and unpredictable fortunes of war."

Dealing with the Ways and Means position, the Finance Member emphasized the need for greater efforts to "save and lend" in order to avoid the dangers of war-time inflation. "Goods and services are mobilized for the common end by a vast outpouring of Government money," he said, "and unless this is systematically reabsorbed on an adequate scale, it exercises an ever-increasing pressure on the reduced supplies available for civilian consumption. We have all become conscious

of the dangers of inflation, an awareness which has been heightened by the series of anti-inflationary measures which Government themselves have launched and which are in operation today contributing in various ways and degrees to the desired result." He emphasized the supreme importance of more and more borrowing for the economic health of the country.

Thanks to sustained propaganda, special efforts throughout the country and the favourable turn in the progress of the war, it was possible to attract in the current year a sum nearly three times as large as the total of the previous year. Subscriptions to Defence Loan from Jan 31. 1943 to Feb 1 1944 amounted to the record figure of Rs. 115 crores. There was considerable demand for counterpart loans, the total amount invested from Feb. 1, 1943 to Jan 31. 1944 being Rs 93 crores. The total investments during the last 12 months amounted to Rs 279 crores as compared with Rs 93 crores in the corresponding period of the last year and an aggregate of Rs 547 crores since the beginning of the war. As regards Prize Bonds, complete figures relating to the progress of their sale, which is spread all over the country, are not yet available. There has been a welcome improvement in small investments. Whereas in 1941-42 and 1942-43, the transactions in all forms of small savings resulted in net withdrawals by the public totalling Rs 14 crores and Rs 3½ crores respectively, they are now yielding net deposits at the rate of over Rs 2½ crores a month and still show a marked upward trend.

The Finance Member announced that a scheme had been evolved for encouraging small saving by the employment of authorized agents on a commission basis whose function will be to assist investment from villages. In concluding his remarks on the Savings campaigns, he observed that "while we may take comfort from the encouraging response to the efforts which were continued throughout the year to attract support to public loans, it must be recognized that we have still a long way to go to achieve our purpose. The aim of our borrowing is not merely to meet our budgetary deficits but also to bridge the inflationary gap and there is no reason why if the necessary concomitant steps are taken, we should not attain this target." Referring to the anti-inflationary measures adopted by Government, he stated, in respect of enforcing physical controls, that "it is the Government's firm intention to take all possible steps to increase the effectiveness of the measure they have already adopted and to extend control in such further directions as the situation may from time to time demand."

Dealing with the suggestion made in certain quarters that the rate of interest should be raised in order to attract more subscriptions to the Defence Loans, the Finance Member said : "The Government are convinced that an enhancement of the rates of interest would be infructuous and is fraught with the risk of heavily mortgaging the future development of the country, apart from its immediate ill-effects on the balance sheets of institutional investors who have for the last four years steadily supported the securities market." "Nor," he continued, "can I see any advantage in the proposal that any other Allied Government should enter the field as a direct borrower, substituting its credit for that of the Indian Government."

Referring to the gold sales which the Reserve Bank has been conducting for the last six months, he said : "These sales afford an age-long alternative to those who do not, for one reason or another, wish to invest in Government securities, notwithstanding the advantages of the latter over investment in gold." The gold has been provided by HMG and the U.S. Government from their own resources and the sales proceeds have been used by them towards their war expenditure in India. This, he added, has materially supplemented other anti-inflationary measures.

The sterling holding of the Reserve Bank, as on March 31 1944, is expected to be about Rs. 950 crores. The total amount of sterling obligations of the Government of India so far redeemed amount to about £350 millions, the amount till outstanding being £11½ millions.

Discussions are still taking place in regard to the British, the U. S. and other plans for international monetary regulation in the post-war period. The discussions are still at a technical level without implying any commitments on the part of the Governments' representatives. After an opportunity has been afforded for discussion in the Legislature, the Government of India will be in a position to formulate their views. India will be represented at any Conference of United Nations which may be convened for this purpose. The Finance Member said : "It is patent that one of the problems that will confront the world in the post-war period will be the orderly liquidation of balances acquired by various countries during the war and in considering whether India should lend her support to any scheme that may be put forward for international monetary regulation, one of the major considerations

will naturally be the extent to which such a scheme assists in providing a solution for problems of this character."

For raising the extremely low standard of living plans for reconstruction and development, including a forward policy of industrialization, are being laid. The early implementation of these plans will be dependent to no small extent on external finance. This aspect of the problem was discussed with HMG in connexion with India's acceptance of the extension of reciprocal aid to raw materials and foodstuffs. In this connexion, the Finance Member announced that HMG have agreed, "as an integral part of the reciprocal aid arrangement to set aside each year from now onwards a part of the dollars accruing from India's exports to the USA. apart from and in addition to our current dollar requirements which are met from the Empire dollar pool." Such dollar accretions will be available for post-war development.

"This is perhaps the most suitable stage for me to say a few words on the financial aspect of post-war planning. I have been dealing with magnitudes larger in the perspective of Indian finance, and this in itself seems to provide a bridge between the limitations of the past and the larger future. Indian public opinion, in striving to outline that future, is also thinking in figures of an order which would have frightened an older generation. Let me say at once that I fully recognize that if any effective development is to take place, large amounts are bound to be involved, but this is equally true of war. But perhaps the closest resemblance between war-finance and reconstruction finance is this: They both involve, and necessarily involve, a continuously high level of taxation, as well as of borrowing. if the objective is to be attained.

"It is true that if the investment is wisely carried out, we may expect from development expenditure both an increase in the real income of society and an increase in the taxable capacity of the country, but we cannot overlook the fact that some forms of investment will never be able to pay for themselves in the literal sense of being financially self-supporting. This is obviously true of two forms of effort which must inevitably bulk large; public health expenditure and expenditure on education. In the phase of expansion, very heavy capital outlay will be involved, and once the desired level has been reached, there will be a heavy recurrent charge, a large proportion of which will inevitably fall upon the general budget of the Centre and the provinces. It is indisputable that the nation will greatly benefit by such capital and recurrent expenditure; but it is equally beyond doubt that the annual recurrent cost cannot be met out of taxation levied from the direct beneficiaries themselves. A heavy residual budgetary charge will remain.

"That brings me to another point. We may hope and legitimately hope, that the provision of capital equipment from overseas will be powerfully assisted by our possession of large sterling balances. We must not, however, ignore the difficulties which are likely to arise in at least the first post-war decade, from competing claims for capital equipment and from transfer difficulties associated with the balance-of-payments position of the UK. Again to utilize the whole of these balances and at the same time the whole increment of foreign funds accruing from current exports, would leave India with a wholly fiduciary currency. A note-issue with nothing behind it except the authority of the Government is exposed to all the winds that blow, and some of them might be very adverse. Indeed a failure of the monsoon or a world-depression or a renewed threat of war might easily lead to a flight from the currency or to a demand for foreign exchange which it would be very difficult to satisfy. Some external reserves seem to me to be absolutely indispensable, and therefore it is unrealistic to assume that foreign balances, actual or prospective, could in any circumstances be fully available for reconstruction finance.

"I have no wish to enter into controversy regarding certain aspects of the plan which a number of prominent businessmen have recently put out in the desire to focus discussion and to provide a nucleus for constructive thinking. I am, however, bound to confess to a feeling of misgiving regarding the extent to which the financing of post-war development could be based on 'created money'. I realize fully that an expansion of the currency in peacetime, during a period of rapid intensification of production, is a different thing from an expansion accompanying the enforced scarcities of war-time. But the difference between the initial effects may well be much less than has been suggested. In so far as development projects are concerned with capital investment, time-gap will necessarily intervene between initial investment and final completion, during which time no addition to the

national income in real terms will take place to offset the inflationary effect, and by the end of that time prices will already have risen.

"Again, if development projects such as education and public health are to be financed in this war, the effect will be still more marked, for although improved health and higher standards of education are important elements of national well-being, their influence on national production and on national income is of a more remote and indirect nature, whilst the influence on money incomes and on demand created as a result of inflation will be direct. I must say in justice to the authors of this proposal that they are aware of the dangers involved and propose to counter these effects by drastic over-all controls imposed by a strong Central Government.

"This would mean that the public which has perforce to submit to control in war-time when the fact of shortage was inescapable, should accept the continuance of controls prolonged over a far longer period after peace returns. I am far from suggesting that the results to be achieved would not justify this degree of sacrifice. But could so comprehensive and drastic a control be effectively administered in the conditions of this country, with the internal inflationary pressure rising rapidly with each succeeding year? It would surely not be wise to force the pace of post-war development at the cost of imposing such severe limits on the standard of living during the development period, at the cost of further accentuating the disparities of wealth which inflation inevitably entails, or at the risk of a financial and economic collapse before the the objective itself could be reached.

"It is my firm conviction that the first prerequisite of reconstruction finance is a sound financial position, both at the Centre and by the provinces, secured by the fullest development of their respective taxation resources. This may perhaps sound pedestrian, but in the light of our experience of war-time finance there is no reason, given the will to find money for peace on the scale on which it has been found for war, why resources should not be forthcoming to an extent which could not possibly have been envisaged in pre-war days.

"Many provinces have already started exploiting their revenue sources and building up reconstruction funds, as a result of which they will embark on the post-war period with an improved revenue position and a useful cash balance. This is a hopeful start, though there is still considerable scope for extension. But the magnitude of the problem is so great that the provinces will undoubtedly need all the financial assistance that the Centre may be in a position to give. I have recently brought under review the post-war budgetary position of the Central Government in so far as the many uncertainties inherent in the conditions of the present and the future permit.

"The review indicates that, on the assumptions of a reasonably speedy rate of demobilization after the conclusion of hostilities, the maintenance by concerted international effort of full production and employment, and a determination on the part of the Government of the day to utilize to the full the taxable surpluses would emerge rising in the fourth or fifth year to the order of Rs. 100 crores per annum. With all-out borrowing continued in accordance with the technique developed during the war, it is by no means fantastic to visualize total resources for the purposes of reconstruction during the first effective quinquennium approximating to the Rs. 1,000 crores level, and this excludes any estimate of direct private investment. Beyond that I would prefer at this moment not to attempt to dip into the future although it would be reasonable to assume that estimates for the subsequent five-year periods could be related to the actual results of the first quinquennium in a sort of geometric progression.

"The immediate task of investigation and planning is already well in hand, and some of the official reports and data which are now under the consideration of Government will shortly be released for the information of the public. These constitute the essential raw materials of any practicable plan of development, but equally important is the preparation of a sure foundation of sound finance capable of carrying with safely the edifice to be erected upon it. This edifice can itself be made both stronger and larger if the individual schemes of which it is composed are so designed as to be in their revenue aspect as remunerative as possible, and if high priority is accorded to such of them as can contribute directly to an increase in material wealth and prosperity and thereby reinforce the public revenues."

The Finance Member then introduced two Bills—the Finance Bill to give effect to the financial proposals explained in his speech, and the Bill to amend the Indian Income-tax Act on the lines proposed by him.

## COW SLAUGHTER &amp; MILK FAMINE

1st. MARCH :—Mr. *Govind Deshmukh's* resolution recommending that 'as an anti-inflationary measure, a loan of ten crores of rupees, earmarked for purposes of subsidising agriculturists to grow more food and increase milk products be now floated' was passed without a division in the Assembly to-day. Mr. Deshmukh, moving the resolution, referred to the food shortage in the country and said as in other countries, subsidies should be given to agriculturists. The scheme of economic development suggested by Sir Purshotamadas Thakurdas and others was a long-range one and would not meet the immediate needs of the country. Further, the scheme pre-supposed the existence of a national Government which could borrow hundreds of crores for the rehabilitation of agriculture. More food could not be grown merely by bringing more land under cultivation and with the meagre help which Government in this country had given to the agriculturists. Measures should be adopted to meet the shortage of labour in the farms and prevent it from drifting into more profitable employment, such as 'military works.' The cattle wealth of the country, which was so essential for agriculture, was being depleted and effective steps should be taken to stop the slaughter of bullocks as well as prime cattle. He suggested that Government should raise a loan of ten crores of Rupees and earmark it for subsidising agriculturists. Mr. *Tyson*, Secretary, Department of Health, Education and Lands, explaining the policy of the Government in the matter of agriculture, stressed that there were definite limits to what the Government could do under the "grow-more-food-campaign." The Government of India could not themselves grow more food but could only assist provinces and States to achieve this object. Wherever a provincial Government or a State put forth a promising method to increase agricultural production and asked for assistance, the Government of India had always accepted the scheme and extended assistance. Referring to shortage of labour, Mr. *Tyson* said that Government enquiries had shown that as a whole there was no serious shortage of agricultural labour except in a few very small areas where recruitment had been particularly heavy or military works were proceeding. The Government of India, in the course of their "grow-more-food-campaign" had accepted liabilities in 1943-44 to the extent of Rs. 83 lakhs in the form of subsidies and Rs. 165 lakhs in the form of loans. During the coming year, the Government had already accepted commitments to the extent of Rs. 65 lakhs in subsidies and Rs. 75 lakhs in loans. He assured the House that Government were doing all they could to improve the position of agriculture in the country. Mr. *Bajjnath Bajoria* urged Government to take steps to stop indiscriminate slaughter of cattle, particularly milch cattle. Arguing 'on purely economic grounds' he quoted statistics to show that in five slaughter-houses in Calcutta alone, over 30,000 cattle were slaughtered during 1941-42. He suggested that Government should put a ban on slaughter of milch cattle and on bullocks under 15 years. Sir *Jeremy Raisman*, replying on behalf of the Government and dealing with the resolution from the financial point of view, agreed that a loan of ten crores would have an anti-inflationary effect. Government also viewed with sympathy all efforts to grow more food and increase milk products in the country. They were fully anxious to help in any way they could to mitigate the scarcity of goods, particularly in matter of food. But the question of earmarking a particular sum of money for a particular purpose created a difficulty. In ordinary practice, all receipts went into one control pool from which they disbursed expenditure on items approved by Government. Earmarking a particular sum of money would obstruct the ordinary procedure of Government finance. Mr. *Gwilt* (European Group) warning the Government of the danger of a milk famine in the country urged that Government should consider the possibility of subsidising cattle-rearing, with a view to meeting the milk shortage in the country. Mr. *Gwilt* referred to the question of foodgrains and emphasized the need to ensure fair prices to the grower for his crop. Mr. *Govind Deshmukh* regretted he could not agree to the elimination of the words 'subsidy' and 'earmarking' from the resolution as had been suggested by the Finance Member. Speaking as an agriculturist he was convinced that only a subsidy programme would do any real benefit to the agriculturist. He hoped that even if Government did not accept the resolution, they would do all they could to help the agriculturist as in the past. The resolution was passed without a division.

## BACKWARD BALUCHISTAN

*Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan* moved a resolution recommending the appointment of a committee with a majority of elected members of the Central Legislature on it to suggest what steps should be taken to associate constitutionally the people

of Baluchistan with the administration of the province on similar lines as in other provinces of British India. Further debate was adjourned.

#### INDIAN STATES DISAFFECTION ACT

2nd. MARCH :—The House rejected to-day without a division Mr. *Kazmi's* motion for circulation of his Bill to amend the Indian States (protection against disaffection) Act, 1922. Mr. *Kazmi* complained that the Act was abused in certain States. He wanted to amend the Act so that a person accused of writing or publishing anything considered objectionable against a State should be tried at the place where the publication was printed and not in some other place or in the State where the publication was circulated, and to provide that such an accused should have right of appeal to a High Court. Sir *Asoka Roy*, Law Member, opposing the Bill, said that under the Criminal Procedure Code, all offences were triable at the place where they were committed and under this general procedure, venue of trial in the case of an offence under the State Protection Act would be where copies of the offending article were circulated. He could not see any reason why a special exception from this general practice should be made in the case of offences under this Act, as the Bill sought to make. Referring to right of appeal he said that the assurance given by Government at the time of passing the Act to his mind could only refer to any High Court which had jurisdiction in the area of the trial court and not to a chartered High court in British India as Mr. *Kazmi* inferred.

*Maulvi Muhammad Abdul Ghani* introduced his Bill to amend the Delhi Muslim Wakfs Act 1943 to remove certain difficulties arising in the interpretation of the Act. The House then adjourned.

#### INCOME-TAX AMENDMENT BILL

3rd. MARCH :—The Assembly today passed Sir *Jeremy Raisman's* motion to refer to a select committee the Bill to amend the Income-tax Act so as to bring it into line with the proposals he made in his Budget speech. The main object of the Bill is to provide for advance payments of tax on income which is not liable to deduction at source. The income mainly affected will be income from property and from business, profession or vocation. The other provisions of the Bill are designed either to correct certain defects in the Act or to give relief. A clause in the Bill seeks to prevent payments from unrecognized provident funds before the termination of employment in order to evade payment of tax. Another clause refers to Sec 14 (1) of the Act which is intended to grant exemption to an assessee in respect of any sum received by him as a member of a Hindu undivided family where such sum is included in the income of the family. Cases have arisen where a sum received by a member has been held to be exempt under this sub-section, even though it does not form part of the income of the family. The amendment provides for its taxation in the hands of the recipient, if it is not taxable in the hands of the family. Another amendment designed to prevent tax-evasion in the form of short-term insurance policy for one or two years, restricts the premium on which relief is admissible to a maximum of 7% of the actual capital sum assured.

#### INDIAN COCONUT CESS BILL

The House passed, with two amendments, the Indian Coconut Cess Bill as reported by the select committee.

Mr. *J. D. Tyson*, Secretary, Education, Health and Lands, moving consideration, pointed out that the select committee had made two important changes in the original Bill. Instead of the cess of 2½ annas per cwt proposed in the original Bill, the committee recommended that a maximum limit of 4 annas per cwt be fixed as they felt that ample funds would be required, as the work of the committee developed. The second change, which was regarding the constitution of the committee, recommended that to represent consumers' interests three members of the Central Legislature be included in it, and in order that the three States primarily concerned—Cochin, Travancore and Mysore—might have similar representation, provided for the nomination of one member each from these States.

Dr. *B. R. Ambedkar*, Labour Member, introduced a Bill further to amend the Factories Act 1934, to remedy certain defects and meet some difficulties in the working of the Act.

#### CODIFICATION OF HINDU LAW OF MARRIAGE

The House began discussion of the *Law Member's* motion to refer to a joint committee of both Houses the Bill to codify Hindu Law relating to marriage. Sir *Asoka Roy* said that the Rau Committee had expressed themselves in favour of codification of Hindu Law stage by stage, beginning with the law of succession and

the law of marriage. The Government accepted this view and the Bill before the House was one of the measures recommended by the committee. Mr. *Bajnath Bajoria* opposed the Bill and moved its circulation for eliciting public opinion by Oct. 31. Marriage law, he said, affected the humblest and no attempt had been made to get the opinion of the masses. "I am sure if opinion is taken from the masses, 95% of the Hindu community will be against this Bill." Mr. Bajoria urged that if the Bill was to go before a select committee, it should consist only of Hindus as the question affected the community alone. Mrs. *Renuka Ray*, supporting the Bill, said that the first feature in sacramental marriage was enforcement of monogamy and she heartily supported this provision in the Bill. Polygamy was, no doubt, rare in Hindu society, but there was always a loophole in the existing law for a man to take advantage of it and the women had to go to law for redress. In regard to caste restrictions the framers of the Bill, she thought, had been very cautious. These barriers must be broken once and for all, for the development of democratic ideas and economic betterment of society. She conveyed the appreciation of women to Government for reappointing the Rau Committee and hoped that after the Bill returned from the select committee and had been considered by the country, the House would enact the measure which, she said, would derive its authority from ancient laws but adapt it to the present times. *Sardar Sant Singh* pointed out that it was very common for Hindus and Sikhs to inter-marry, but the Bill made no provision for such marriages. Before the Bill was finally reported on he hoped this aspect of the question would be dealt with. Mr. *Ananga Mohan Dam*, opposing the motion, said that in a vast country like India it was extremely difficult to try to bring about uniformity in the matter of marriage when there were so many castes, customs and traditions. Mr. Dam had not finished when the Assembly adjourned till Monday.

#### GENERAL DISCUSSION OF BUDGET

6th. MARCH;—The Assembly began today its debate on the Budget. Mr. *T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar* (Congress), opening the debate, criticized Government's policy and method of commodity control and said it had had two results; it had taken things out of the reach of the poor man, it had driven money into secret channels. "Black money," as he termed money made in the black markets by big business men, was so plentiful that those who made it thought little of parting with portions of it to officials. Corruption increased, as was evidenced by the number of cases, but it was a shame, he declared, that there was discrimination even in corruption, for only Indian officers were being brought to book; while European officers went scot free.

*Sir Henry Richardson*, Leader of the European Group, said the chief impression left on his mind by the Budget was its moderation. For the past four years the incidence of taxation had, it was true, been pressing with ever-increasing severity upon a steadily enlarging proportion of the community; and to that extent the margin of taxable capacity upon which the Finance Member could draw was equally steadily diminishing. But that did not alter the fact that he had chosen the path of wisdom in making his imposts in this Budget as temperate as possible. The country's ability to sustain the present burden of taxation as well as to support the heavy loan programme, depended in no small measure upon Government's success in preventing any further rise in the cost of living and, in fact, in bringing about its progressive decline. Stressing the need for retrenchment, *Sir Henry* said he was aware of the scrutiny exercised by Public Accounts Committees, but he wondered if a stage had not arrived when a more continuous, purposeful, independent and expert check on waste of all kinds and obsolescence was not called for—particularly in respect of those projects and departments of Government which were purely war-time creations.

*Sir Mohamed Yamin Khan* (Muslim League) emphasized that deficits must be met by retrenchment in salaries and considered it high time that a retrenchment committee was established to go into the salaries paid, particularly in newly-created departments. He urged that all Government servants of the higher ranks should be made to invest 25% of their salaries in Defence Loans. He criticized the financial arrangement between the Government of India and HMG, and declared that he and his party could take no responsibility for expenditure on foreign troops stationed in India for operations against Japan.

Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta* approved the income-tax proposals but wished that the level had been raised to Rs. 3,000 instead of Rs. 2,000. He also approved of the super-tax, EPT and Corporation tax proposals, but stated that the rest of the



taxation proposals were retrograde. After commenting on the Finance Member's "vacillating" attitude towards inflation, Mr. Mehta said: "The time has come for a dictator with a bullet-proof armour and with two pistols, one armed at the profiteer and the other at the inflator."

Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, after stating that the whole Budget was based on a number of economic assumptions, criticized the Finance Member's remarks about "ceiling" defence expenditure, and said the ceiling would be raised or lowered at the sweet will and pleasure of the authorities concerned. He wanted to know whether India's sterling balances in Britain were the result of direct dealings between India and the UK or whether they represented the value of exports and services rendered by India to the Allied Nations, which had vanished from the common pool to find a place in the sterling balances.

Sardar Sant Singh asked why was it that Indian troops had been sent abroad and foreign troops brought into India for the defence of the country. Had Indian troops been kept at home, probably the financial burden due to the war would have been less.

Sardar Mangal Singh characterized the Budget as a "pick-pocket budget," and said the Finance Member had tried surreptitiously to put his hands into the pocket of the people and "steal" money somehow or other. He complained that the Government had by their own bungling caused conditions in Bengal which had taken away 3,500,000 of his countrymen and women. Referring to defence expenditure, he held that India was not the only country interested in the fighting in Burma, China, Burma itself, Australia, America and the British Empire were all interested and all these United Nations should pay towards the expenditure incurred in India as base of operations.

Dealing with the monetary policy of the Government, Sir Ziauddin Ahmed complimented the Finance Member on his rupee policy. The stability of all paper currencies depended on the prestige of the Government, and so long as the Government had prestige they need not have metallic reserve. The wealth of a country depended on the capacity to work and its natural resources. Assessing a country's wealth in this way, they would require a unit, as the ordinary monetary unit would not suit, and for this Sir Ziauddin proposed what he termed the wage unit. He defined the wage unit as the daily requirements of a labourer in the shape of food, cloth and other commodities. A labourer should be paid on the basis of the wage unit or in other words, the relationship between the paper rupee and the wage unit must be fixed, and that would represent the purchasing power of the rupee. He requested the Finance Member that he should fix the value of the rupee, as far as purchasing power was concerned. He also urged that the maximum percentage of profit by industrialists should be fixed by law. The House then adjourned.

7th. MARCH:—The Assembly today concluded the general debate on the Budget. Mr. Abdul Quayum (Congress), dealing mainly with the defence expenditure, said that the real war against Japan had not yet begun: it could, therefore, be taken that defence expenditure would mount.

Dr. P. N. Banerjee said that this was the fifth war budget, but the tenth taxation measure. He objected to the EPT proposal which, he declared, would stand in the way of industrial development; so would the Corporation tax, although in his view that tax could be justified to some extent. He advocated the setting up of an impartial tribunal to go into the question of allocation of expenditure on defence.

Mr. E. L. C. Gwilt (European) dealing with the provisions for industrial expansion after the war urged that a large volume of expert technical executives should be released from the Army and that there should be a survey of the country's industrial potential as it was to-day. Referring to education, he suggested that for a minimum period of 10 years and until the Sargent plan fructified, the State should grant to children and young men and women of the requisite intellectual capacity scholarships designed to give them professional and technical education abroad. The suggestion envisaged an extension of the Bevin plan.

Mr. N. M. Joshi asserted that during the war it was the capitalists who made money and the burden of war-time taxation should fall on them and money should also be drawn off from them by way of voluntary loans. This was possible only if Government had the confidence of the people. He criticized the Finance Member's handling of inflation and of price control.

The Commerce Member, Sir Aziz-ul-Haque, defending Government's control measures of various commodities said that, having regard to the fact that the Anti-



Hoarding and Profiteering Ordinance came into being only four months ago, a measure of success had been achieved. He pleaded for wholehearted public co-operation in making the control effective and said that wherever complaints had been made, Government had acted with promptitude and inquired into them. Referring to criticisms of the 20% profit, he pointed out that this was not an unalterable limit but represented an effort to rationalize profits.

The Finance Member, Sir *Jeremy Raisman*, replying to certain types of criticism of defence expenditure, said he had a grievance against people who somehow expected him to abstract them out of a world at war—people who were possessed of an escapist complex and seemed to think that it was his duty somehow to reproduce for them conditions which could not possibly be found anywhere in the world today. Did Mr. Neogy or other members, he asked, really expect that defence expenditure would in this or any other belligerent country, be less this year than it was in 1941-42 or 1940-41?

As for the question why British troops who were more expensive should be employed in India and Indian troops abroad, the Finance Member explained that the distribution of total forces available to the United Nations was governed entirely by operation needs and availability of shipping, and the desirability from various points of view of bringing back to India troops at present serving abroad was fully realized and constantly borne in mind but its feasibility was conditioned by the exigencies of the war situation. He stated that airfields included in the budget comprised those necessary to enable the Indian forces to perform their functions of local defence in India, and included airfields provided on reciprocal aid terms for US. forces in India, but additional airfields constructed in India in connexion with the operations contemplated by the SE Asia command were not provided for in the Indian budget. On the question of "ceilings" the Finance Member pointed out that Lord Wavell, when he was C-in-C, definitely determined what could be regarded as forces adequate and necessary for the local defence of India. He emphasized that purely financial considerations could not possibly determine military matters of that kind: the ceilings were determined entirely on military merits of the case and only the financial results of that determination had to be worked out by him and his department. He repudiated any suggestion that there was any possibility of bad faith or elastic conscience. Speaking of inflation, the Finance Member declared that he knew there were people who went about the country asking people to withhold co-operation from the war effort and made deliberate attempts to destroy confidence in Government in the currency and made exhortations to the people to refrain from providing supplies. The economic effect of those things undoubtedly contributed to inflation. The Finance Member pointed out that the question whether a country exposed to the effect of war suffered from inflation or not was related to the question whether it had a certain political constitution or not. At the same time he was bound to agree that to deal with inflation successfully required the co-operation of the people. Dealing with the criticism that the budget did not provide for an increase in the indigenous production of consumer goods, Sir *Jeremy* repeated what he had said in a previous session, that if domestic production of consumer goods could be greatly increased it would be a valuable counter-measure to inflation. Even if the productive capacity in the UK and the USA could be diverted in order to produce machinery that India required, that machinery would have to be shipped, assembled and experience gained in working it and getting it into full production. Would that, desirable as it might be, lead to a solution of the immediate difficulty? He entirely agreed that as soon as it was possible to import machinery and plant for the production of goods that this country required it should be done.

#### VOTING ON BUDGET DEMANDS

13th. MARCH :—Voting on Budget demands commenced to-day. The House by 50 votes to 48 passed Mr. *Abdul Quaiyum's* (Congress) cut motion to reduce the grant under the head "Executive Council" to one rupee as a mark of "refusal of supplies." The Congress, Muslim League and the Nationalists voted for the motion. Mr. *B. Bajoria*, Mr. *N. M. Joshi*, Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta* and Mr. *Ananga Mohan Dam* were among those who remained neutral. In moving the cut motion Mr. *Quaiyum* declared that the Executive Council had continuously flouted public opinion. He asked what had happened to the vote of the House against the increase in railway fares and what was the Viceroy's Council's response to the vote of the House against sending the "propaganda delegation" abroad? His complaint was not so much against the

British members of the Council as against the Indian members, who did not represent anybody but themselves. Mr. Quaiyum stated that the present Executive Council was "a hybrid monster born of an illicit love affair between British imperialism and Indian vested interests." Sir *Mohamed Yamin Khan* (Muslim League) supporting the motion, stated that the present Government of India was "a miniature form of Fascism and Nazims." If the present Government laid any claim to democracy, it should have resigned long ago. The best thing for those in authority was to invite those parties who were ready to carry on Government, to work the constitution, and not to keep "some people, who may be patriotic from their point of view but whom the country had renounced." He urged the Indian members to resign and "show their patriotism." He referred to the Sarma Delegation which was visiting England and America, and said they were misrepresenting the country abroad. Why, he asked, had Government not recalled the delegation when they found they were exceeding their limits and indulging in political propaganda, maligning political parties and institutions in the country and misleading the world.

14th. MARCH :—The Assembly today passed by 55 votes to 46 the Muslim League's cut motion sponsored by Sir *Mohammed Yamin Khan*, asking for the immediate appointment of a committee of elected members of the Central Legislature, assisted by officials, to scrutinize Government expenditure and suggest economies. Sir Mohammed sought to reduce the demand under "Finance Department" by Re. 1. He said that neither the Standing Finance Committee nor the Public Accounts Committee would meet the purpose he had in view. Representatives of the people wanted to scrutinize for themselves whether the expenditure to be incurred by Government was justified or not. Mentioning examples of extravagance and lack of control he said that he knew of an instance where shoes were purchased by the Government from Cawnpore. All of them, 200,000 in number, were found to be for the same foot. He added that information of this character would never reach the ears of the Finance Member unless independent elected members of the House were associated with him.

15th. MARCH :—For the third day in succession the Opposition parties combined to defeat Government today when the House passed by 53 votes to 44 the Nationalist Party's cut motion moved by *Pandit L. K. Maitra* to reduce the demand under "Home Department" by Rs. 100 to discuss the "abuse of powers under the Defence of India Act and Rules." Moving the demand, *Pandit Maitra* said that lawyers whose only offence was defending accused in political cases were also arrested under the DI Rules. Restrictions placed on the movement of some people and on railway travel were unbearable. It would be recalled, said the Speaker, that the Chief Justice of the Allahabad High Court had exclaimed that the DI Rules had paralysed them. He next referred to the *Pardivala* case, the proceedings of which gave the impression that a reign of terror was going on in the Lahore High Court and that there was widespread panic in the court itself. Several letters between the Judges and the Advocate-General were intercepted by the police. The police had tried to get out of the difficulty by saying that they were destroyed. The Chief Justice questioned whether he had to depend for getting letters on the whims of a sub-inspector. The Chief Justice had observed that not only did the Government ignore and flout the legislature but the judiciary also. *Pandit Maitra* added that this was from a British Chief Justice, not a Congress agitator. Sir *Yamin Khan* said he had made a great mistake in supporting the DI Act. He had not then realized that the weapon placed in Government's hands would be misused. He referred to the instance in which the "Prophet's Day" procession had been prevented in Nagpur. He read out the text of an Urdu order served on Mr. Hossain Imam, member, Council of State, in which the SDO. of Gaya asked Mr. Imam to appear before him on March 15 to show cause why he should not be imprisoned under Sec. 38 of the DI Act as it was reported that he had not bought War Bonds and had prevented others from buying them. Mr. *P. J. Griffiths* (European Group) asked why anyone should try to prevent others from purchasing War Bonds. (Angry cries of "why not"). Sir *Yamin Khan* asked under what Rule could a man be forced to purchase Bonds? "I have every right," he declared, "to tell my friend not to purchase War Bonds. If he asks me whether it is profitable to invest money in War Bonds, I have every right to say it is not profitable." He asked how much money the European Group had invested in War Bonds. (Laughter and cheers from Opposition benches).

16th. MARCH :—The Home Member, Sir *Reginald Maxwell*, replying to the debate to-day said that the debate had proceeded as though the Act and Rules were brought into existence and employed solely for the purpose of maintaining public

order of interfering with political or other activities. The Act was not primarily a penal enactment. A great portion of it dealt with the creation of powers which it was necessary for any Government to be able to exercise in war. Explaining how the Act had been actually used, the Home Member said that since the beginning of the war the number of convictions in India under the Act was 94,500. But of these some 43,500 were non-political cases, dealing with matters entirely separate from those which interested the speakers in this debate. The actual number of persons convicted under these Rules was 8,972 on Jan. 1. That, he urged, was not a record of oppression when it was remembered that the war had lasted four and a half years and that some 300,000,000 people lived in India.

A voice : What is the percentage in England ?

The Home Member : Very much higher.

The number of persons detained without trial was about 5,000 on January 1, compared to the peak of 17,572. That meant that up to that date some 12,000 persons who had been detained had already been released. It did not look as if Provincial Governments were anxious to keep people under detention longer than necessary. Replying to the criticism that the new Ordinance III of 1944 did not provide for advisory committees to consider the cases of persons against whom detention orders had been passed, the Home Member pointed out that as against that there was the provision for periodical review and claimed that this was a definite advance and removed the necessity for advisory committees. Although the Government were not able to go so far as the House would like, in the way of advisory committees, they had done a great deal to meet the sentiments expressed from time to time in the House, and that in considering these matters Government were not unresponsive to the opinions expressed here.

Mr. *Abdul Quaiyum* (Congress) said that the Home Member had tried to reply to arguments about the difference between the provisions of the DI Act and those of the British enactment and to make out that the provisions here were similar to those enforced in Britain. He asked whether the Government in Britain was as irresponsible there as was the Government here. "May I know whether in the House of Commons when a candidate is defeated at the elections he is taken in as a Minister of the Crown and given extension after extension while his opponent is made to rot in jail and die". The DI Rules were intended for the defence of British imperialism against Indian nationalism.

The supply of consumer goods as an anti-inflationary measure was urged today during the debate on a cut motion moved by Mr. *A. C. Inskip* (European Group). Speaking with first-hand knowledge of the USA, which he visited last year, Mr. Inskip stated that the practice of taking over the entire output of any one industry for war purposes did not appear to have been followed there or in the UK. Despite the rising tempo of the war and the enormous contribution which the USA had made towards the common effort, she was already, or would shortly be in a position to turn over certain of her industries to the production of essential items for civil consumption. He also stated that the USA and the UK had begun to manufacture goods for supply to countries which had been or would be free from enemy occupation. If the war burden on this country could be lightened, India, he felt, should be given the opportunity to produce not only for her own needs but for the future requirements of such countries as Burma, Malaya and China. The motion was defeated without a division.

#### DEBATE ON THE FINANCE BILL

17th. MARCH :—The Assembly today began the debate on the Finance Member's motion that the Finance Bill be taken into consideration. Mr. *T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar* (Congress), who opened the debate, referred to the sale of gold and said that, as against the ruling price in America of about Rs. 45 an ounce, gold was being sold in India at about Rs. 35. The Finance Member, intervening, pointed out that the price in India had been Rs. 71 for some time. Speaking of sterling balances, Mr. Chettiar objected to these being allowed to accumulate in one country and wanted that these be divided into sterling and dollar. He suggested that the sterling balances should be spent in training Indian technical personnel in England and America in as large number as possible in importing such consumer goods as could not be manufactured in India and in importing capital goods. Speaking as a member of the AICC, Mr. Chettiar repudiated the charge that the Congress Working Committee had incited the sabotage movement in the country. It was true, he said, he had seen a notice in July 1942, in Madras, advising people to cut telegraph wires. He asked a member of the Working

Committee about that notice and was told that there were no instructions or programme of civil disobedience issued by the Working Committee. Who issued that notice was a matter which remained to be found out. The question might be asked how did the burning and sabotage come about? The explanation he had heard in jail was that Mr. Amery made a broadcast on August 9, 1942, in which he described the Congress programme as one of violence and sabotage and gave details of that programme; and many Congress workers took this broadcast to mean that it gave out the real Congress programme and acted accordingly. Mr. *Ramratan Gupta* suggested that the Finance Member should give an assurance that all dollar actuals, hereafter, should be kept exclusively in the Indian account instead of in the Empire pool. He did not believe in the developing industry under State management so long as the Government in India was dominated by those whose economic interests were not those of Indians. He instanced the railways and said that some Rs. 900 crores were invested and yet for maintenance and expansion the railways had to depend on imported material instead of on indigenous industry. The Transport Member had not told the House how much of the money to be used for rehabilitation would be spent in India. Mr. *T. T. Krishnamachari* referring to the doubling of the tobacco duty said that the mere fact that tobacco bore a high incidence of taxation in other countries was not an argument which could be made applicable in India. He had not concluded when the House adjourned till Monday.

20th. MARCH :—Resuming the debate Mr. *T. T. Krishnamachari* criticized the new taxation proposals, the appointment of a number of experts in various Government departments, Government's policy in regard to the establishment of heavy industries, the activities of the UKCC and ICI and immobilization of India's sterling balances. There was no justification at the present stage, he said, for any enhancement of the tobacco tax. He was afraid that the tax on coffee would eliminate the small man from the trade and harass many others in the business. On the subject of recruitment of experts and special officers, Mr. *Krishnamachari* said that the appointment of two dehydration experts had not helped the country much. Referring to the UKCC in India, Mr. *Krishnamachari* said that though the Corporation was commercial yet its objectives were political. The position of the organization in relation to the Government of India had not been fully clarified. The House was told that the UKCC had no monopoly but he knew that the export of tea and hides was their monopoly. He complained that the ICI had a stranglehold on the Indian industries. Mr. *Krishnamachari* asked what had happened to Government's plan for the setting up of power alcohol manufacture in the country. He knew that the initial work had been done and Government had already circularized the Provincial Governments on the setting up of power alcohol plants. Referring to India's sterling balances and inflation in the country, he said that the issues were no more academic. He voiced dissatisfaction at the failure of the Indian Directors of the Reserve Bank to protest against the continuous increase in the sterling balances or against the gold sales. Sir *Frederick James* (European Group) devoted most of his speech to questions relating to the India Defence Services, and paid a tribute to their "outstanding and gallant record." He hoped that some words of encouragement would go out to them from members of the House. He commended the increase in pay for Indian soldiers announced by the C-in-C recently. The recent record of the IAF, he said, was one of which the House could be proud. He inquired what precise role the IAF would now play both in regard to the India Command and the SE Asia Command. Dealing with the RIN Sir *Frederick* said this small but rapidly-growing and efficient force was worth more than a passing reference; its role was greater than that allotted to her. He urged that the policy adopted in naval training establishments in the country be strengthened and extended to the utmost limits, for, not only had they to establish new traditions in this country but they had to try and recapture old seafaring traditions that had existed for many years. Sir *Frederick* brought to the notice of the House certain grievances in the pay of ratings and petty officers, and asked why their salaries were still so low and had remained unchanged after the last war. In the matter of long service awards, he pleaded that Government should automatically award them to men with long record of services instead of restricting them to three every year as at present. India's future needs in the matter of defence, he stated, would be a small and efficient army, a larger navy and a larger air force. If India wished to have a mercantile navy worthy of the name, she must have a navy to protect it. After the war, when the Army would be demobilizing, he hoped the Navy would be

consolidated and strengthened. Dealing with the question of demobilization and resettlement of soldiers after the war, he welcomed the Defence Member's plans for land acquisition for collective farming in the Punjab. Referring to the various post-war reconstruction committees that had been established by Government, Sir Frederick said they were haphazardly set up with little relation to one another. He stressed the need for writing up the reports of the various reconstruction committees in an abbreviated form and simple language and quoted the example of the "Bombay Plan" which, whatever its merits or demerits, had aroused widespread interest in the country. Sir *Vithal Chandavarkar* supported the Finance Bill not because he agreed with the detailed proposals of the Budget but because there was a war on and if they were anxious to save the country from foreign invasion, it was their duty to offer support of a discriminating character to Government. He had not concluded when the House adjourned.

21st. MARCH :—Sir *Vithal Chandavarkar* referred to the political situation in the country and said if the British Government were serious they should forget what had happened in the past and without trying to apportion blame proceed to legislate on the lines of making India self-governing. There were bound to be irreconcilables but this should not distract the policy of HMG. Sir *Ziauddin Ahmed* referred to the sale of gold and said that the Reserve Bank was acting as a "black market" for the sale of gold to India on behalf of the USA and UK. The world parity rate of gold was about Rs. 42 per oz, while the Reserve Bank sold it for Rs. 71. Dealing with food administration, Sir *Ziauddin* suggested that the head of the department should be an ICS man or "an honest public man" who should have no business concerns himself. He urged that the maximum dividends to be declared should not be more than 9% and any excess over that should come into the Exchequer as excess dividends tax. Mr. *C. F. Lawson* (European Group) referred to the expenditure incurred on civil defence and said the time had come to concentrate on the danger of target bombing of industrial areas, ports, docks and railways. He thought a good deal of effort was being wasted in organizing ARP in areas where labour was not concentrated. Dealing with the requisitioning of accommodation for the military in Calcutta, Mr. *Lawson* said Government's building programme for Calcutta was just one year too late. He thought it was inconvenient and bad for the discipline of the troops to be quartered in private houses. Commenting on the driving of military vehicles, particularly in Calcutta, Mr. *Lawson* stated that the drivers of these vehicles seemed to divide the public into two classes—the "quick" and the "dead." The "quick" were definitely those who were quick enough to get out of the way. The Calcutta Tramways Co. suffered rather badly because tramcars were not quick enough to get out of the way. During the last six months, no less than Rs. 12,000 worth damage had been done to the Calcutta Tramways and the compensation so far paid was Rs. 45. Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta* pointed out three constitutional irregularities and improprieties which, he said, had been committed by Government and which, he urged, should be remedied even now. The first was the retention in the ways and means part of the Budget of Rs. 10 crores which, by its vote, the House had decided the Government should go without. The second was the retention of the contribution of Rs. 32 crores to general revenue from the railway surplus without a specific resolution of the House to that effect and the third was that the amount of money which had been reduced by the various cuts passed by the House both in the Railway and the General Budgets had not been treated as so reduced. Mr. *Mehta* had not concluded when the House adjourned.

22nd. MARCH :—Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta*, continuing his speech, argued that the rise in the cost of living compelled Government themselves to spend more than they would have had to spend if they had been careful about inflation. He stated that the country's indebtedness had increased by Rs. 800 crores during the war years, and declared that for this sum Government got goods and services worth no more than Rs. 226 crores, because the real value of the rupee now was no more than a third of its pre-war value. Sir *Sultan Ahmed*, Member for information and Broadcasting, dealt with the apprehension that for a number of posts which had fallen vacant in his department and which had been advertised, experts from abroad would be imported. He assured that there was not the slightest idea of importing anybody from England or anywhere for any post for which the Indian taxpayer would have to pay, as far as his department was concerned. Sir *A. H. Ghuznavi* referring to price control said that it was working for the benefit of the USA and the UK. The price of gold sold by the UK and the USA in India was not controlled. A year ago the Finance Member threatened speculators in Bombay with dire conse-

quences. Yet what was he doing now about the profiteers of the UK and the USA ? He deprecated the agitation started by British newspapers about the accumulation of sterling balances. He thought that this agitation made it necessary to ask for an assurance from HMG that they would pay the entire debt without reopening the agreement. Referring to the export control scheme he said that India was now in a position to export a number of things. He asked that restrictions on exports should be withdrawn and the list of goods the export of which had been banned should be revised. He criticized the control of basic foodstuffs and said that they were contrary to the decision in the UK, where basic food such as bread, potatoes, and cereals were free. Speaking of Bengal he urged that what was needed was transport facilities for the carriage of foodstuffs.

23rd. MARCH :—A committee of the Assembly to revise the DI Rules and suggest amendments was advocated by Sir *Mohammed Yamin Khan* (Muslim League). Referring to remarks made by certain members about the union of the Congress and Muslim League parties in the House, Sir Mohammed said that the two parties had come so much nearer to each other as to demonstrate to the world that they had no confidence in the present Government. That, he said, was one step nearer to the wider unity. The present Government had by their actions and misdeeds brought home to many people that Government were not serious when they asked the parties to join hands and that Government were only exploiting their differences. Opposing the Finance Bill he said there was no necessity for new taxation. The money could be found easily from savings which could be effected. The War Secretary, Mr. *C. M. Trivedi*, replied to certain points relating to the defence services. He informed the House that the Government, with the approval of the Secretary of State, had now decided to set up independent tribunals in India to deal with appeals in pension cases and the necessary steps for the establishment of these tribunals were now under consideration. As regards the training of pilots for the ten squadrons of the IAF, Mr. Trivedi described the air training corps instituted at eight Universities and said that if the classes were filled to capacity about 1,400 students each year would be trained and the results, he hoped, would be reflected in improved recruitment. He promised to consider the question of married quarters for RIN ratings and increasing the number of long service awards. The driving on military vehicles was, he said, a question which received constant attention and military authorities in Calcutta had taken certain measures which would, he hoped, lead to an appreciable improvement. Continuous joint patrols of the Army RAF and U.L. provost had been established in Calcutta, additional traffic signs erected, and speed limit orders of the Army, the RAF and U.S. forces unified. The GOC-in-C. Eastern Command was taking a personal interest in the matter and the C-in-C. India, had directed that the question should be discussed in all its aspects at the next meeting of the Army Commanders' conference. The Bengal Government some time ago wrote that already there was an appreciable improvement in the situation and he hoped matters would improve still further. Mr. *Akhil Chandra Dutta*, referring to the food situation, said that the present controlled price of rice was more than four to five times the normal rate. He contended that there was no room for optimism regarding the food situation in Bengal and no even 25% of the aman crop surplus had been bought by Government. He was afraid that Government was under a false sense of security about the Bengal food problem. He urged that more land should be brought under cultivation. Mrs. *Subbarayan* (Congress) said the measures suggested to fight inflation would bewilder even experts but the Finance Member had simplified it by saying that "whatever brings money to Government is anti-inflationary." She was told there was only 10.5% Indian officers in the Army. Was this how Government were going to develop a national army in India, she asked. She also questioned the policy of sending out of the country Indian troops who had shown themselves capable of fighting successfully even on unfamiliar ground against a highly trained and well-equipped enemy, and bringing in foreign troops to defend India. Dr. *N. B. Khare*, Member for Indians Overseas, replied to the points raised by Congress speakers against Members, particularly Indian Members, of the Executive Council. He admitted that he and his colleagues were not responsible in the sense of responsibility to the legislature. They had come to the Government benches with open eyes, knowing full well all the limitations under which they had to function. He claimed that he and his colleagues had acted in response to promptings of the inner voice just as the members of the Congress party had done in coming back to the House in utter disregard of the mandate of their leaders. Speaking of the affairs of August, 1942, Dr. Khare expressed surprise that one of the Congress speakers in the House should

have stated that Congress workers probably acted on the sabotage programme which they had heard Mr. Amery state over the radio that the Congress Working Committee had laid down. If there were politicians who took their cue from their opponents and acted on words broadcast by their enemy, then how could they aspire to be in charge of a country's administration?

24th. MARCH :—Sir *Cawasji Jehangir* said that price control measures were the sheet anchor of Government's remedy against inflation and they should impress on the Provincial Governments its importance. Mr. *Ghulam Bhik Nairang* referred to the propaganda that was being carried on for the establishment of a Supreme Court in India and expressed the fear that the existence of such a court might, later on, be used as an argument to support Lord Linlithgow's "discovery" of the geographical unity of India. If this was so, the Muslims took strong objection to the establishment of such a court. Sir *Mohamed Aziz-ul-Haque*, Industries and Civil Supplies Member, replying to criticisms of his department, contradicted the statement that 90% of export licences were given to Europeans and stated that export trade had been largely in Indian hands in Bombay, Calcutta and Karachi. As regards the UKCO's activities he mentioned that details had been given by him in answer to questions in the Assembly and an explanatory communique had been issued. He was sorry that suspicions still existed. In view of the dissatisfaction however, he had invited representatives of some chambers of commerce to address the department and later sit round a table with Government representatives to discuss the matter. Explaining the policy relating to import trade, the Industries Member said that Government's policy had been to issue licences on a generous scale and the Secretary of State had been asked, as soon as shipping conditions permitted, to see that more and more consumer goods were sent to this country. He stated that the constitution of a consumers' council to which all questions affecting consumers might be brought was being considered by Government. On the import of plant and machinery, his department had already invited industrialists to inform Government of their requirements in the post-war period. He was not in a position to give actual figures but he would say that licences had been given for the import of paper, sugar, textile, jute and other machinery during the last six months. As regards chemicals, licences issued during July-December 1943, covered goods worth Rs. 7 crores. From January to date licences issued were for over Rs. 4½ crores. Referring to the Imperial Chemical Industries, he said, Government at present had two aims, importing commodities and distributing them. Distribution was a difficult task and it would not be possible for Government to perfect a machinery soon. The ICI were at present relieving Government from the responsibility of distribution, which, he said, Government proposed to take over afterwards. Explaining the price control policy he said that no such measure could be successful unless there was an effort on the part of everyone to eradicate black markets. Concluding the Industries Member said : "I shall not enter into political controversies. But let me say this. So long as an Indian feels that another Indian is not his brother but a traitor, other people will rule over this country. So long as every man outside a particular party is considered a traitor and not a good citizen, there can be no political solution of the problems that are facing us today. Even though we may not ally ourselves for the time being with political parties, the interests of India are as dear to us as to other Indians. The House at this stage adjourned till Monday.

27th. MARCH :—Sir *Henry Richardson*, leader of the European group, referred to the attitude of certain sections of the House which imputed to the British commercial community a wish to profit unduly by the circumstances of the war and a "fictitious ability" to influence Government so that they might legislate in a manner favourable to British interests. "Such charges as have been made have of necessity been vague since they have no foundation and are based upon political prejudice combined with industrial ignorance. "The taxation which during the past four years has been imposed upon commerce and industry has fallen upon the interests which I represent as heavily as it has fallen upon Indian interests. I do not deny the right of the latter to advance arguments which oppose taxation proposals but in all fairness I ask this House to cast its mind back to the attitude which we, on this side, have consistently made clear in the matter of war taxation. I myself have on more than one occasion pointed to the moderate character of the burdens which we have been asked to bear especially in view of the vital issues at stake. We may try to be good businessmen but we also try to be good citizens who realize that the war must be won whatever the sacrifice.

Dr. *P. N. Banerjee*, leader of the Nationalist party, said that the additional



taxation which the Bill sought to impose was neither necessary nor justifiable. The burden of taxation had not been so adjusted that it would fall on those who were able to bear it. Dealing with the food problem, he said that the Bengal famine was due to the criminal negligence of the British Government and their subordinates here. He also charged the Bengal Government with incompetence. He suggested that in Bengal the procurement and distribution of rice should be left to ordinary trade channels. Hoarding and profiteering must be dealt with sternly. He welcomed the Bengal Government's rehabilitation scheme. He deplored the continuance of the political deadlock and made an appeal for unity. Lord Halifax's recent pronouncement that there could be no freedom for India until there was unity, he said, was a challenge to the Indian parties which the members of the Opposition should take up.

*Nawabzada Liaqut Ali Khan*, Deputy Leader, Muslim League party, opposing the Bill, said he had not intended to speak about the Executive Council after the vote of the House refusing supplies to it—a vote which, he said, was a true reflection of practically unanimous opinion in the country. But, since then, Dr. Khare had chosen to make what had been described as a political speech. He thought it would be discourteous not to notice Dr. Khare's observations. Dr. Khare had complained that members of the Opposition threw rose petals at European members of the Executive Council and flints at the Indian members. "Instead of complaining he should be thankful, because that shows his countrymen have not lost all hope in him and his colleagues. The flint when it strikes steel produces fire and if Hon. Members from this side threw any flints at him, it was in the hope that they might ignite a little spark of patriotism." Dr. Khare had taken credit for the blessing that had accrued to this country as a result of the war. He should have presented a true balance sheet of its blessings and miseries, for it was this war and the Government's incapacity to deal with the problems arising from it, that had cost lives due to starvation and want of medical relief, had brought economic depression, had left India in the same constitutional position as it was a 100 years ago and curtailed the liberties of the people in the name of the DI Rules. Replying to the Viceroy's speech and those made by the Home Member and the Leader of the House suggesting that the British Government had done everything conceivable to secure the honourable co-operation of the people of India in the prosecution of the war and that it was really Indians who were guilty of failure to co-operate, the Nawabzada said that so far as the Muslim League was concerned, it had from the very beginning realized the necessity of doing its utmost to defend the country. The offers of co-operation, however, were made by Government intentionally in a manner which would not be acceptable to any honourable man. The British Government never really desired the co-operation of the people of this country. Referring to the Viceroy's recent address to the Central Legislature and the Muslim League Party's attitude to H. E.'s pronouncement, he said: "During the last three years the policy of the League consistently had been to oppose the Finance Bill not because we do not want to help in the prosecution of this war, not that we do not want to vote money for the defence of India but because we have no confidence in the present Government. We are not ready and willing to place the resources of our country in the hands of a Government which is not only irresponsible but irresponsible."

*Mr. Bhulabhai Desai*, leader of the Congress Party, said if the war was being fought for democracy, the first desideratum was that representatives of the Indian people, who had been elected on the widest franchise permitted under the 1935 Act, should form a national Government. It was not a mere majority Government that was intended. It was a Government composed of representatives of every element in the House. It was not even required that the constitution of the Government of India should be changed. The Congress was quite prepared to place its services at the disposal—not of HMG, but at the disposal of the country that the cause may be fought with clean hands and stout heart. He had every desire that India should be defended. But he was opposing the Finance Bill because he did not want to take the responsibility of finding the money without the privilege or responsibility of spending it. If Government continued to oust people's representatives from handling their own affairs, they could not expect their representatives to be their agents and servants in finding money or resources. "It is far better that we should find the money than that you should be able to extort it, which in present-day language is co-operation."

The Finance Member, *Sir Jeremy Raisman*, referring to the constitutional question, said the representatives of the two great parties had on the occasion arrived at a



measure of agreement as to what should be done about the Bill before the House. They had apparently agreed that they should register their disapproval of Government as at present constituted. "Can we hope to see that this combination will continue and go further. May I hope to be relieved of the difficulties in which I find myself of having to carry out my duties to get legislation passed in a House in which Government does not enjoy a majority? May I hope to see that this combination will continue on fruitful lines, so that we may look forward to a speedy solution of the difficulties which give rise to all this trouble we are facing"? Nobody would, he said, be happier than himself and his colleagues to see the Treasury Bench occupied by a Ministry which could command the support of the friends opposite. He would be only too glad if the union of the parties opposite would not be only a union of a day or a moment, not merely union on a negative policy, which surely was not a platform on which the problems of the country could be dealt with, but some more extensive and more fruitful combination between the great parties.

28th. MARCH :—The Assembly this morning by 56 votes to 45 rejected the Finance Bill in the form recommended by the Governor-General. The House also rejected by 55 votes to 45 the demand for a grant of Rs. 1,85,000 in respect of the Information and Broadcasting Department. Introducing the recommended Bill, the *Finance Member* explained that it incorporated four amendments. The first two related to deposits under the EPT provisions. They provide that in respect of any chargeable accounting period ending after Dec. 31. 1943, "in relation to any person who is a company," it shall be 19/64, and in relation to any other 17/64. If, in respect of any chargeable accounting period ending after Dec. 31, 1943, a person who had deposited a further sum equal to 17/64 of the EPT payable showed that the amount of the income-tax and super-tax payable exceeded 15/64 of the amount of the EPT so much of the deposit shall be refunded, so that the total of the deposit made and the income-tax and super-tax payable does not exceed one half of the EPT. The last amendment related to the schedule of rates of super-tax. It provided that a rebate of one anna in the rupee shall be allowed on the total income as reduced by the amount of any dividend declared in respect of the previous year's profits for the assessment for the year ending March 31. 1945.

Mr. *Bhulabhai Desai*, Leader of the Congress Party, opposed the motion for reconsideration of the Bill in the recommended form. He said that the occasion which had brought back the Bill was not without precedent and but for the provision in the Government of India Act one would have thought that the Government would exercise its powers without asking this body, which had cast a deliberate vote yesterday against the Bill, to reconsider it again. Yesterday the House had rejected the Bill by a majority of one, which was, in fact, a vote of 56 against 18 so far as the elected members of the Assembly were concerned. Even out of this 18, if they took into account the consideration which the members of the European Group had extended to Government, it came to this that in so far as the real voice of this country was concerned, it was a vote of 56 against eight. It was an imputation of lack of commonsense to ask them to reconsider what the House had been considering for quite a long time. When the Bill was in the consideration stage for about seven days, when every Party had expressed opinion on it, they had made it quite plain that it would not be possible, on the ground of principle as well as owing to the deteriorating conditions in the country, that this Bill for supplies would ever be voted. Ever since the war and since India was declared a partner in the war, the country had been demanding that her affairs should—at least during the emergency—be managed on principles different to those under which they were being handled. It was then made clear that those who had the responsibility of finding the money and resources for the prosecution of the war should also have the privilege of carrying out policies for the purpose of disbursement. The question could only be solved if HMG began to realize that, however eminent or able the individual personnel of the Government might be, it was the confidence of the people which was the bedrock and foundation of government, during a period of war. Mr. Desai recalled that in 1939, soon after the war broke out, Government brought a supplementary budget asking for Rs. 2 crores for war purposes. It was intended merely for propaganda. As Britain was spending Rs. 14 crores every day, he had then pointed out that there was not much purpose in the Government of India coming before the House and saying "Give us Rs. 2 crores for the prosecution of the war." It was true that the situation at that time was different and the war was still far away from the E and W borders of the country. Today the country was in a different position. As he had pointed out yesterday,

while the Allies might be confident of winning the war, it was not merely military success that was going to solve the problem of the world. Indeed, those who had studied the situation thought, and the statesmen of different countries agreed with the view, that it was more the problem of the peace to follow. The duration and the quality of that peace was going to determine the future of the world.

#### INCOME-TAX AMEND. BILL

29th. MARCH :—The Assembly today took up the Income-tax Act (Amendment) Bill. The “pay-as-you-earn” scheme proposed in the Bill was the main object of criticism by speakers on the Finance Member’s motion for consideration of the Bill as reported upon by the Select Committee. Sir *Henry Richardson*, Leader of the European Group, supported the principle of advance payment of income-tax and super tax introduced in Sec. 18/A. He said he supported it as an anti-inflationary and purely temporary measure. His group, however, felt it would have been better to have embodied it in the Finance Bill so that it would come up for consideration year by year instead of being enshrined in a permanent measure such as the Income-tax Act itself. Mr. *Ramratan Gupta* pointed out that there were other methods than that proposed in sec. 18A to achieve the anti-inflationary effect. For instance, there were arrears of income-tax outstanding, mainly from big business men, which according to an estimate, amounted to Rs. 75 crores. The *Finance Member*, replying, warned British and Indian business men to remember that the Budget proposals were moderate only because of the provision for immobilisation of excess purchasing power. If no anti-inflationary action of this kind were to be taken at the present time, then the scale of new taxation would be entirely inadequate and income-tax and super-tax might have to be stepped up drastically. As regards duration, his own object was to deal with the present situation, and to that extent it might be said that the measure was temporary but not in the sense of being only for a single year. The House passed the motion for consideration and adjourned.

#### POLITICAL REFORMS IN BALUCHISTAN

30th. MARCH :—The Assembly today passed *Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan’s* resolution moved on March 1 recommending the appointment of a committee with a majority of elected members of the Central Legislature to recommend steps to be taken to introduce constitutional reforms in Baluchistan on lines similar to those in other Provinces of British India. The Congress, Nationalist and other parties supported the resolution and the Government did not challenge a division when it was put to the House.

Sir *Olaf Caroe*, Secretary, External Affairs Department, quoted from statements, made on behalf of the Muslim League declaring that the system of British parliamentary democracy or representative institutions of western democracy were totally unsuited to India and their imposition on India would be a disease. He asked the House to consider if the Pathans of Baluchistan had not got their own form of local autonomy, which echoed the ideas which Mr. Jinnah had in mind when he condemned the introduction of western constitutional system.

The NW Frontier, which included Baluchistan, would always be a matter of tremendous import of India and one which required treatment with the utmost gravity and understanding and not as an arena for political manoeuvrings of any kind. Only in so far as parties in this country could stand together to deal with questions of defence and security that the picture which they saw of greater India would be set in a firm frame and that was a point on which he begged the House to meditate upon closely and carefully. He felt that there was a better chance of carving and setting that frame if the tribes came into India’s orbit on the basis of local autonomy and not of being forced into the British-Indian mould.

#### REPAIR OF DELHI MOSQUES

Sir *Mohammed Yamin Khan* moved a resolution recommending certain steps to be taken by Government for the repair and maintenance of mosques in New Delhi. He said that everybody, to whatever faith he belonged, had the right of worship in his temple, church or mosque. The Government should take the responsibility for safeguarding this right. He was glad to note that one of the houses of the executive Councillors, which has a mosque in its compound was always allotted to a Muslim Councillor so that any Muslim could come and say his prayers there. He wanted the same principle to be extended to all other houses which had mosques in their compounds. This could be done by allotting such houses to Muslim officers. The debate had not concluded when the House adjourned.

## NON-OFFICIAL BILLS

31st. MARCH :—The Assembly discussing non-official bills to-day and rejected without division Mr. *M. A. Kazmi's* bill for the abolition of whipping.

Sir *Zia-ud-Din* Ahmed moved reference to a select committee of his bill to amend the Aligarh Muslim University Act so as to provide that the Central Government might on the recommendation of a provincial Government or the Government of an Indian State allow students of a school in that province or State to appear in the High School examination of the Aligarh University. Mr. *J. D. Tyson*, Education Secretary, moving circulation of the bill till July 31, 1944, referred to a number of points which would arise out of a bill of this kind on which the opinion of the provinces should be taken. Sir *Zia-ud-Din*, accepting the motion for circulation, declared that the University was not anxious to have authority for inspection. The House passed the motion for circulation.

The Assembly next passed Mr. *Abdul Ghani's* bill to amend the Delhi Muslim Wakfs Act. A number of bills were introduced by Mr. *Kazmi*, Mr. *Nairang* and Mr. *Krishnamachari*.

## INCOME-TAX AMEND. BILL

3rd. APRIL :—The Assembly today concluded the debate on the Income-tax Amendment Bill and passed it. During the final reading, the Finance Member said that the House was right in supporting Government in resisting amendments which were calculated to relax the rigour of the provisions necessary to deal with those 'who did not play the game in the matter of paying taxes.' Sir *Henry Richardson* thanked the Finance Member for giving the assurance that administrative instructions would be issued to give due consideration to cases of genuine hardship, and the other assurance that the "pay as-you-earn" scheme was temporary and would be retained only so long as it was necessary in the country's interests. The Finance Member's severe criticism of the European Group's attitude towards the advance payment system was unfair to a Group which had consistently supported Government's war taxation measures. The Bill was passed.

## CODIFICATION OF HINDU MARRIAGE LAW

The House passed without division the Law Member's motion that the Bill to codify the Hindu Law relating to marriage be referred to a joint committee of both Houses. Mr. *Bajoria's* amendment, moved at an earlier sitting that the Bill be circulated to elicit public opinion, was lost without division. In today's debate, Mr. *Ananga Mohan Das* supported the motion but opposed certain provisions of the Bill, particularly those relating to the introduction of monogamy and permitting "Sagotra" marriage. Monogamy, he said, was an unsocial institution, and Hindu society would commit race suicide if it adopted it as part of its law. *Bhai Parmanand*, opposing the Bill, declared that all reforms must be preceded by agitation by the people in general. In the present case, whatever agitation there had been, it was confined to one particular section. Mr. *Ramratna Gupta*, expressed sympathy with the object of the Bill but thought that this was hardly the time for bringing such far-reaching and controversial measures before the House. Many Hindu members were not present, and he doubted if the House was competent to discuss these vital social reforms. If the Bill went into select committee, he hoped it would be composed solely of Hindus and that Government would allow their members to vote as they liked. The Law Member, Sir *Asoka Roy*, replying, expressed gratification at the support which speakers generally had given to his motion. He had anticipated opposition from Mr. *Bajoria*, stalwart champion of Hindu orthodoxy as he was, but the only difference in regard to the motion was that while Mr. *Bajoria* wanted circulation before commitment to the select committee, Government intended to move circulation after the Bill had emerged from the committee. As regards the remarks made by other speakers, so far as they dealt with details, the joint committee would consider them and make improvement where necessary. Every effort would be made to see that no injustice was done to the Hindu community. Government did not intend to take precipitate action. He appealed to the House for assistance in codifying the Hindu Law. Mr. *Bajoria's* amendment was rejected without a division and the Law Member's motion passed.

## APPROVING U. N. R. R. A. AGREEMENT

4th. APRIL :—The Assembly spent about four hours today discussing the Commerce Member's motion to approve the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration Agreement. Eleven speakers from the Muslim League, Nationalist and Independent parties expressed general approval of the Agreement with certain

reservations some of which were summarised in two amendments moved by the Muslim League and Nationalist members. Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari (Nationalist) sought to add a proviso that the name or names of representative or representatives who will serve on any body connected with the U.N.R.R.A. be submitted to the Legislature and their approval in the usual manner obtained, the voting being confined to non-official members of the two Houses. Mr. *Ghulam Bhtk Nairang* (Muslim League) in expressing approval recommended that any area important to military operations of the United Nations, which is stricken by famine or disease, should be included in the benefits to be made available by U.N.R.R.A.

Urging approval of the U.N.R.R.A. Agreement, signed at Washington on November 9, 1943, Sir *Aziz-ul-Haque*, Industries and Civil Supplies Member, explained in the Assembly to-day the conditions of the Agreement and the extent of the obligations it entailed. The decision to participate in the Agreement, he made it clear, rested entirely with the Legislative bodies of the different countries. If the Assembly did not approve his motion, India would withdraw from the organisation. Sir *Azizul Huque* referred to the recommendation of the U.S. Congress to revise the terms of its Agreement to bring the distress in India within the scope of relief by the U.N.R.R.A. This recommendation would now go to the U.N.R.R.A. for final decision.

Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, moving his amendment, said the House had been placed in a dilemma by being asked to consider a decision which had already been made. He asked the Commerce Member what would ultimately be the appropriate authority to vote funds on behalf of India. He asked for an assurance that in the matter of representation and further commitments, Government would consult the legislature in the only manner in which it could be ascertained. India's status in these international bodies was unreal; but he did not wish to say that India should be unsympathetic to the sufferings of people outside her own borders.

Sir *Frederick James* supported the resolution because he believed it was good business, good international policy and, particularly in the Far East, a token of India's desire to be good neighbour to those countries with which she had had, and would continue to have, intimate relations. He reminded the House that India had a special interest in liberating Far Eastern countries, not only because of humanitarian considerations, but because there were large numbers of Indian settlers there.

Mr. *Neogy* expressed the hope that the scope of the U.N.R.R.A. in regard to its working would not be so extended as to affect our future international relationships with other parts of the world in regard to commerce.

Dr. Sir *Zia-ud-Din Ahmed* said Government should not enter into any commitments, financial or otherwise, on behalf of India without the vote of the House.

Mr. *Azhar Ali* did not want that the country should enter into an agreement today, only to find she was unable to meet her commitments later on.

Mr. G. V. *Deshmukh* thought that India would be well advised to participate in this laudable plan. The sacrifices which India was making at present would not go in vain and he hoped she would be able to advocate her cause—even as China had done in the political sphere.

5th. APRIL :—The Assembly concluded discussion to-day and passed the following motion :—

"This Assembly approves of the U.N.R.R.A. Agreement signed at Washington on November 9, 1943. In expressing its approval, this Assembly recommends that any area important to military operations of the United Nations which is stricken by famine or disease should be included in benefits to be made available by United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration."

In the course of his reply to the debate on the motion, the *Commerce Member* gave his own personal guess of India's contribution to the U.N.R.R.A. as about 8 or 10 crores of rupees but added that it was for the legislature to fix it.

*Prof. Banerjee*, leader of the Nationalist Party, welcomed India's participation in the U.N.R.R.A. but regretted that the Government of India had not consulted the legislature on this important question before signing the Agreement. He urged Government to accept Mr. Krishnamachari's amendment. He suggested that India should be represented not merely in the Council of the U.N.R.R.A. but on all committees with which she was directly or indirectly concerned. Her contribution must be fixed, he suggested, on the basis of one per cent of the Central Government's net revenue in the pre-war normal years. On the question of supplying materials he thought no foodgrains should be exported in view of the shortage in

the country. Mr. Banerjee urged that appropriate arrangements should be made for relief and rehabilitation of the people in Bengal.

*Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan*, Deputy Leader of the Muslim League Party, stated that Bengal had suffered much more than any country under enemy occupation. He did not see any reason why such areas should be deprived of relief which was to be given in the name of humanity. As regards India's contribution, he was glad to know that the Government of India had not accepted the principle of one per cent of the national income. He urged the Commerce Member to give an assurance that no money would be provided from Indian revenues without the Assembly's sanction.

Winding up the debate, the Commerce Member, Sir *Azizul Haque* answered the criticism that Government had not taken the House into confidence before signing the agreement. He pointed out that there was no time to do this after the revised draft was received by Government, but he emphasised that the signing of the agreement was subject to ratification by the legislature. Had India not signed the agreement, he stated, she would have been singled out from among the 44 nations and it would be said that she had not accepted the principle of international relief. On the question of contribution, the Commerce Member said India had from the very beginning taken up the attitude that her contribution must be on the basis of her capacity to pay, having regard to the economic distress prevailing in many parts of the country. It was mainly with reference to India, he pointed out, that the criterion of one per cent of a country's national income had been amended. The Commerce Member giving his own personal guess said he estimated India's contribution on the basis of her capacity at Rs. 8 to Rs. 10 crores. It was, however, purely his own personal estimate and the House would have the fullest opportunity to decide as to what should be India's contribution. As to whether she should pay in foreign credits or supplies, he would consult the trade and commercial interest on the subject. Government had, he added, taken up the question of the interests of Indians in occupied territories and were collecting data which would be necessary for purposes of relief. The Commerce Member regretted he could not accept Mr. Krishnamachari's amendment as it was impracticable but he would be prepared to consider the suggestion that India should have a non-official representative when questions of high policy were discussed. Mr. Nairang's amendment was in the nature of a recommendation to the U. N. R. R. A. and if the House decided to vote for it, he would not object.

The House rejected Mr. Krishnamachari's amendment and passed Mr. Ghulam Bhik Nairang's amendment. The resolution as amended was then passed.

#### CODIFICATION OF HINDU LAW OF MARRIAGE

Earlier, the House elected the following members to serve on the Joint Committee to consider and report on the Bill to codify the Hindu Law relating to marriage :—

Messrs. Lalchand Navalrai, Govind Deshmukh, Baijnath Bajoria, Lakshmikanta Maitra, Nilkanta Das, Anangamohan Dam, Ghulam Bhik Nairang, Mrs. Renuka Ray and Sir Ashok Roy, Law Member.

After passing the motion on U. N. R. R. A., the Assembly adjourned for lunch and met again at 4 p.m. when the President announced that the Governor-General had disallowed Mr. Nauman's adjournment motion regarding alleged misbehaviour of troops near Jamshepur on the ground that it could not be discussed without detriment to public interest. (cries of shame.)

The motion had been permitted to stand over till to-day and the Chair had fixed 4 p.m. for debate on it. The Assembly at this stage adjourned '*sine die*.'

# The Bengal Legislative Assembly

Opening Day—Calcutta—the 1st. February 1944

## MINISTRY'S FOOD POLICY

A feeling reference to the death of Sir John Herbert, lately Governor of Bengal was made by the Speaker, Mr. *Syed Nausher Ali*, when the Bengal Legislative Assembly met for its budget session in Calcutta on the 1st. February 1944. He said that Sir John Herbert's death in India under very exceptional circumstances would be a memorable event.

Dr. *Nalinaksha Sanyal*, Chief Whip of the Official Congress Party, moved an adjournment motion to discuss "the distress and panic prevailing in many parts of Bengal due to continued rise in prices of rice and paddy from the beginning of December last following the announcement of the Bengal Government's 'aman' purchase scheme based upon the appointment of a limited number of big Calcutta merchants as their chief agents for procurement." Objecting to the motion Mr. *H. S. Suhrawardy*, Minister for Civil Supplies, said that the whole basis of the motion was wrong as there was neither any panic nor any rise in the prices throughout Bengal. "As a matter of fact," he continued, "any body who is in touch with the market will know that there is a fall in the price in many parts of Bengal ('Question, question' from the Opposition benches). There is also no question of any panic except that attempts are being made by certain persons to engineer such panic. There is, however, a large section of people who cannot afford to buy at these prices, but that is entirely a different matter."

Half a dozen speakers from the Opposition benches and only one from Government side, spoke on the motion. The Opposition speakers maintained that prices of rice and paddy were low at the beginning of the season, but as soon as Government's 'aman' procurement scheme was announced and sub-agents of Government agents began to operate in the market, prices began suddenly to rise. Dr. *S. P. Mookerjee* said that it was a matter of deep regret and anxiety that in spite of the assistance which had been offered by the Government of India and the bumper winter crop with which nature had blessed this province, there were no clear indications that the province had really turned the corner. One of the factors for the rise in prices of foodgrains, he remarked, was 'bankruptcy of Government policy and inefficiency of its administration.' Replying to the debate, Mr. *H. S. Suhrawardy* said that the situation was indeed very difficult and required the co-operation of all parties and of all persons of good-will. Instead, he found that a deliberate attempt was being made by certain persons and parties to create panic in the minds of the people. He declared that in many places the prices of rice and paddy had fallen and in many other places these were falling, due to Government measures. He was prepared to admit that there were places in which prices had risen and were rising. He explained that until there were arrangements for better distribution and more transport facilities were available to them, it was quite clear that it would take some time before food-grains could be moved from the surplus to the deficit areas. Mr. *Suhrawardy* defended the appointment of Government agents instead of utilising the services of local traders. He hoped that if Government was allowed to go on with its policy without any interference from any political party, the prices must fall. He did not wish to see them fall to an unseemly level. They had to see that the prices fell to a level which was not unfair to the producer or the consumer.

The adjournment motion was talked out and the House adjourned.

## SALES TAX AMEND. BILL

2nd. FEBRUARY :—Doubling of the present rate of sales tax of 3 pies in the rupee and exemption of 'poor men's cloth,' such as dhoties, lungis and sarees, whether handloom woven or mill-made upto a certain price limit, to be fixed by the Provincial Government, were proposed in the Bengal Finance (Sales Tax) Amendment Bill introduced to-day. Moving consideration of the Bill, Mr. *T. C. Goswami*, Finance Minister, recalled that the current year's budget estimates showed a deficit of Rs. 7,37,00,000. The deficit, however, was likely to be considerably larger. Hence the need for raising additional revenue. The proposed increased taxation, he was satisfied, would not impose any hardship on the people. The Opposition tabled several motions urging circulation of the Bill for eliciting public opinion. Their point of view was that the measure was "ill-timed" and would prove

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\* For list of Members See 1943 Vol. I.

a "crushing burden" on the people of the province in its present economic condition. The discussions had not concluded when the House adjourned till the next day, the 3rd. February, when by 90 to 63 votes, an Opposition motion, urging the circulation of the Bill was lost. Speaking on the motion, Dr. S. P. Mookerjee referred to the catastrophic famine condition "through which the province had passed and said that Government would be earning the curse of the people if they imposed any further burden on them at the present time. He pleaded for approaching the Central Government for financial assistance. Replying to the debate, the Finance Minister, Mr. T. C. Goswami, said that the Bengal Government had already approached the Central Government for financial assistance. The whole matter was at present in a state of negotiation, and he was, therefore, not in a position to state what measure of assistance they were likely to receive from the Centre. He however assured the House that the Central Government were convinced upto a point of the justifiability of the Bengal Government's claim for financial assistance. The Bill as brought forward was passed by the House on the 7th. February by 97 to 54 votes.

#### SLAUGHTER OF CATTLE FOR ARMY

4th. FEBRUARY :—The question of slaughter of cattle to meet the requirements of the army was raised in a non-official resolution to-day. After discussion, the following agreed resolution, as moved by a member of the Opposition and as amended by a member of the Government Party, was passed unanimously :

"This Assembly is of the opinion that in view of the importance of cattle for all agricultural purposes and of milch cows for health, and in view of rapid decimation of cattle due to indiscriminate slaughter for abnormal food supply for military purposes, a representation be made by the Government of Bengal to the Government of India to stop the purchase of cattle in Bengal for the military."

Mr. D. N. Sen (Opposition), who moved the resolution, recalled that the Government of India had issued orders that no milch or pregnant cows and bullocks under 10 years of age should be slaughtered and instructions had also been issued to pass no animal which came under the protected category when presented at the military slaughter house. But these checks, according to the speaker, were not successful in their objects, and the situation had not improved. Mr. Sen suggested that to meet the requirements of the defence services meat should be imported from other Allied countries and proper checks should be instituted to regulate the slaughter of cattle. Mr. W. E. Skipwith (European Group) said that in case it was found that there was a shortage of supply, meat should be rationed and the Civil Supplies Minister must also examine the possibility of obtaining supplies of frozen meat from overseas. Intervening in the debate, the Chief Minister, Sir Nazimuddin told the House that even before the Government received notice of this resolution they had taken up the question with the local military authorities and he had received a letter from Major-General Stuart who had forwarded a brief note on the army system of obtaining local fresh supplies without encroaching on civil supplies. In forwarding the note, Major-General Stuart said : "We are doing our very utmost to take the minimum amount of our requirements from within the province. We appreciate, however, that one cannot be at war and have so many troops in a province without affecting the normal every day life of the civilians. I think the situation regarding meat, eggs and milk is a universal one all over India. But you can see from the note that we are endeavouring to be self-contained and dependent on our own resources to the greatest possible extent." The Assembly at this stage adjourned.

#### AGRICULTURAL INCOME-TAX BILL

10th. FEBRUARY :—The Bengal Agricultural Income Tax Bill, reported by the select committee, was placed for consideration to-day by Mr. T. C. Goswami, Finance Minister. For the first time agricultural income was sought to be taxed in Bengal by this measure, the taxable minimum being an annual income of Rs. 3,500. Mr. S. N. Biswas (Bose Group in opposition) moved an amendment urging the recommitment of the Bill to the Select Committee with the direction that the proceeds of this taxation should be ear-marked for the benefit of the agriculturists and that the measure should be a temporary one. The discussion was adjourned till the 14th. February when by 92 to 54 votes, the Assembly rejected an amendment moved on behalf of the Bose Party in opposition urging for the recommitment of the Bill to the same Select Committee. The Government's motion for taking the Bill into consideration clause by clause was then passed without a division. During the discussion on the Bill clause by clause, the Finance Minister, Mr. T. C. Goswami, indicated that the Government's intention was to bring the

provisions of the Bill into operation from the beginning of the next financial year. On the next day, the 15th. February, during the second reading of the Bill the European Group voted with the Opposition on an amendment moved by the latter. The amendment, which was lost by 74 to 68 votes, sought to bring the Bill into line with the Indian Income-Tax Act by excluding agricultural income of a casual and non-recurring nature from the scope of the Bill. In another division on an Opposition amendment to the Bill, when the European group remained neutral, the Government won by a majority of 13 votes while in two other divisions, Government majority was 50, European group voting with them.

#### FOOD PRICES IN BENGAL

11th. FEBRUARY :—The fixation of minimum prices of rice, paddy and jute in parity with the prices of other commodities was urged in a non-official resolution moved by a member of the Sarat Bose group. The resolution, which was lost without a division, demanded that immediate steps should be taken by the Bengal Government in this respect and the Central Government should be moved in the matter if necessary. Replying to the debate, Mr. *H. S. Suhrawardy*, Minister for Civil Supplies, said that prices had fallen and were falling in certain areas. The position of Government was that they would keep a sharp look-out regarding prices. Government considered that prices at the present moment in Bengal as a whole, were above the level at which the Minister would like to see it fall. He hoped that by their procurement policy they would be able to lower prices still further. After Government had been able to move foodstuffs from the surplus to the deficit areas, they would consider the question of starting cheap grain shops where a large number of people were unable to buy even at a reduced rate. He stated that Government were still pursuing their relief measures and had kept gruel kitchens open in certain areas. He appealed to the members of the House to use their influence to induce the people to take bajra. So far as the question of fixation of minimum prices of rice and paddy was concerned, he said that the Bengal Government would have to take the consent of the Government of India before taking any such step. The Minister accepted the principle of the resolution, but he thought it was not a practical proposition now having regard to the present condition. The resolution was put to vote and was lost without a division.

#### RATIONING IN CALCUTTA

14th. FEBRUARY :—The *Speaker* ruled out an adjournment motion tabled by Dr. *S. P. Mookerjee* to-day to discuss "the situation arising out of the defects in the working of the rationing scheme for Calcutta which has become manifest after its operation for a fortnight, which, if not forthwith removed, will seriously endanger the health of the people." Stressing that the matter was of great importance, Dr. Mookerjee pointed out that the manner in which the scheme had been sought to be worked out had created a situation which threatened the life and health of the people of the city. He remarked that in view of the nature of the allegations which had been made in the statement appended to the motion and the physical demonstration of which he proposed to place before the House, he hoped that the motion would be allowed. Presenting before the House some packages of foodstuffs, Dr. Mookerjee remarked : "There are lots of insects in them." Objecting to leave being granted for the motion, Mr. *Fazlur Rahman*, Chief Whip of the Government Party, said that the matter was neither urgent nor of recent occurrence. He maintained that the nature of defects as alleged by Dr. Mookerjee had not been indicated, nor had it been shown how it affected the life and health of the people. It was based only on a presumption.

The *Chair* then ruled the motion out of order without assigning any reason.

#### GOVT. CALLOUSNESS TO STORM VICTIMS

An Opposition motion, which sought to discuss the "callousness and indifference shown by the authorities in not attending to the victims of a storm, which was the cause of sinking of the steamship 'Rudra' operating on the Hulaphat-Bagerhat line and many country boats in the river Kacha in the district of Barisal, in suppressing the news for 11 days so that relatives and the sympathetic public could not do their little bit in this matter, and in ordering the holding of only an official enquiry at a place far removed from the place of occurrence" was also ruled out of order.

#### MR. SARAT BOSE'S RELEASE

16th. FEBRUARY :—The Government of Bengal had officially no *locus standi* in the matter of release, or transfer to Bengal, of Mr. *Sarat Chandra Bose*, said the Chief Minister, Sir *Nazimuddin*, replying to a question in the Assembly to-day. Asked if the Chief Minister was aware that the allowance given to Mr. Bose's



family was inadequate and that it did not cover even his insurance premium, Sir Nazimuddin said: "I have got some official knowledge on the subject, But the matter is now under correspondence with the Government of India and I am not prepared to disclose that."

Asked whether the Government of Bengal or the Ministers had approached the Government of India for Mr. Bose's release, the Chief Minister said that officially the Government of Bengal had got no *locus standi* nor the Ministers as such. But in their individual capacity, they might have taken certain steps regarding the matter. Sir Nazimuddin denied knowledge of the materials on which the Government of India had taken action in the case of Mr. Bose.

After question-time, when the Agricultural Income-tax Bill came up for consideration, the Minister-in-charge of the Bill, Mr. T. C. Goswami, sought postponement of consideration of the Bill on the next day, as Government wanted time to apply their mind to the large number of amendments, which had been tabled by members in connection with the Bill. The House then adjourned.

#### BURNING OF HOUSES AT MIDNAPUR

18th. FEBRUARY:—One hundred and ninety-five Congress camps and houses and 81 houses, etc., belonging to Government, public bodies and private individuals were burnt by Government forces and Congress respectively during the last five months of 1942, in the sub-divisions of Tamluk and Contai (Midnapore district), according to a statement made by the Chief Minister, Sir Nazimuddin during question-time in the Assembly to-day.

Of these cases of incendiarism, all but 29 occurred, he stated, before the cyclone which passed over the district about the end of 1942.

The Chief Minister added that, in addition to these, villagers burnt three Congress camps and houses in the district.

Asked what was the authority of the Chief Minister for saying that houses were burnt by the Congress, Sir Nazimuddin said that it was the report of the local officers.

Replying to a supplementary question, whether "in view of the widespread incendiarism committed by Government's forces, Government was prepared to enquire into the matter," the Chief Minister said that he felt that it was the duty of the Government then in power to have dealt with this question. A Government that came into office after an interval of 18 months could not go and look into this question.

Asked what were the objects in burning houses of Congressmen and Congress offices by Government forces, the Chief Minister said that, as far as he could find out, it appeared that action in each case was taken in restoring law and order.

Asked whether the 'repression scheme' was still continuing in Midnapore district, Sir Nazimuddin said that his report from Tamluk area was rather bad. There had been cases of kidnapping and realisation of "fines" from those supporting Government forces. Recently in a case, a "fine" of Rs. 500 was realised from one person by some unknown persons.

The Chief Minister added that he had also received a representation that certain oppressions were committed by the police. He had called for report, and proposed to take action if it was found that there was any truth in it. "On the other hand, I would like to take this opportunity to bring to the notice of members of the House, that parts of Tamluk area are still very bad and there is every reason to believe that persons who are being kidnapped and murdered there, belong both to the Hindu and Muslim communities, and are those who have supported the forces of Government," he said.

Answering the question whether the present Government were considering the desirability of rehabilitating the destitute persons who had been thrown out of their homes and belongings as a result of incendiarism and arson committed by Government forces, Sir Nazimuddin said that they had got no other policy of rehabilitation apart from the policy adopted by the Revenue Department as relief measures.

#### FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR 1944-45

The Bengal Budget estimates for 1944-45, introduced next, showed a deficit of Rs. 846 lakhs. The revenue is estimated at Rs. 2,197 lakhs and the expenditure at Rs. 3,043 lakhs. The corresponding figures for 1943-44 are revenue Rs. 2,154 lakhs, expenditure Rs. 3,254 lakhs and deficit Rs. 1,120 lakhs.

The year 1944-45 will close with a negative balance of Rs. 1,065 lakhs. Explaining why the closing balance was shown "unashamedly as a minus one" and he had adopted the unprecedented course of presenting a budget in which no steps

had been taken to make good the expected depletion of their balance, the Finance Minister, Mr. T. C. Goswami, said that in November last the Government of Bengal addressed the Government of India and asked for a subvention. So far no reply had been received from the Government of India, but he was hopeful that assistance would be forthcoming. "In seeking financial assistance from the Centre in our present difficulties, I do not consider it is charity for which we are asking," said the Finance Minister. "The financial settlement that governs the allocation of revenue between the Centre and the Provinces was designed for normal times and in the circumstances of to-day it would be as inequitable as it would be impracticable to suggest that Bengal must work out its own salvation within the limits of the Niemeyer Award."

The Finance Minister added that he had come to believe in the motto 'Heaven helps those who help themselves' and in the two years 1943-44 and 1944-45 he hoped to raise ten crores more revenue than was raised in the two preceding years, apart altogether from larger receipts under income-tax. He hoped, therefore, that it would be agreed that "we have bestirred ourselves to good purpose." At the same time he did not wish to convey the impression that "we have exhausted our own resources or that I shall not be called upon to make further demands on the taxpayer before the end of the year."

#### COST OF FAMINE RELIEF OPERATIONS

No event in recent years had so stirred the public conscience as the Bengal famine, and it was no hyperbole to say that the history of the province during the two years 1943-44 and 1944-45 was the tale of that famine and the measures taken to combat it, to deal with its aftermath and to prevent a recurrence. The revised estimate of the cost of famine relief operations in the current financial year was Rs. 565 lakhs. The Finance Minister said that the people would ever remember the deep sympathy and understanding that prompted the Viceroy, Lord Wavell's visit. His decision to put the Army on the job was an outstanding decision, realistic and statesmanlike. The assistance given by the Army brought about an immediate improvement in the famine situation and when epidemics, the inevitable aftermath of famine, made their appearance, the Army again came to the rescue.

Famine relief expenditure in 1944-45 was estimated at Rs. 261 lakhs. "We are hoping that with sustained improvement in the economic situation it will be possible to effect considerable reduction in expenditure on test works and gratuitous relief," said the Finance Minister. "The budget accordingly provides for half a crore under test works and a crore under gratuitous relief. Special medical operations will however have to be continued for a good part of the coming year, and the estimate on this account has been put at Rs. 62 lakhs."

The cost of the Civil Supplies Department was one crore of rupees in 1943-44 and Rs. 148 lakhs in 1944-45. These figures did not include the loss on the Department's trading which had been placed at Rs. 3½ crores and Rs. 5 crores respectively.

No separate provision had been included in the estimate for rehabilitation of the people ruined as a result of the famine but it was certain that large sums would be required for the purpose. This was the great problem before them, the after-famine problem, said the Finance Minister. Short-term schemes had actively been taken in hand and would be dovetailed into long-term projects, involving legislation and large financial outlays which aimed at the permanent amelioration of the condition of the people.

The Finance Minister said that the total capital outlay involved in the current year in the large-scale trading transactions by the Government to promote healthier marketing conditions in respect of certain commodities, principally foodgrains, was Rs. 76 crores, of which Rs. 41 crores was derived from the sale proceeds and represented turnover of stocks. The loss involved in these transactions had been placed at Rs. 3½ crores. For 1944-45 a total outlay of Rs. 81 crores and a loss of Rs. 5 crores were estimated.

#### ARRANGEMENTS TO RAISE FUNDS

Indicating the means by which the funds for outgoings so greatly in excess of revenue receipts had been obtained, the Finance Minister said that in the early months of the current year they relied mainly on the Central Government for the necessary accommodation and between June and October last they received loans and advances totalling Rs. 12 crores. Later, the Government of India indicated that they desired the Provincial Government to make their own arrangements to

raise funds in the open market or through normal trade channels. Arrangements were, therefore, made with the Imperial Bank of India for the opening of cash credit accounts for the financing of various trading operations. For the cash procurement scheme, a cash credit account with a limit of Rs. 8 crores repayable not later than December 31, 1943, was arranged. The total amount drawn against this account was Rs. 221 lakhs and the account was repaid in full on December 31, 1943. For the "aman" procurement scheme and other cognate schemes they had arranged a cash credit account with a limit of Rs. 25 crores, repayable not later than December 31, 1944.

A special provision of Rs. 50 lakhs had been made for the Grow More Food campaign in 1944-45, said the Finance Minister. The provision in the current year was Rs. 135 lakhs. The reason why the allotment in the coming year was so much smaller was that the sinews for several of next year's schemes would be purchased during the current year.

The revised estimate for the current year under "Public Health" was placed at Rs. 82 lakhs against Rs. 36 lakhs in 1942-43. The "Equipments" for the next year were placed at Rs. 61 lakhs. In the two years the increase in public health expenditure over the normal of Rs. 36 lakhs amounted to Rs. 75 lakhs.

Nearly eleven crores of rupees have been spent in one form or other by the Bengal Government on the relief of distress connected with the famine in Bengal. This includes Rs. 350 lakhs on gratuitous relief, Rs. 125 lakhs on test relief, Rs. 53 lakhs on emergency medical relief, Rs. 46 lakhs being excess expenditure under Public Health, Rs. 350 lakhs being loss sustained due to sale of foodstuffs to the public below cost, or the deliberate depreciation of the value of Government stocks, Rs. 54.8 lakhs on larger expenditure for the Grow More Food schemes; and Rs. 82.81 lakhs on dearness allowance to low-paid employees.

#### BENGAL'S SHARE OF INCOME-TAX.

Mr. T. C. Goswami, Finance Minister, in presenting the budget estimates, added the following to his printed budget statement:

"Since this statement was according to custom sent to the Press, I have received intimation from the Government of India that our share of the income-tax pool, both this year and next year, is likely to be a crore and ten lakhs more than was expected when the budget was framed. This extra receipt will reduce our revenue deficit to 10 crores, 18 lakhs this year and 7 crores, 36 lakhs in 1944-45". The Assembly at this stage adjourned.

#### DEATH OF MRS. GANDHI CONDOLED

24th. FEBRUARY :—"She represented the best and noblest in Indian womanhood—quiet and unassuming and yet resolute and devoted to her duty", observed the Deputy Speaker, Mr. *Syed Jalaluddin Hashemy*, making a reference to the death of Mrs. Gandhi in the House this afternoon. Mr. Hashemy who presided in the absence of the Speaker, added : "She avoided the limelight, but never shirked responsibility and devoted her life whole-heartedly to the service of her country. In spite of many-sided activities, she was a good house-wife. Many feel that due to her personal attention, her illustrious husband was able to achieve success in his fields of activity. By her death, India has sustained an irreparable loss." The Assembly decided to send a message of condolence to Mahatma Gandhi, and adjourned for half an hour as a mark of respect to the memory of the deceased.

#### GENERAL DISCUSSION OF BUDGET

25th. to 28th. FEBRUARY :—The need for the formation of an all-parties Government in Bengal was stressed by some speakers during the general discussion of the Budget on the 28th. evening. Mr. *Giasuddin Ahmed* (Krishak Proja) expressed the view that only an all parties' Government could hope to solve, to a certain extent, the problems with which Bengal was faced to-day. The present Governor had started discussion with the opposition party leaders. His past records showed that Mr. Casey was a realist and perhaps he had realised, the speaker added, that the problems with which the province was faced to-day could only be successfully tackled by the united efforts of all parties. Mr. *C. Griffiths* (Anglo-Indian) urged the formation of an all parties Government with a non-communal leader at its head. His other suggestion was that Section 93 should be brought into operation and the Governor should administer the affairs of the province with the help of an Advisory Board which should include representatives of all parties. The House adjourned till the next day, the 26th. February, when Mr. *Ahmed Ali Mirdha*, (Ministerialist Party) said that there was a cry for a National Government. They

did not believe in the deserters from the Congress or from the Muslim League; the country did not want them; they were not a disciplined body. Let the official Congress come forward and let there be a settlement between Hindus and Muslims and if in their wisdom they thought that there should be a National Government, let there be such a Government. The present Governor of Bengal had already held discussions with certain persons. Mr. Ali would like to warn His Excellency that these people did not enjoy the confidence of the people of the province. The Assembly adjourned till Monday, the 28th. February, when the general discussion on the budget concluded. Leaders of different parties in the House participated in to-day's debate which continued for nearly six hours. The proceedings were lively and full of incidents. Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, leader of the Opposition, rising to wind up the discussion on behalf of the Opposition, sought the permission of the Chair to allow one of the members of his party to read out his speech in view of the present state of his health.

Pointing out that there was no precedent for allowing such a procedure, the Deputy Speaker, Mr. Sayed Jalaluddin Hashemy, who was in the chair, however, allowed Mr. Huq to read out his speech, without rising in his chair. After Mr. Huq had read out a portion of his speech, one of the Opposition members stated that Mr. Huq's strength was failing and some member should be allowed to read out his speech. From the Government side the Chief Whip, Mr. Fazlul Rahman took objection to such a procedure being adopted as he thought it would create a bad precedent.

The Chair, after pointing out that the rules did not debar or allow such a procedure, in exercise of the prerogative vested in him allowed one of the Opposition members to read out Mr. Huq's speech.

Mr. Huq, however, said at this stage that although he was old and in weak health, he did not ask for any privilege and he would himself read out his speech. After Mr. Huq had concluded his long speech and before the Finance Minister rose to wind up the discussion on behalf of the Government, Dr. Naitnakshya Sanyal (Official Congress) said that he had been directed to say on behalf of the Opposition parties that in view of the discourtesy shown to the Leader of the Opposition they would take no further part in the day's proceedings.

As the Opposition parties were withdrawing from the Chamber, the Chair remarked that courtesy demanded that they remained in the House. The Opposition parties then retired from the House and the Finance Minister in a short speech wound up the discussion on behalf of the Government before empty Opposition benches.

In his speech, Mr. Huq said that the bankruptcy of the Bengal Government as disclosed in the present budget was appalling and staggering. Referring to the present Ministry he said that here the Ministers were not responsible to the legislature at all, but were responsible to Mr. Jinnah as the head of the Muslim League. In other words the Ministers were working the machine of provincial autonomy not in accordance with the wishes of the people or even the guidance of the Governor, but according to the dictates of a dictator utterly ignorant of the real feelings of the people. The Muslim League Ministers had refused to co-operate with the Muslims who were not in the League and hence the idea of a National Government could not be carried out. He thought that by their irresponsible policy and reckless extravagance the Ministry had brought about one of the most devastating famines unknown in history.

On behalf of the European group its leader, Mr. D. Hendry said that no Ministry in Bengal had to take office at a more critical time nor to face more difficult problems and heavier responsibilities than the present Ministry. He thought that the Ministers, individually and collectively, had not shirked their responsibilities. They had tackled their very difficult problems with energy and determination and had worked well together as a team. Their actions hitherto entitled them, in their opinion, to full support in the House.

#### BAN ON STATEMENT ON FOOD SITUATION

2nd. MARCH :—The banning by the Government of Bengal of the publication of a joint statement, issued by the leaders of the parties in Opposition, was the subject of an adjournment motion moved by Mr. K. S. Roy, Leader of the Bengal Congress (Official) Parliamentary Party in the Bengal Legislative Assembly, this evening. The motion was rejected by the House by 99 to 79 votes, members of the European group voting with the Government. The motion *inter alia* stated that the leaders' statement "criticised the observations of the Food Secretary of the

Government of India on the food situation in Bengal, as published recently in the local news-papers."

Asking for the leave of the House, Mr. Roy, in a short statement, said that it was reported in the newspapers in Calcutta on February 25 that the Food Secretary of the Government of India, Mr. R. H. Hutchings, made certain observations on the 22nd February at new Delhi on the food situation in Bengal in which among other things, he deprecated all attempts at "taking Bengal into a second famine" and condemned defeatism. The leaders of the different parties in Opposition in the Bengal Legislative Assembly thereupon, issued a joint statement to the press in Calcutta criticising the approach made by Mr. Hutchings in dealing with the present food situation and warning the Government against complacency in high quarters and the expression of pious wishes which had been at the root of the deterioration in the food situation in this province last year. On Friday, February 25, Mr. J. A. Burder, President of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, made certain observations in the course of his Presidential address at the annual meeting of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce that among other things "injudicious articles in the press" on the present food situation, amounted to "fifth column activity." Shortly after this, it was learnt yesterday that the Government of Bengal had banned the publication of the joint statement issued by the party leaders and hence this adjournment motion."

The *Chief Minister* suggested that public galleries and the Press should be cleared during the discussion of the motion, as otherwise the object of banning the statement would be defeated.

The *Chair*, however, did not agree with the suggestion. The Opposition speakers characterised Mr. Hutchings' statement as "being incorrect and irresponsible." They also characterised Government action in banning the publication of the statement as "smacking of the Nazi method."

Moving the motion, Mr. K. S. Roy said that the issue raised by this motion was whether one had the right to differ from this Ministry and whether one had the right to give expression to that view. Dr. S. P. Mookerjee, describing the action taken by the Government as a "gangster method," said that what the leaders had stated in their statement was, firstly, that Mr. Hutchings had come and given his opinion without getting into touch with non-official public opinion; secondly, there was a definite indication of a rise in prices of rice in different parts of the province, and thirdly, that a Ministry which was actuated by party considerations could not be expected to restore public confidence.

Replying to the debate, Sir Nazimuddin made it clear that the Government had passed no order but at the press conference some time ago Government gave an indication of their policy to the press and gave the general advice that nothing should be published regarding the food situation which was likely to undermine public confidence at the present time. As far as this particular matter was concerned the press asked for their advice and Government gave them the advice. No definite order was issued by the Government in this matter. "We have made it clear to the Press," the Premier observed, "that they have full liberty to criticise the Ministry as such and they have got full liberty to say what they like about the Ministry. The only condition made is with regard to the food policy of the Government. The whole field of administration is open to their criticism and attack and the press had attacked us very mercilessly and we have never taken action against it. But as regards the food question, it is absolutely on a different footing. Here, it is not the Ministry which is going to be injured by such an attack but it is the teeming millions of Bengal who would suffer from those attacks. It is a matter of surprise that of all persons, Dr. S. P. Mookerjee should be the one man to accuse us of gangster method. He forgets that my policy has always been to give him the widest latitude in attacking this Government throughout Bengal and outside. In spite of the advice that I should take action, I have always refrained from using the Defence of India Act towards a political opponent who is trying to attack me so far as my position as a Minister is concerned and have always endeavoured that this Ministry shall not abuse the Defence of India Rules as was done by the last Ministry." Sir Nazimuddin asked the members of the House to realise the effect which the statement issued by the leaders from time to time regarding the food situation had on the cultivators and agriculturists. In this connection, he referred to the message broadcast by the *News Chronicle* correspondent, which he said had a disastrous effect on agriculturists and cultivators who felt encouraged not to bring their stocks to the market as a result of that statement. The motion was rejected by 99 votes to 79.

## ORPHANAGES &amp; WIDOW'S HOMES BILL

3rd. MARCH :—The Assembly passed to-day *Begam Farhut Bano Khanam's* Bengal (Supervision) of Orphanages and Widows' Home Bill. The Bill aimed to provide for controlling the working of Orphanages, Widows' Homes and similar other institutions in Bengal. All such institutions, the Bill laid down, would have to take licence from Government for functioning. Explaining the reason for bringing forward this measure, the Begum Saheba said that there were a good number of institutions which carried on clandestine traffic in women and girls. They managed to evade detection as their nefarious activities were conducted under cover of institutions so camouflaged as to give an appearance of social or philanthropic organisations. The need for this legislation had become all the more necessary and urgent now in view of post-famine conditions prevailing in the province. For some time past, she went on to say, there had been public agitation regarding traffic in destitute women and girls as a result of famine. An expert survey which was conducted recently had disclosed that as a result of distress and destitution there had been more deaths among adult males than adult females. This meant that a very large number of women had lost their husbands, parents and guardians. It was therefore natural to apprehend that these women would fall easy prey to social vices and might therefore fall into the hands of designing persons who might trade in these homeless women. The House then disposed of a large number of non-officials bills and adjourned.

17th. MARCH :—Members came to blows in the Assembly to-night on the occasion of voting of the budget demand under 'General Administration'. The incident occurred before the *Chair* rose to put the cut motions to vote. Certain Government party members objected to two Opposition members sitting by the side of another member in the Ministerialist Party back benches. Thereupon the *Chair* requested the members to return to their respective blocs. In the meantime, three or four Government party members had rushed to that part of the House, where these two Opposition members were sitting and a melee ensued. Jostling, pushing and confusion prevailed in that part of the House for some time, in the midst of which the *Chair* suspended the business of the House for half-an-hour. Leaders of different parties intervened and separated the members involved.

After the House had re-assembled, Mr. K. S. Roy, Leader of the Official Congress Party, demanded on behalf of the Opposition an unqualified apology from the Government party member who, he alleged, had struck a blow at an Opposition party member. The Government party member concerned, explaining the situation, said that after the *Chair's* ruling to the effect that the two Opposition members should go to their respective blocs, he went to help the Government party members in that part of the House. When he arrived there the Opposition member in question pushed him and raised his hand, whereupon he also pushed him and struck a blow at him. He apologised to the *Chair* and to the House for the disturbance that had been created due to him. He was sure the Opposition member would also apologise.

Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, Leader of the Opposition, gave his version of the incident of the evening in the House.

Giving his version of the incident, Mr. A. M. A. Zaman (the Opposition member concerned) said that after the *Chair's* ruling he was trying to come out when he was obstructed by a Government party member sitting by his side. Mr. Zaman added that he was telling an Opposition member who was sitting in that bench to come to their side when some Government party members rushed to that place and struck blows at him.

On an appeal from the *Chair*, the incident, however, ended happily, both Mr. K. Nooruddin (the Government party member concerned) and Mr. Zaman coming to the centre of the House and shaking hands with each other amidst loud applause from all sections of the House. This incident took over an hour's time of the House.

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# Government of the Punjab

## Budget for 1944-45

A realized surplus of Rs. 1.34 lakhs instead of the estimated deficit of Rs. 10 lakhs for 1942-43, a revised surplus of Rs. 2.79 lakhs instead of the estimated surplus of Rs. 50 lakhs for the current year and an estimated surplus of Rs. 3.86 lakhs for 1944-45—this is the happy position of the finances of the Punjab. Even this huge surplus, the Finance Minister, the Hon'ble Sir *Manohar Lal* stated, in introducing the budget in the Punjab Legislative Assembly at Lahore on the 3rd. March 1944, was to be realized after all the proposals for new expenditure on behalf of Administrative Departments had been accepted by the Government, for the first time in his experience, without the slightest alteration.

The new expenditure provided in the budget is Rs. 169 lakhs of which Rs. 54.62 lakhs go to the Beneficent Departments, the total budget provision for which stands at Rs. 464 lakhs.

The Finance Minister announced amongst other things a grant to the Punjab University for establishing a Department of Geography, a building grant for the Kinnaird College for Women, grant for the establishment of a Government High School for Girls at Khanewal, an additional provision of Rs. 17½ lakhs for Public Health, the Lahore Improvement Trust being one of the beneficiaries and an increased provision of Rs. 5 lakhs for Industries.

Introducing the Budget Estimates of the Punjab for the year 1944-45 in the Punjab Legislative Assembly, Sir *Manohar Lal* said:—

I rise to-day in the consciousness of further strength to the markedly successful financial record of the Punjab under Provincial Autonomy. We have been able to withstand without any detriment to our programme of advance the pressure of severe famine; and the exigencies of the war, always difficult to estimate, have been hitherto boldly faced and successfully met. The war, however, raises fresh problems—the ensuring of food supplies particularly in deficit areas in the country as a whole, and in our own province relieving against the distress caused by inordinate rise in the price of the necessaries of life. The Punjab has played a strikingly successful part in regard to these problems. In both these vital matters real prudence guided our steps, and we can to-day justly hold our heads high. War brings in its train many social and economic problems. Your Government is watching these with the utmost of vigilance, keeping before it the guiding principle of the welfare of the masses. During the past year methods to place the well-being of the masses on a firm foundation have been further studied, and it hoped that Government's vigorous policy in this regard will begin to bear tangible and substantial fruit at an early date. The schemes of post-war reconstruction are as yet only at an initial stage and wholly uncertain in shape, but it is gratifying to feel that your finances to-day hold a fair promise to enable us to face them when they emerge in definite form from their present state of preliminary consideration.

I propose here to invite attention only to the more salient facts of our provincial finance. For a detailed account set forth with elaborate care reference must be made to the very lucid explanatory Memorandum by the Finance Secretary. In the earlier paragraphs of his Memorandum he has considered certain recent outstanding features of our economic life, such as the food situation, export of food grains from the province, the 'Grow More Food' campaign and measures of control against profiteering and hoarding. To these I have not been able to advert, as they lie largely beyond my strict purview. I must attempt a survey unencumbered by detail to help of three years during 1942-43, 1943-44 and 1944-45 would be about eight crores.

The Finance Minister's speech revealed that as against the budget estimates of the current year of Rs. 3.77 lakhs the budget for 1944-45 stood at Rs. 4.64 lakhs and there was an increase under nearly every head but were specially under "Education" (particularly women's education), 'Medical, Public Health and Industries.' The Punjab University has been given a substantial grant for the establishment of a Department of Geography and the institution of classes in Pharmacy. Liberal grants have been made for vernacular education and expansion of compulsory primary education and provision had been made for the grant of dearness allowance to teachers in schools conducted by Local Bodies. Two large cotton textile mills are likely to be established soon.

# Government of the N. W. Fr. Province

## Budget for 1944-45

The budget estimates presented on the 17th. March 1945 for the year 1944-45 in the Frontier Legislative Assembly at Peshawar, by *Sardar Addur Rab Khan*, Finance Minister, disclosed a deficit of Rs. 2,65 lakhs.

"Our estimate of revenue receipts is Rs. 226.82 lakhs," the Minister said, "against which an expenditure of Rs. 229.47 lakhs is anticipated, resulting in a deficit of Rs. 2,65 lakhs. A part of this deficit will be covered by additional revenue from the doubling of the Entertainment Tax, if the proposed measure in this respect, which will shortly be laid before the House, is adopted.

The Government entered the current year with a revenue balance of Rs. 44. 11 lakhs. The deficit on the current year's working is now forecast at Rs. 2.96 lakhs and the closing balance on the 31st of this month will, accordingly, be Rs. 41.15 lakhs.

Important items of new expenditure are the remodelling of the Takkarwah distributory on the Paharpur Canal, construction of Stage 1 of the Kabul river right bank lift irrigation scheme, conversion of the vernacular middle schools at Zaida and Sheikhan into Anglo-Urdu middle schools, revision of the pay of assistant surgeons, provision of two ambulances in the Lady Reading Hospital, Peshawar, extension of the sugar research scheme and the Marketing Department under Agriculture and Provincialisation of Veterinary Hospital, Peshawar.

Commenting generally on the financial position of the province, *Sardar Abdur Rab Khan* said: "The war has imposed on the provincial exchequer a heavy burden of temporary expenditure on account of additional police and other security measures, dearness allowance, rise in prices of stores and material, civil defence and expansion of the Secretariat, etc. It has been possible till now to meet this heavy expenditure from unexpected increases in revenue—principally from taxes on income under the Niemeyer Award and more intensive exploitation of our forests. From the former source our estimated share is Rs. 19.50 lakhs in 1943-44 and Rs. 26.69 lakhs in 1944-45. This, I may observe, is considerably more than the total sum which at the time of the Niemeyer Award this province expected to receive at the end of the ten-year devolution period or than ever appeared to be possible before the outbreak of the war. The present scale of our receipts under this head is abnormal and we cannot count this source of income to finance our growing recurring commitments, for it will shrink as reductions in taxes on income and the excess profits tax are made by the Government of India. We cannot afford to continue the exploitation of our forests at the rate we are doing. In fact, feelings have already gone too far. So far as revenue is concerned, lean years lie ahead of us. Our expenditure will continue at the present high rate for sometime after the war and may actually increase in volume when it is diverted into peaceful nation-building channels. I have studied the possibilities of tapping fresh sources of revenue and of increasing revenue from existing sources, but must confess that I have found our scope to be disappointingly meagre.

"I am convinced that, placed as we are, our sheet-anchor in the future is an increase in the amount of our subvention which is by far the largest single item in our revenue budget. The Subjects Committee of 1932 recommended a basic subvention of 117 lakhs and also remarked that if the schemes of new expenditure then under consideration were taken into account, the subvention would amount to Rs. 146 lakhs rising each year by Rs. 4 lakhs to a maximum of Rs. 162 lakhs. Those recommendations were not accepted by the Government of India because of the great financial stringency then prevalent. The expenditure of the province has, as I have already explained, increased considerably since then, but the subvention from the Centre has remained stationery, except for the indirect advantages derived by the province in common with the rest of India from the cancellation of the pre-autonomy debt and distribution of income tax revenue."

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# **The Government of Madras**

## **Budget for 1944-45**

A net surplus of Rs. 644 lakhs is expected in 1944-45, according to the budget estimate published on the 20th. March 1944 by the Madras Government. Revenue is estimated at Rs. 30,20.38 lakhs and expenditure at Rs. 23,75.97 lakhs.

Out of the surplus provision has been made for a net expenditure of Rs. 89.64 lakhs on new schemes, including additional compensation to local bodies for loss of revenue from tolls and profession tax.

Among the new schemes for which provision is made in the budget are grants to the Madras University for new technological courses, opening of Honours courses in Islamic History and Culture and the Natural Science Group of the Intermediate course in the Government Muhammedan College, additional grants to aided elementary schools and panchayats for payment of increased dearness allowance; extension of rice research stations; a special provision of Rs. 2 lakhs for the extension to all Labour Department schools of free mid-day meals for pupils.

After providing for new schemes and transferring Rs. 554 lakhs to the Revenue Reserve Fund for post-war reconstruction and development schemes a small surplus of Rs. 77 lakh is left.

The Government hint at the possibility of the Madras Tobacco Act being repealed in view of the levy of an excise duty on tobacco by the Central Government.

Discouraging any hope that might be entertained of a possible reduction in taxation, the Government state that "it is essential to maintain substantially the existing level of taxation in Madras for the period of the war, so that this Province will have considerable funds in hand for undertaking large development schemes after the war."

# **The Government of Bombay**

## **Budget for 1944-45**

No fresh taxation, a small reduction in the Urban Immoveable Property Tax and a revenue surplus of Rs. 86 lakhs after providing Rs. 4,50,86,000 for post-war reconstruction and Rs. 123 lakhs to the Special Development Fund while continuing the nation-building activities of the Province, were the features of the Bombay Budget proposals for the year 1944-45 as published by the Government of Bombay on the 29th. March 1944.

The Governor of Bombay at a Press conference explained the proposals and said he had taken care to see that continuity was maintained in the policy governing the proposals.

Increased revenue was expected from the provincial share of the proceeds of income-tax reductions in expenditure of about Rs. 1 crore under famine relief and about Rs. 40 lakhs on account of curtailment of ARP measures made possible by favourable war developments. The taxation measures introduced during the current year in respect of betting and entertainment and stamps were expected to yield Rs. 130 lakhs.

# **Government of the Central Provinces**

## **Budget for 1944-45**

The C.P. Budget for 1944-45 revealed a surplus of Rs. 1 crore. The current year also according to revised estimates showed a surplus of over Rs. 1 crore.

Excise and forest revenues are by far the highest and excise alone will yield this year about Rs. 1 crore. The share of this Province in the income-tax will also be in the neighbourhood of Rs. 1 crore.

There are no proposals for fresh taxation but the existing taxations including those imposed by the Congress Ministry for financing prohibition will be continued. A surcharge on the present court and registration fees is expected. A proposal to increase the entertainment tax is under consideration.

The nucleus of the Post-war Reconstruction Fund is likely to be started with about Rs. 1 crore and will be doubled in 1944-45.

## The Government of Orissa

### Budget for 1944-45

The fourth wartime budget for the province of Orissa as presented by *Pandit Godavaris Misra*, Finance Minister, in the Orissa Assembly at Cuttack on the 1st. March 1944 revealed a deficit of Rs. 10.36 lakhs in the budget estimates for the year 1944-45. With the "unexpected and almost providential increase of Rs. 11.38 lakhs" on account of share of income-tax the deficit is expected to be wiped out in full, leaving a small surplus. The budget estimates a total revenue of Rs. 2,56,96,000, compared with the revised estimate of Rs. 2,48,69,000 for 1943-44, and expenditure charged to revenue Rs. 2,67,32,000 in 1944-45, compared with the revised estimate of Rs. 2,65,21,000 for the previous year. The year which opens with a balance of Rs. 87,000 will close with a balance of Rs. 65,000.

Prominent items of new expenditure, according to *Pandit Godavaris Misra*, would include schemes in the Education and Medical Departments with the ushering in of the Utkal University which has been functioning since November 27, 1943, and the proposed gradual conversion of the Orissa Medical School to a Medical College with effect from July next.

The Finance Minister said that Sir William Stampe, Irrigation Adviser to the Government of India, had recently surveyed almost all the 51 projects which are likely to irrigate 186,000 acres, the additional production of foodgrains from which is expected to be 25 lakhs maunds of rice.

*Pandit Misra* attributed the province's present poverty to want of attention in the past to development and to unsatisfactory financial adjustments in recent years and stressed the need for industrial development, for which there was little scope during the war. Immediately after the war the industrial needs of the province would urgently require attention.

## The Government of Assam

### Budget for 1944-45

A Revenue deficit of Rs. 10,40,000 was disclosed by the Finance Minister, Mr. *Abdul Matin Choudhury* when he presented the budget for the year 1944-45 in the Assam Legislature at Shillong on the 2nd. March 1944.

New schemes embodied in the Budget are more or less of a routine type and do not indicate any reorientation of policy or inauguration of new project.

The Assam Revenue Budget shows a deficit of Rs. 10,40,000 in spite of revenue increase because although the revenue receipts for the budget year are estimated at Rs. 4,51,71,000—an increase of about a crore of rupees over the estimated sanctioned receipts for the current year—it is more than counter-balanced by the increase in expenditure which is estimated at Rs. 4,62,11,000 during 1944-45.

The revenue budget would have shown surplus of Rs. 15,40,000 but for Rs. 25 lakhs being set apart from the Revenue to form the nucleus of the Post-War Reconstruction Fund and this is entirely responsible for the deficit of Rs. 10,40,000. Besides, the Govt. of Assam's share of the divisible pool of the Income-tax receipts is expected to be still further increased in the budget year by another 11 lakhs of rupees, according to the figures, very recently received from the Government of India so that on the whole there should be a small surplus of about half a lakh even taking consideration of 25 lakhs of rupees for the Post-War Reconstruction Fund, the most of which will be covered by the additional 22 lakhs of rupees expected to be recovered during this year and the next year from the income-tax pool.

The current year will close, according to the revised estimates, with a revenue

surplus of Rs. 7,53,000 against an estimated deficit of Rs. 8,09,000 in the original budget. The closing balance is estimated at Rs. 99,63,000 and is actually a deficit one if account is taken of Treasury Bills to the value of 2 crores which will be outstanding on the 31st March, 1944. The capital receipts for 1944-45 are estimated at Rs. 25,43,48,000 and capital expenditure at Rs. 25,58,60,000 thus leaving a closing surplus of Rs. 74,11,000.

The increase in revenue receipts as showed in the both, the revised for 1943-44 and the budget for 1944-45 is mainly responsible for the following among other things ; better collections of land revenue due to improved financial position of ryots and expansion of settlement as a result of Grow More Food Campaign and in the colonization areas ; increased receipt for forest produce to meet increased war demands ; increase in excise receipts due to larger consumption of hemp and other drugs ; increase in stamp receipts due to larger number of transfers of property as a result of the improvement in the financial condition of the population in general ; refund which the Assam Government will get from the Centre on being relieved from the share of the cost of Assam Rifles and to the recovery of the amount due from the Government of India for additional police employed on the protection of the railways, aerodromes, etc., anticipated receipts from the Cotton Cloth and Yarn Control Order, increased receipts under the provincial tax for the consumption of petrol by the military within the province ; increased receipts under the Agricultural Income-tax due to large profits made by the Tea Industry and the increase in the Assam Government's share of the Central Income-tax revenue.

Among the schemes connected with the war involving capital outlay, the Grain Storage Scheme is being continued during the budget year estimating an expenditure of Rs. 3,88,20,000 against which a sum of Rs. 3,49,12,000 is expected to be recovered from sale proceeds during the year thus leaving a lag of Rs. 1,71,43,000 at the end of 1944-45. Under Standard Cloth there will be an expenditure of Rs. 1,77,47,000 while recoveries will amount to Rs. 1,50,00,000 or a deficit of Rs. 27,47,000. The lag at the end of 1944-45 will be Rs. 74,17,000. The Motor Transport Organization according to the estimates of the Controller, is anticipated to yield a recovery during the budget year of Rs. 88,00,000 against the estimated expenditure of Rs. 63,06,000—thus showing a net profit of Rs. 19,94,000 in 1944-45. The Controller hopes that the entire capital outlay on the scheme will be recovered in a period of three years.

The new schemes included in the budget involve a total expenditure of Rs. 4,57,719 in non-excluded areas out of which the Department of Education has got the major slice, Rs. 1,42,891. The Industries Department has secured Rs. 83,513 ; Civil Works—Rs. 68,186 ; Agriculture Rs. 29,542 and Public Health Rs. 11,947.

## The Government of Sind

### Budget for 1944-45

Sind's present financial position was described by the Premier, *Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatulla*, at Karachi on the 23rd. February 1945. as one of unparalleled prosperity when he presented the budget estimate for 1944-45 in the Sind Legislative Assembly.

The estimates gave "war time inflation" as the reason for the 75 per cent increase in the revised estimates for 1944-45 and stated that the estimates for 1944-45 had been in the full realisation that such experience might not recur. Nevertheless, a surplus of Rs. 189 lakhs for 1944-45 was budgeted for, with receipts at Rs. 797 lakhs and expenditure at Rs. 608 lakhs. This surplus—which was also aided by a windfall of Rs. 2½ crores from Sind's trading-in-grains policy which had now been ended—would be utilised for the creation of two new funds, namely, a Land Revenue Equalisation Fund and a Postwar Development Fund.

As regards the first fund, the budget memorandum pointed out that with the new sliding scales of assessment in operation, the revenue side of the budget was liable to the most violent fluctuations, varying by crores rather than by lakhs. Furthermore, in coming years the receipts from land sales are bound to fall very rapidly, even to the tune of a crore of rupees, and this would have a very serious effect on the revenue side. To expect permanency in the prosperity feature of the budget would therefore, be most illusory, and the need for caution was realised to be very great.

In the creation of the Equalisation Fund, the average land revenue receipt was estimated at Rs. 230 lakhs and the sum of Rs. 139 lakhs transferred to the Equalisation Fund represents this year's excess over the average.

A sum of Rs. 50 lakhs will likewise be transferred to the Post-War Development Fund which will be utilised to finance a programme of capital works such as roads, buildings and canals "as soon as the war is over and circumstances allow."

#### ASTONISHING INFLATION"

The budget speaks of the "astonishing inflation" which was noticed during part of the period under review and which explains the great variations between the budgeted and the revised estimates for 1943-44. This period, says the memorandum, saw the largest expenditure on public works ever known in one year in Sind—on strategic roads, on aerodromes and other military works on the Karachi water supplies scheme; on civil defence; on irrigation and on bund works. It saw a considerable expansion of the armed forces, especially in Karachi, of our highly paid Allies; it saw the abandonment in other parts of India of limited attempts at price control and it saw, induced partly by the above factors; unbridled speculation affecting all classes.

Speaking of the Government's plans for the industrial and economic development of Sind now and during the post-war period; the Premier said that everything possible would be done to ensure cheap power; plentiful water; social security in the widest sense and harmonious relations between employer and employed. Two new barrages—one in Upper Sind and the other in Lower Sind—would be constructed.

The Premier announced that the Government of India had accepted the Sind Government's proposal for the repayment of the Lloyd Barrage debt and the capitalisation of subvention in one transaction. The Government had accepted capitalisation at the rate of 4½ per cent which would mean a "present value" of the subvention on April 1, 1944; of approximately Rs. 1,470 lakhs. The difference between this figure and the Lloyd Barrage debt which at present stands at Rs. 2,040 lakhs; namely, Rs. 570 lakhs is proposed to be repaid in one lump sum as soon as the approval of his Majesty's Government is obtained. The Premier also stated that the free balance at the disposal of the Sind Government, namely Rs. 754 lakhs at the end of the current year; will be utilised to pay this sum of Rs. 570 lakhs leaving approximately Rs. 184 lakhs in the hands of the Sind Government.

## The Government of Bihar

### Budget for 1944-45

An expected surplus of Rs. 2,22 lakhs is shown in the budget estimates of the Government of Bihar for the year 1944-45, as issued from Patna on the 25th. March 1945. The estimates show total revenue receipts at 938 lakhs in the revised estimates for the current year (1943-44) and 978 lakhs in the budget estimates for 1944-45 and expenditure charged to revenue is estimated at 11,17 in the revised estimates and 7,56 lakhs in the budget estimates.

The budget as a whole indicates a healthy financial position but this does not necessarily mean an indication of financial prosperity, state a memorandum on the budget. The large expansion in revenue which has been a moral feature of the budget during the war period has become more marked partly due to expansion in the normal revenue and partly to the increased revenue arising on of Government's anti-inflationary measures. Excise with the abolition of Prohibition is the largest revenue head now with 197 lakhs in the revised estimates and 213 lakhs in the budget estimates.

A separate fund for post-war reconstruction has been created to which has been credited a sum of Rs. 317 lakhs out of the accumulated surplus revenues.

The memorandum states that while restricting expenditure now, Government will continue to explore other sources of increasing the revenue and thereby further swelling up the fund earmarked for post-war reconstruction.

# The All India Hindu Mahasabha

Working Committee—New Delhi—22nd. & 23rd. January 1944

## AMRITSAR LATHI CHARGE CONDEMNED

The Working Committee of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha concluded its two-day session at New Delhi after adopting a resolution recording its protest against the Haripur incident and urging the Government to take prompt action against those responsible for it and to institute an inquiry into the conduct of the additional police sent to deal with the incident. The resolution also suggested that the proportion of Hindus and Sikhs in the provincial police should be raised to 50 per cent, and licences for arms should be granted liberally to the Hindu and Sikh residents of Haripur and other places in the province.

The Working Committee also passed a resolution relating to the Bengal food-situation, deploring and condemning the mishandling of the food-problem and urging stronger action by the Government of India in dealing with the problem.

The Committee decided to appoint five whole-time organisers for extensive organisation of the Hindu Mahasabha in five territorial zones and one organiser to be in charge of the volunteer organisations.

A sub-committee was appointed to prepare a draft amendment to the constitution of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha and the President, Dr. S. P. Mookerjee, was authorised to appoint a Vigilance Committee to safeguard the interests of the Hindus in the Punjab.

The Committee also passed a condolence resolution on the death of Mr. R. S. Pandit.

Among those who attended the meeting, were Dr. S. P. Mookerjee, Sir Gokul Chand Narang, Shri. B. G. Khaparde, Shri. Ashutosh Lahiri, Capt. Keshav Chandra, Shri. Chand Karan Sarda, Shri. Karandikar, Shri. Satish Singh, Shre. V. G. Deshpande, Rai Bahadur Harish Chandra and Lala Narain Dutt.

## Amritsar Mahasabha Lathi Charge by Police

### Tekchand Committee's Report

The Tekchand Committee appointed by Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee to enquire into the Amritsar happenings of December 25, came to the conclusion that the terms of the licence for the procession had not been contravened in any way, that there was no justification for its cancellation, that the cancellation order was not properly announced to the processionists, nor was sufficient time given to them to disperse and that the use of force was unnecessary and uncalled-for.

The Committee's report, which was presented to the Mahasabha Working Committee at its meeting at New Delhi gave a detailed account of the happenings. The Committee state: "The supposed reason for the cancellation (of the licence) did not exist in fact and it seems that the order was passed upon wrong information conveyed to the District Magistrate and the Superintendent of Police presumably by some of their subordinates. The decision actually arrived at by the Reception Committee was in full compliance with the order of the District Magistrate. This was publicly announced on the microphone in the pandal by the Chairman of the Reception Committee, Dr. S. Gokul Chand Narang, and in pursuance of this announcement Mahabir Dal Volunteers had retired, taken off the objected uniforms and none of them had actually accompanied the procession. Nor did any volunteer or other person in the procession carry arms or conduct himself in any objectionable manner. There does not, therefore, seem to have been any justification for the cancellation of the licence.

When the city Magistrate, S. Hardayal Singh, conveyed to the President-Elect of the Conference and the Chairman of the Reception Committee who were on the elephant in the midst of the procession, that the licence had been cancelled and after he was told the true facts about Mahabir Dal Volunteers not having joined the procession in protest, he left saying that he would inform the District Magistrate and the impression created by his conversation on both Dr. Mookerjee and Dr. Narang was that the order having been passed under a misconception would be withdrawn.

This, however, was not done and a strong force of Police arrived and began to disperse the processions. All the witnesses are unanimous in saying that in no part

of the procession was the order to disperse announced nor any warning given before the lathi charge began. The number of persons in the procession at this stage is variously estimated to have been a lakh or more and the procession was spread over a fairly long distance. If the intention of the authorities was to disperse the procession, sufficient time should have been given to them to do so, but this was not done.

The procession had started legally under a properly granted license. It had gone on for about three quarters of an hour in an orderly and peaceful manner. It had not conducted itself in any way which might have indicated any inclination to do any illegal act.

If the cancellation order had been properly announced to the processionists there is not the slightest doubt that they would have departed peacefully.

The police, however, immediately after its arrival, began to shower blows right and left indiscriminately. It is significant that even then there was no resistance offered by any one.

The beating was not confined to the persons actually taking part in the procession, but many of the spectators were also injured and in some cases persons who were trying to escape were pursued in the bylanes and beaten. There is also unimpeachable evidence of lathi-charge on persons waiting to see the procession at places far away from the procession.

In the face of all these facts it is really surprising that the official communique made no mention of the use of force but merely stated that the procession "dispersed peacefully."

## A. I. States' Hindu Mahasabha Conference

### First Session—Shimoga—9th. to 11th. April 1944

The open Session of the All-India States' Hindu Mahasabha Conference began before a mammoth gathering of over 10,000, Mr. B. G. Khaparde presiding, at Yadunagar, Shimoga on the 9th. April 1944.

More than five hundred delegates from the States of Kashmir, Hyderabad, Gwalior, Indore, Baroda, Sangli, Miraj, Mandi, Kolhapur, Travancore and Kapurthala attended the Conference. Amongst the arrivals were Dr. B. S. Moonje, Dr. P. Varadarajulu Naidu and Diwan Bahadur K. S. Ramaswami Sastri.

Dr. V. D. Savarkar, President, All-India Hindu Mahasabha, and Mr. B. G. Khaparde, the President-Elect were accorded a rousing reception.

Dr. Shyamaprasad Mookherji, in a message to the Conference said :—"Veer Savarkar will inspire the people of the States with our cherished ideals so that they may fight abreast with their brethren in British territories in India for the liberation of the country. Only in a free and united India may we live peacefully."

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar and Mr. N. Madhava Rao also sent messages regretting their inability to be present.

Dr. Moonje and Dr. Varadarajulu Naidu unfurled the Mysore and the Hindu Mahasabha flag respectively.

#### WELCOME SPEECH

Mr. Bhoopalam Chandrasekharish, welcoming the gathering, said that they must dismiss without even a second's consideration the view that States' peoples had nothing to do with the central question of Indian independence. No treaty or sanad could have the right to reduce vast populations to a state of slavery and shut out their natural aspirations for freedom. With equal force they must dismiss the other idea for the abolition of the princely order. Apart from its impracticability, advocates of this idea forget their historical moorings and try to build without foundations.

Proceeding, Mr. Chandrasekharaiiah said that the effect of Pakistan would be to leave the fate of ten crores of States' peoples in a worse slave state. Apart from the harm it did to the nation in preventing one-third of India to rise to its full political stature, it contributed a great danger to India's defence. Salvation both for the princely order and the States' peoples, he added, lay undoubtedly in the immediate establishment of an all-India federation based on real democratic principles.

Unless questions like a constitution for the whole of India including the States and the preservation of the unity of India were satisfactorily solved, the question of responsible government in native states was very difficult of solution excepting perhaps in some of the liberal and advanced Hindu States. At the same time, it is equally true that the solution of the several problems of the States as a whole would be extremely difficult without democratising the States' constitutions.

The speaker here referred to the political awakening in Mysore and the general harmony existing between Hindus and non-Hindus. Intense faith in Hindu religion and sympathy with all non-Hindu religions has been the great ideal and practice of the Mysore Royal Hindu dynasty, he added. The attitude of the officials of Government of Mysore was impartial in regard to religious questions.

Referring to the war in the Manipur area, the speaker expressed the States' peoples' sympathy to Manipur subjects. He hoped that the Government of India would release Mahatma Gandhi and other national leaders. He appealed to Hindus in all the States to join their State armies in overwhelming numbers and be ever prepared for all sacrifices for the protection of the Crown and the State.

Touching upon the food question, the speaker said, it was time the States led the provinces in the matter of "Grow more food" campaign. Surplus profits earned within each State whether by individuals or companies must be compulsorily converted into shares of an agricultural company to grow more food and bring more lands under cultivation. This would be a better deflationary measure than compulsory deposits in the Government treasuries. He also pleaded for the protection of cows.

#### THE PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

The following is a summary of the presidential address delivered by Sj. B. G. Khaparde :—

In common parlance to-day we speak of "Indian India" and "British India" That is a necessity—an ugly necessity—of the exigency of the moment. We all know that this is political and administrative division of Hindusthan. It is by no means natural or geographical division. People who live in "Indian India" are by no means different from those who live in "British India." They are not of different races as the Negroes and the Mongolians are. They are not utter strangers to one-another as the Eskimoes and Hotentots are. Hindus inhabiting these artificial administrative divisions—the States and the British India—have a common heritage, common culture, common traditions, common habits and customs, even common language in many instances, common religion and common loyalty to their Mother-land—their *Matri-Bhumi*. And these common ties are so ancient, so permanent and so fast that there is no power on Earth that may loosen them or cut them asunder. In spite of these artificial divisions, therefore, of Indian India and British India, this holy land of Bharat is one and indivisible.

I shall not take your time in dealing in detail with Pakistan. Beyond mere assertions of wanting it, I have not seen any logical cogent reasoning establishing the necessity, possibility, its territorial extent or benefits of it to Hindusthan.

#### ABSURDITY

Mr. Jinnah in his recent speech at Aligarh—the gadh of Alis—has, it seems, reached the last limits of absurdity, if such there be, when he threatens the Hindus, the Viceroy, the British Premier and President Roosevelt with "very serious consequences," "revolt," and the "whole Muslim world" being "ablaze." All this after an admission in his interview to the British Press that the gift of Pakistan lay in British hands. A strong central Government is called an "Obsession" of the Hindus. Bluff and bluster cannot go further. A strong central Government for India has been the "obsession" of the British Government and not merely of the Hindus and it is going to persist there in spite of Jinnahs. Of the "very serious consequences" we know just a bit too much now. We know their seriousness and the extent of consequences. It perhaps means a few riots in Muslim-ruled provinces, a few elopements of the most criminal type both connived at by the local authorities and a few dastardly and most cowardly back-stabbings—the gift and contributions of Muslim culture—to the fine arts of the modern world. We have yet to know the sanctions behind these high-sounding threats unless they be the "Panch-mamazi" Hoors, "God Loving" Pathans, the peace-loving Khaksars, and the "divide" policy of the British which seems to be the mainstay of Muslim-bluff. Mr. Jinnah has created and maintained the present deadlock by insisting that the Pakistan should be conceded in principle before it is even discussed as a scheme. This in itself is unreasonable. Having adopted this attitude he now reveals the

fact that he depends upon the British to compel the Congress and every body else to accept his Pakistan and he further offers to the British that after his Pakistan has thus been established he will "deal with and possibly reach an agreement with the British Government." The bait offered to the British for bringing Pakistan is this offer of being its slave in the future. And all this is to be done to spite the Hindus of Hindusthan. This betrays a mentality which is unworthy of any leader; and this is the man to whom Gandhiji is "with all sincerity" ready to surrender "the whole of India including the so-called Indian India." No words are too strong to condemn this intrigue to barter away Hindusthan's Hindutwa and her freedom. My brothers, have you found a parallel to this in history?

A reference to the geographical unity of Hindusthan in a recent speech of the Viceroy delivered before the Indian "Parliament" is interpreted as the death-knell of Pakistan. Be it so! and God be praised for it. But let us not forget that so long as the notorious Cripps' proposals remain the last word that the diplomats of England have to say to Hindusthan and so long as they contain the evil seeds of Pakistan, the lurking danger is there and we cannot afford to neglect it.

We have yet to see the scheme that reconciles Pakistan to the geographical unity.

#### PECULIAR CONDITION

The position of the States is very peculiar. There is no parallel to it in the world. The Britishers feared or favoured the ruler or took sides with or condemned the subjects as the exigencies of times and their interest demanded. The only fixed goal has been the establishment of British raj and every thing else has been made subservient to it under the guise of ultruism, magnanimity, justice and fair play. You must, therefore, be cautious and not walk into the trap. One of the strings of this trap is tied to the apron of the British Premier and the other is tied to the apron of our Muslims' friend, Gandhiji. British Government has now no purpose to be served through the Princes except using them as outposts of their power in peace and sources of money and means in war though they feared and honoured the Princes in the early stages of the building of their Empire. Gandhiji has naturally, as a democrat, evinced fondness and regard for the welfare of the subjects at the cost of the ruling Princes. But in this, there is a system as there was a method in Hamlet's madness. Gandhiji developed solicitude only for the subjects of the Hindu Princes. The subjects of the so-called Muslim States does not seem to be any of his concern. The harrowing tales of misrule, tyranny, murders, riots and inequities that reach us from the Muslim States—Muslim because the ruler happens to be a Muslim and not because the majority of the subjects is Muslim—do not affect him. That does not move this great man of "faith." His only anxiety is to weaken the Hindu Princes. Now if Gandhiji weakens the Hindu Princes and breaks their power and the Britisher strengthens the Muslim subjects and lends Muslim Princes their support, the trap will be complete; tragedy such as history never saw and the sun never witnessed. I have put this in a very brief form, perhaps at the expense of lucidity, but I have done so to enable you to grasp at a glance what I want to convey.

The relations of British with the Hindusthani States went through three distinct phases as historians record:

1. "Ring Fence"; which really meant security of the British Empire (or acquisitions) in its infancy. 1765-1800.
2. "Subordinate isolation"; which was another name of British ascendancy. 1800-1857.
3. "Subordinate Union"; which meant taking the States in the Empire without annexing them formally but so completely digesting them as to make them a part of the Empire and making them helpless outside the Empire. 1858 up-to-date.

The present policy, therefore, comes to this; prevent a union or combination amongst the Princes: perpetuate their houses; keep them subordinate so as to serve the imperial interests; espouse the cause of the subjects whenever convenient; make the Princes feel that it is in the interest of the perpetuity of their houses that this was being done; let subjects alone, whatever happens to them, where the Prince concerned is amenable to the service and interest of the Empire.

#### SETBACK

The Government of the Nizam had tried to negotiate with the British Government on equal footing and received a reply from Lord Reading that settled the question perhaps for all time to come. The Nizam was told in clear terms that "the sovereignty of the British Crown is supreme in India; and therefore, no Ruler



in an Indian State can justifiably claim to negotiate with the British Government on an equal footing." It further said: "Paramountcy must be paramount." This settles the Princes and we know their destiny is not in their own hands.

Now that Federation has been definitely rejected by the several political parties in Hindusthan, it has perhaps gone from us for ever. This is to be regretted because as Rt. Hon. Mr. Jayakar said whatever its defects it had one virtue, *viz.*, it gave a pronounced majority to the Hindus at the centre. Any way it was a majority rule, and therefore, a democracy whatever its other limitations. We do not know now what it is going to be replaced by. We have yet to see the reconciliation of the Cripps' proposals as they stand and the geographical unity as envisaged by the present Viceroy and his predecessor. Perhaps the proposal of 50:50 representation in provincial Governments and the Centre will get prominence and might be insisted upon. Our past experience shows that behind the "free choice" and "fair play" always talked of by the British diplomats and statesmen, there always works a compelling force which, like destiny, guides events into a predetermined channel and once Britain makes up her mind to take a certain course, all resistance whether from the princes or the people is mostly waste for want of sanction. People of States therefore, and especially Hindus, must wait till the picture of the future appears at least in its bold outlines before such internal authority, as the princes exercise, is touched.

You will be very wise in leaving them alone until a reasonable assurance comes forth from authoritative and reliable quarters that a uniform policy will be followed with respect to all of them by the new powers that be. If we land into times when centres of power might be more serviceable than diffused democracy, we will repent the destruction of the authority, such as we have it, centred in the Hindu Princes. This is not as much as to say that you should not seek redress for your grievances or seek justice or assert yourselves when occasions demanded. But in all Hindu States you will be wise to put a limit on these things for a while and not provoke tension and bitterness which may at any moment give a handle to the Britisher to intervene between the princes and their people and play the proverbial monkey of the fable.

#### JUDICIOUS ADVICE

May I add a word for the Princes if it may not offend against the attitude of their Highnesses. If they have the privilege of being the masters of their people, to them also belong the proud privilege and honour of being the servants of the people. They have the coveted opportunity of being in a position of doing good to millions of humanity. This is an opportunity that comes to man after series of incarnations according to our Shastras and to waste it is a crime before God and man. Perhaps they will do well to realise the spirit of the times, the flow of the *Kal* that is flowing over them and enveloping them and not to wait till compulsion is applied by world-events and circumstances. We have 562 Princes and according to the information available from the Butler Committee Report only 56 of them have made any attempt to regulate their privy purse and fix the amount. Indian India covers 771,032 sq. miles of area and has the population of 101 per sq. mile while the density of the population of British India comes to 271 per sq. mile. This speaks for itself and unless the Princes make serious efforts, the future before them is discouraging. Surely, there is something higher and nobler beyond the narrow horizon of women and horses.

I do not believe that the Britisher is going to withdraw from Hindusthan for the asking of it; whether that asking be by the Congress or the League. But what we have to guard against is the introduction of a systematic controlled chaos as happened in Malabar, Kohat, Sind, Bengal and other places.

Ladies and gentlemen, let us prepare to enter into the future. A new hope is surging over the land. A new breath of life is blowing over the face of Bharat. New aspirations are filling our hearts. Let us respond to these and not cling to reeds tried and found broken. The new ideology is furnished by the Hindu Mahasabha with the veteran fighter Swatantra-veer Savarkar at its head. We do not believe in ahimsa in season and out of season. We believe in all means that bring freedom to Hindusthan. We do not disregard the minorities. They have their due place in the future constitution of Hindusthan, if they choose to take and make no preposterous claims and look up to the foreigner to support them. As our president put it pithily which admits of no improvement, we want the help of the Muslims on our way to our goal of Swarajya, but we will not give up our pursuit, if they refuse to come with us. If they choose to oppose us, we march on in spite of them. The formula runs, with you if you come: without you if

you do not, and inspite of you if you oppose. We sum up our politics in a short formula : Hinduise politics and militarise Hindusthan. Hindu Mahasabha has this to offer to you and those who have given it to the Mahasabha have gathered it from long drawn sacrifices and harrowing experiences to which nothing else compares. Those who live in the States have the most excellent opportunity to help the Mahasabha. I have observed that in places where arms are carried freely Muslims carry them but Hindus do not. I was unable to explain it to myself, In States you have the opportunity of taking military training which your brethren in British India have not. Demand a free and unbiassed press. The power of the press is now being increasingly felt and we must guard that it does not go in the hands of cliques which have their axes to grind. Press in the States has handicaps that should be removed in the interest of their own administration. Honoured and representative papers like *Kesari* and *Mahratta* and *Maharashtra* are even to-day prohibited in Hyderabad. This to my mind is entirely undefendable and similar instances are not wanting in other places.

#### REPRESENTATION

You will do well also to press for a representation at such conferences as will preceed the coming reforms. The Princes may not in all cases represent their subjects and in fairness and equity they should be represented by such agents as they may choose.

I am conversant with grievances of the Hindus in Hyderabad and Bhopal and similar States. Articles have of late appeared in papers about maladministration there and the injustice they are subjected to. But I consider it expedient to leave these matters to be dealt with by the representatives of the several States so that they speak with knowledge and authority.

Everybody of us, consciously or otherwise, is trying to probe into the future and guess what is going to happen to Hindusthan after the war. One thing is absolutely certain, viz. that the "sameness" of the world is not going to continue and Hindusthan cannot possibly prove an exception. The change is coming inspite of Mr. Churchill who declared that he was not presiding over the destinies of the Empire in order to liquidate it. The whole world is now getting so concise that the repercussions that will now follow any event will be far greater, deeper and permanent that would have been the case five year ago. The world arrangement is going to be a world affair and not the affair of Churchill's empire alone. World opinion is going to prove a far more effective factor than it hitherto had been and then will come in the economic interests not only of the British Empire but of everybody else, especially America, whose money and men are playing such an important role in shaping the world's future.

Hindusthan's agriculture, her main industry must get ample scope to develop and her industries must grow tremendously and increase her purchasing power if the success in this war is to be measured in terms of increased wealth which alone will recoup the exhaustion of the war which England and America will feel after its ends. Hindusthan's rise economically i. e. industrially and agriculturally, is therefore absolutely necessary in the interests of the winning nations. And this economic rise will not come about unless she is able to control her destiny in a large measure. To my mind, therefore, it is evident that Hindusthan's future is bright and glorious. I have always held that the world will not be restored either to peace or prosperity unless Hindusthan shares it herself. That is a belief in which I have been brought up, that is a faith deep down in my heart without which I cannot breathe.

Let us now march on towards the glorious future awaiting us and equip ourselves to enter it confidently and play our allotted part for the betterment of the world. We seek no Empires. We seek not to enslave any people or exploit them so that they may starve and we may thrive on their death. We seek our freedom and, God willing, we will find it inspite of those who spite us.

#### MR. V. D. SAVARKAR'S APPEAL

Declaring open the first session of the All-India States Hindu Mahasabha Conference in Yadunagar, Mr. V. D. Savarkar made a passionate and spirited appeal for consolidating all Hindu States in India which were great sources of strength to the Hindus.

Many great empires had existed and vanished, Mr. Savarkar continued, and when the day came for Britishers to quit India, it would prove the doom of the Hindus if they had weakened in any way the Hindu States. The Muslims, he stated, had begun consolidating Muslim States. In Kashmir State, which was a

Muslim State with a Hindu ruler as its head, the Muslims were agitating that Urdu should be the State language, whereas, in the Nizam State, where the Hindus were in a majority but Urdu was the State language. Emphasising again the need for strengthening the Hindu States which, with their organised machinery and troops, were real strongholds of Hindus, Mr. Savarkar said he favoured efforts at reforms in those States but was against democracy if it meant their subversion.

Earlier in his speech, Mr. Savarkar expressed his appreciation of the enthusiastic response the big gathering gave to the conference. Explaining the object of the conference, he said that the States Hindus were now being organised, because the Muslims had already commenced organising the States Muslims also, though personally he was for taking initiative in such matters and not always for being in the defensive. The Muslims were openly threatening the use of even violent measures if they were obstructed in their efforts at the realisation of Pakistan. Under those circumstances, the Hindus should consolidate and strengthen themselves.

Prior to the conference, Mr. B. G. Khaparde, President, Mr. V. D. Savarkar, Dr. B. S. Moonje, Mr. B. Shankara Rao, new President of the Mysore State Hindu Mahasabha, Mr. Bhoopalam Chandrasekhara Setty and Dr. P. Varadarajulu Naidu were taken in procession through the main routes of the town in a decorated chariot drawn by six pairs of bulls. About two hundred volunteers formed the guard of honour and leaders were profusely garlanded by the public all along the route. More than 10,000 people, including about 1,000 ladies, attended the conference, which was held in a spacious pandal. Mr. Bhoopalam Chandrasekhara Setty welcomed the guests and delegates. Messages from Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, Mr. J. K. Birla and Mr. D. H. Chandrasekharaiah, President of the Mysore Legislative Council among others were read. After Mr. Savarkar's opening speech, Mr. B. G. Khaparde delivered the presidential address.

### Third Day—Shimoga—11th. April 1944

#### Proceedings & Resolutions

The three-day session of the All-India States Hindu Mahasabha Conference concluded after passing several resolutions on the 11th. April 1944.

The first resolution expressed loyalty to the Mysore Throne and the second was about the Mahasabha attitude and policy regarding the demand for Responsible Government in Indian States.

By another resolution, the Conference approved the Viceroy's recent declaration as regards India being one indivisible unit geographically and economically and strongly opposed and condemned the proposal for vivisection of India. One resolution denounced the constant agitation carried on by Muslims in the States in favour of Urdu in preference to the provincial language and urged the Hindus to agitate for the adoption of ancient Sanskrit (Nishta Hindi) as the *lingua franca* of India and not Hindustani. The Conference adopted a resolution urging the States Hindus to seek repeal of the Arms Act and, wherever possible, form national defence corps with a view to protecting Hindudom against hostile forces both internal and external. An appeal was made to the Hindu Princes, by another resolution, to hold, organise and attend mass Hindu prayers in their respective States once a week with a view to instilling in the minds of their Hindu subjects a common bond and devotional cultural unity. The Conference also resolved to agitate for the introduction of compulsory military training for Hindus, because in view of the long historical traditions of Indian States, militarisation would go a long way for the practical attainment of Indian independence. Another resolution appealed to the Hindu women to preserve the pristine purity and greatness of Hindu culture and enjoined them to always carry on their person *katari*, *kirpan* or pistol for the purpose of self-defence.

Before concluding, the open session of the States Mahasabha adopted two more resolutions, one urging upon the Government of Jaipur immediately to introduce Hindi as promised by the Prime Minister and protect the religious rights of the Hindus of the State and stop the demolition of temples under the pretext of town improvement. The resolution also appealed to the Maharaja to put an end to the anti-Hindu policy, now subtly introduced by the Prime Minister. The second resolution requested the Nizam's Government to recruit loyal and able Hindus to 90 per cent of the States Services in all grades and also protested against the anti-Hindu policy of the Nizam's Government.

The Conference authorised the President to constitute in consultation with the States Sabhas an Executive Committee of not more than fifteen representatives as a temporary measure to settle the constitution and organise States Mahasabhas. For the present, the head office of the central organisation will be located in Bangalore with Mr. G. V. Ramachar as General Secretary. The Conference also appointed an enquiry committee with Dr. B. S. Moonje as Chairman and Dr. P. Varadarajulu Naidu and Mr. B. G. Khaparde as members to visit and enquire into the state of affairs concerning Hindus in various States and make a report to the executive committee as early as possible. The Chairman was authorised to co-opt two representative members for each State visited by the committee for purposes of enquiry.

## The Mysore State Hindu Mahasabha

Mr. B. Shankar Rao's Address

"Organise your lives, militarise your politics, establish your policy with Vedic Council, Arya Rajasabha, Arya Vidyasabha and Arya Dharmasabha", exhorted Mr. B. Shankar Rao in the course of his presidential address to the third session of the Mysore State Hindu Mahasabha held in 'Yadu Nagar', Shimoga on the 10th. April 1944. "Stand united," he added, "under the Hindu banner, assert the dignity and tradition of the agelong Hindu culture and stand firmly by the ancient Mysore Throne." It was sedition to preach Pakistan in Mysore State. Hindus should become aggressive and not permit their right to be ignored or belittled through sloth and indifference. They should not support the slogan that Muslims must be appeased even at the expense of Hindu taxpayers.

Mr. Shankar Rao deprecated separate electorates in Mysore. He finally exhorted the Hindus of Mysore State to pay loyal allegiance to the Mysore Throne, and said that the allegiance must be based not only on the Ruler's possessing military and police to enforce his temporal authority, but on account of his being the protector and upholder of the ancient Hindu culture.

The Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcoming the President and delegates, urged the much-needed social reforms among the Hindus like the abolition of untouchability, and child-marriage and throwing open the temples to Depressed Classes.

DR. MOONJE ON DEMAND FOR RESPONSIBLE GOVT.

Referring to the question of Responsible Government in States, Dr. B. S. Moonje, in the course of a press interview, said democracy was a new thing being introduced into the administration of India. Democracy meant dispersion of power from the head of the State to various parts and as such Hindu Mahasabha approved and appreciated it. But it was to be looked at from a practical point of view. They had a Government in India which was British and therefore must see what kind of men were at the head of the Government of India. Responsible Government should be first introduced into the premier state of Hyderabad and then into other states. Dr. Moonje next referred to the controversy over flags in Mysore and questioned as to who won the battle of Seringapatam, where Tipu was killed and the Mysore State was reinstated as Hindu Raj. It was the Marathas representing the Hindus, he stated, who won the battle. Thus Mysore State had been built by the power, skill, intelligence and valour of Hindus under the leadership of Marathas.

## The Sikh-Hindu Milap Conference

Opening Day—Lahore—18th. March 1944

Presidential Address

A joint effort is needed to-day to checkmate the designs of those interested persons who want to create a gulf between the two highly cultured communities—the Sikhs and the Hindus and to dispel the misunderstanding created during the last two years. I appeal to you to bring about consolidation in the two communities of the Punjab so that together they can exert powerful influence on the institutions of the province. There is a common menace to both from the direction

of aggressive overzeal of some of our Muslim friends in power. The political union of the two important minorities in the land of Five Rivers against a constitution that conceded protection to the majority community is the only method to restore the morale of non-Muslims everywhere. Let us—Sikhs and Hindus—be allies in politics for self-preservation," said *Sardar Sant Singh, M. L. A.* (Central) presiding at the Hindu-Sikh-Milap Conference held in the spacious lawns of the Gurudatta Bhavan, Lahore on the 18th. March 1944. A huge gathering representing the two communities was present. The Conference was inaugurated by Raja Narendra Nath. Many prominent citizens were present.

Referring to the Government of India Act of 1935 and the establishment of provincial autonomy in the Punjab, he said that safeguards provided for a majority community in the constitutional act of a country was left to the Mother of Parliaments to perpetuate such an absurdity.

#### GOD-SENT GIFT

The Sardar added, with the introduction of provincial autonomy power fell into the hands of those who were opposed to all sorts of political progress in the country and had actively sided with the bureaucracy to retain the hold of British imperialism. One might call it ill-luck for the Punjab but the fact remained that feudal ideals, tribal attachments and big landlordism proved to be a deciding factor in our Muslim constituencies.

When the Unionist Party was crumbling the war came to their rescue and the Defence of India Act was passed granting drastic powers to the provincial Governments, S. Sant Singh continued. Members of the Congress Party in the Punjab Assembly were put behind the bars. The opposition in the Assembly was broken. Those who had been backing the Akali Party, lost their nerve. The strong men in the party went behind the bars. The Akali Party lost their anchor. It swerved in the direction of co-operation with the Unionist Government and entered into a pact which came to be known as "Sikander-Baldev Singh Pact." "I am not against political bargaining. But in this pact there was no political bargaining at all. To me it appeared to be an unprecedented political surrender by the Akali Party to an administration which was virtually a Muslim administration. A political formula unknown to Parliamentary systems of Government was announced to the people of the Punjab. While S. Baldev Singh was to sit with the Government, the men of the Akali Party were allowed to sit with the opposition. No greater absurdity was ever perpetrated by any sensible political party in any country in the world," he said.

The Sikh politics thus began to crumble since 1942, he added. The Pact went a long way to strengthen the hands of the Unionist Party, while it considerably lowered the prestige of the community.

The second big blunder committed in the province, S. Singh said, was the launching of the movement known as "Azad Punjab Movement." The third big blunder that weakened the Akali Party's hold on the Sikh masses was their policy of flirtation with the Muslim League. S. Ajit Singh's inclusion in a purely Muslim League's Government in the N. W. F. P., was the fatal step.

#### SHAM GARB

These blunders, the Sardar said, cost the Akali Party tremendously in prestige and influence.

Reviewing the political situation in the country, S. Sant Singh said that today "we need a joint, common front against the opponents of our country's progress."

The present provincial administration had its run for seven years now, he said. Under the garb of coalition ministry, a purely Muslim administration was functioning. Under the garb of promoting harmony there was a plan attempted to replace non-Muslims by Muslims in the key posts of the province. The grievance was not that the Muslims were getting the higher jobs but the grievance was why they were getting them exclusively. The charge against the present administration in the province was that the power was being so manipulated that all places of power must go to the Muslims alone. "Our function to-day is to warn the provincial Government of the danger of complete breakdown of the administration if this policy of communal discrimination is persisted in for long. And on our part we should check the further deterioration in the morale of the members of Services belonging to communities other than Muslims," he added.

S. Sant Singh suggested: "In the first place a strong Secretariate be created. The history of Services of each employee with qualification of each be kept in the suitable section of the Secretariate. It should be the duty of the Secretariate to

fight out the case of a non-Muslim employee with his Department. And secondly, such monsters in Services, who take delight in using their power in injuring the interests of their coreligionists, must be exposed and it should be the second line action of the Secretariate. Such a scheme will stop intrigues and nepotism in services and enforce the rules of Services."

#### DEVELOP THE SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY

The Sardar did not think that the Ministers of the minorities had been able to protect their rights. As an alternative he suggested, that the minorities in the province should agree to allow the majority community to run the administration. "Let the Muslims assume complete responsibility for the government of the province. The minorities should constitute a strong combined opposition in the Legislature. And thus we will be developing the sense of responsibility in those who lack it at present and the time will arrive soon when the truth will dawn upon them that no administration purely on religious bases can successfully be carried on for long," he added.

In conclusion, Sardar Sant Singh said: "The best and most lasting foundation for the solidification of the two communities is an appeal to their political self-interest under the present constitution. The interest of the Hindus lies in making a common cause with the Sikhs to meet the common menace. Still larger interest of the Sikh community demands shaking of hands with the Hindu brothers and making them allies in politics for self-preservation."

#### Raja Narendra Nath's Speech

*Raja Narendra Nath*, inaugurating the Conference, said that it was useless and wrong to say that the Sikhs and the Hindus were separate and had no common interests. The principles of the Sikh religion were the same as those of the Hindu religion, and then the Sikhs were not only the protectors of the Hindus, they were also the protectors of the country's interests. Their heroic actions in the present war for the defence of their motherland had won admiration of one and all. There was inherent oneness when one saw the cultural or the historical background. Those who said the two communities were separate did not exhibit any sense. He advised the Sikhs to separate religion from politics.

*S. Atma Singh*, Rais of Rawalpindi, unfurling the "unity flag," said that he wanted not only unity between the Sikhs and the Hindus but the unity of the whole of India and to achieve that they were prepared to make all sacrifices.

*S. Mul Singh Chawinda*, Chairman of the Reception Committee, deplored the fact that there was Muslim 'raj' in the province. Their trade and business were ruined. Their religious processions were attacked. Their Gurudwaras were burnt. It would be their political death, if the Hindus and Sikhs did not join hands to protect themselves from the majority community's onslaughts.

### Second Day—Lahore—19th. March 1944

The Conference concluded on the 19th. March without adopting any resolution. Explaining why no resolution had been moved or adopted, the President of the Conference, *S. Sant Singh, M. L. A.* (Central) said that the Conference had been held in order to clarify the atmosphere which had been unfortunately surcharged with misunderstandings. At the Conference they had actually tilled the land and done the ploughing wherein the seed would be sown.

At to-day's sitting of the Conference, speeches were made, among others, by *Raja Narendra Nath*, *Sir Gokul Chand Narang*, *Sant Nidhan Singh "Alam."* General Secretary of the Namdhari Durbar, *Atma Singh Namdhari*, *Pandit Thakur Dutt*, *Mr. Madan Lal Yatri*, *Gyani Gurdit Singh*, *Sardar Gopal Singh*, Advocate and *S. Mool Singh*.

The main theme of the speeches made at the Conference was that Hindus and Sikhs were one and it was foolish to talk of their being enemies of each other. *S. Nidhan Singh Alam* said: "Hindus are Sikhs and Sikhs are Hindus."

*Raja Narendra Nath*, referring to the history of Sikhs, said that they were in fact protectors of the Hindus and he recalled the great sacrifices which the great Gurus had made. The *Raja Sahib* added: "Only he can say that the Hindus and Sikhs are not one who will not be willing to accept that two and two make four."

*Sardar Atma Singh Namdhari* pointed out that the Hindus were the recruiting ground of their martyrs.

The Sikh speakers attributed the present misunderstandings to the selfish motives of a few who were exploiting the name of Sikhism for earning favours for themselves.

*Sir Gokul Chand Narang* thought that for unity among a class of persons or various classes either natural cohesion or pressure from outside was necessary. He was sorry to say that the Hindus had lost that natural cohesion and that was the reason why other people were treating them in so slighting a manner. The Hindus and Sikhs could not be separate. The Sikhs were the sword-arm of the Hindus. They were in fact their shield and the Guru had infused a spirit of suffering and sacrifice in them in order to protect the Hindus. The Hindus revered the Granth Sahib as much as the Sikhs did because the Granth Sahib mentioned the great names of Rama and Krishna. It was the Granth Sahib which provided strength and solace to the Hindus of the Punjab at the time of their distress just as the Ramayan helped the Hindus in the U. P. and other provinces to love and stand by their religion. Spiritually and culturally the Hindus and Sikhs were one and it was high time that they gave up all their misunderstandings and remained united as one man. He wished the Hindus would realise the heavy blows which were being given to them to wipe them out of existence. Having finished with the Hindus, said *Sir Gokul Chand*, those who were engaged in creating a gulf would teach the Sikhs a similar lesson and treat them in the like manner unless the Hindus and Sikhs were united. He warned the Sikhs against falling in the trap which had been laid for them. He was sorry that for a petty sum of Rs. 6,000 for the prachar of Gurmukhi, the Sikhs had surrendered themselves to the late *Sir Sikander Hyat Khan*. He asked them to remember that whereas they wanted to propagate Gurmukhi, the Government had made up their mind to teach Arabic along with Gurmukhi and for giving Jhatka to Sikhs they were allowing beef to the Muslims instead of allowing them Halal.

He asked the Hindus to realise the pressure from outside lest the dream of Mr. Jinnah to rule should be realised.

#### SIKHS AND HINDUS ARE ONE

*Sardar Sant Singh*, in the course of his concluding remarks, said that spiritually, historically, culturally and politically also the Sikhs and Hindus were one. Under the Unionist regime, the Punjab Hindus and Sikhs had been reduced to a position which if accepted would lead them nowhere in the political life of the province. The Montgomery by-election had left a lesson for them and it was that unless the Hindus and Sikhs were united now, in future only Unionists or their men would be returned to the legislature and it could well be imagined what it would mean. While pleading that the rights of the non-Muslims in the services should be protected to the utmost as also their political rights, *S. Sant Singh* warned the Hindus and Sikhs that in case they did not appreciate the realities of life and the significance of what was happening to them, they would be put out of existence soon.

## The Mahakoshal Hindu Sabha Conference

Bilaspur—29th. & 30th. January 1944

#### Presidential Address

The following extracts are taken from *Dr. B. S. Moonje's* presidential address delivered on the occasion of the Mahakoshal Provincial Hindu Sabha Conference held at Bilaspur (C. P.) on 29th. and 30th. January 1944 :—

The *Christian Science Monitor* says : "It is now time for a religious revival, and for the progress of the spirit."

Speaking for the Hindus alone, as they are all thinking in terms of their own nationals and national concerns, it is however a bit difficult to understand what is meant by the 'religious revival.' By its mention of religious revival, I hope, the *Christian Monitor* does not mean to say that there is only one religion and that is the Christian religion. If that be so, then the term "religious revival" as applied to India, must mean "Revival of Hinduism," that is, all day-to-day affairs in the Hindu world in Hindusthan, including even the formulation of a new constitution for India, should be based upon the religious revival, that is the revival of Hinduism. If the affairs of the Christian world have to be inspired by the spirit of revival of Christianity and similarly of the Moslem world by the spirit of Islam,



then naturally the Hindus must thereby be made to feel that the affairs in the Hindu world must also be inspired by the spirit of Hinduism.

In the public administration of the country the Hindus have not yet begun to think in the spirit of the so-called "religious revival" as the Christians and the Moslems are doing. They are still in the orthodox stage of belief that the public administration of the country should not be polluted by considerations of communal controversies and fanaticism of religious revivals. The Hindus must therefore, now learn to go out into the world and develop the boldness and frankness in maintaining that the religious revival in respect of the Hindu world must be the revival of Hindu religion. Thus, in one word, it will be no sin if the Hindu Mahasabha were to say that the constitution of Hindusthan, the land of the Hindus, should be based upon the Vedas as the constitutions of the lands of the Christianity and Islam are to be based on the revival of these religions. Of course, for the protection of their religions and cultures, there are the formulas fortunately evolved by the League of Nations, though now defunct, which represents the combined wisdom and statesmanship of Europe including England and America.

#### No Sin

I have read of some criticisms in respect of my suggestion that it will be no sin, if the Hindu Mahasabha were to say that the constitution of the Hindusthan should be based on the Vedas. It is said that India is not a homogeneous country. But then which country is there in the world which is homogeneous, so far as the religion is concerned? Are the Arab Nations or the Arab Union who aspire to base their constitution on Koran, are homogeneous? There are quarrelling Christians and Jews in those countries—what about them? In England itself, is not the constitution based on Christianity and is not the King in the constitution required to take the oath of being the "Defender of the Faith," that is the Protestant Christianity and not of Roman Catholic Christianity, though there are several other religious communities in England? As for some people in India being violently disregardful of the authority of the Vedas, was there ever a civil war in India as it was in England between Roman Catholic Christianity and Protestant Christianity? As the Koran and the Bible are the sacred books of the Moslems and the Christians, so is the Vedas the sacred books of the Hindus. If the Koran and the Bible are not hopelessly inadequate for the material problems of their Nations, why should Vedas alone be considered as hopelessly inadequate for the material problems of India? It is foolish to talk of absurdity or harm accruing from following the dictates of one's own religion in one's own country.

The principles of post-war reconstruction so far as it concerns the Hindu world of Hindusthan must necessarily be briefly:—

(1) Revival of Hinduism, that is, the Vedas should be the basis of the new constitution.

(2) Provision of making education easily available to all, both men and women, without any exception so that all these instincts which are the natural attributes of mind together with the intellect and power of discrimination of right from wrong should be developed to their fullest possible extent.

(3) With a view to prevent bullies, covetous aggressors, or mischief mongers from committing breaches of public peace either by way of creating internal commotion or of inviting invasion by external enemies, the cult of the development of sciences, that is, the natural inexorable desire of probing into and solving and gaining mastery over the mysteries of the universe should be kept up and developed; so that the modern methods of warfare may be assimilated and the nation be made strong and ready for self-defence and for punishing evil-doers.

(4) All industries, both major and minor, with their accompaniments of scientific investigations and developments should be established in India; so that the dependency of India upon other nations for implements of self-defence and other necessities of daily life should be blotted out.

(5) Commerce and manufactories should be so developed as to be able to completely remove unemployment or to reduce it to the minimum and every person should be able to get adequate food in a system of balanced diet for the improvement of his health and vigour with a view to exorcise the evils of poverty.

#### SOLUTIONS OF IMPASSE

If you look to the origin of the deadlock, it will be noticed that it is entirely the result of the Congress policy and programme of non-cooperation in its attempt to evolve independence for India. It is said that this deadlock would be solved if Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress leaders would be released. But even sup-



posing that they are released, there are still two great hurdles in the way—one is the attitude of the British Government and its disinclination to part with real power, and the second is the uncompromising attitude of Mr. Jinnah and his Muslim League. As for the release of Mahatma Gandhi and Congress leaders, the Hindu Mahasabha has been incessantly asking for their release, but the point that worries it—even supposing that Mahatma Gandhi is released and even the British Government is prepared to part with power, say, even unconditionally,—will Mr. Jinnah and his Muslim League come round to shake hands with the Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha on terms of equity and justice without insisting on their previous acceptance of Pakistan?

Whatever that be, the Hindu Mahasabha in order to do its utmost to co-operate with all in securing National Government has been and is always prepared to put all controversial points in cold storage until the war is over and the time comes for the formulation of a constitution. It is also prepared to join hands with all political parties for forming an interim National Government on the basis of their proportion in the general population of the country.

#### PEACHAR OF PAKISTAN

As for Pakistan, Mr. Jinnah may very well fling threats in the face of the British Government to 'seize' Pakistan; but we know the inherent strength of the Muslim League as of all other parties as compared with that of the British Government. The utmost that we can therefore say in the matter is that the Hindu Mahasabha will fight to the utmost and to the last to maintain the integrity and unity of India. Mr. Jinnah may go on saying that "there can be no compromise on the question of partition and division of India," but we have learnt to take his heroic words with always a grain of salt in the faith that, ultimately, finding Hindu Mahasabha too strong with its attitude of equity, justice, and fair-play, Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim League will be convinced of the futility of their present intransigent attitude and then of the need of cultivating friendship with their elder brothers, the majority community of the Hindus.

But there is one pitfall and it will delay the dawn of sound sense and realistic comprehension in the Muslim League of the fundamental bar of justice and reason which is represented by the Hindu Mahasabha.

It is feared and even openly said that the Congress in its defeatist mentality in respect of the Muslim League, will yield to Mr. Jinnah and agree to its proposal of partition of India into Hindu India and Muslim India. But Mr. Jinnah is a shrewd politician and knows that the Congress has not any standing in the matter of giving away anything concerning communal adjustments, however powerful it may be, so far as the political matters are concerned. In this controversy the position of the Hindu Mahasabha is unassailable and Mr. Jinnah knows fully about it. Ultimately, he knows, he will have to negotiate with the Hindu Mahasabha and the duty of the Congress will then only be to bless what would have been settled between the Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha.

#### NEW SLOGANS

Coining of slogans is a method of propaganda which, in practice, has been found to be most effective. Slogans catch the imagination of the masses who are moved by its spirit and meaning, though they may not understand the responsibilities involved.

In India at present, there are two such slogans—one "Quit India" of the Congress and the other "Divide and Quit India" of the Moslem League. The mass followings shouting these slogans of the Congress as well as of the Muslim League are fired by the meanings conveyed by these slogans.

But they do not understand the responsibilities involved. That part of the business, they leave to their respective leaders.

The Hindu Mahasabha has not yet coined any such slogan; it may therefore, be assumed to possess an open mind.

As for the Congress slogan of "Quit India," it means that the Britishers commencing with Lord Clive up to the Rt. Hon. Mr. Churchill and Mr. Amery who have established their empire over India during the last, say, 125 years, both by their diplomatic skill and by their swords, should give up their empire, simply because the Congress is pleased to ask for it and the Britishers should pack up and go back to their homeland some seven thousand miles away beyond the seas. This is what the Congress calls "Independence," and the Congress believes that it won't require any army, that is, any organised force, to maintain the Independence thus secured. Leaving aside the question of feasibility or otherwise of this slogan of the

Congress, I am here concerned with only one aspect of it. During the last 125 years the Britishers, having secured the overlordship in India, have been using Indian men and money without any consideration whatsoever for organising, strengthening and expanding their empire. It is because of India that the Britishers have secured and are enjoying the pre-eminent position among the nations in the world.

#### Simpleton's Logic

Now the question is—Will the Britishers, simply because they are so asked, leave India and go back to their home? But then what about the announcement of Mr Churchill that it is not for the purpose of liquidating the British Empire that he has accepted the first Ministership of His Imperial Majesty, the King Emperor? And even supposing they, out of generosity and fairness, leave India, what will the Congress gain more than what it calls Independence? What repayment will have been made over the purpose of spending blood and money by the Britishers for the expansion of their Empire? Should it be allowed to go waste? Can we not take up the idea started by Mr. Curtin, the present Prime Minister of Australia and appreciate its advantage from our point of view? The Prime Minister of Australia advocates the establishment of a supreme body which should govern the affairs of the entire British Empire after the war. Of course, if this idea materialises—and it will be no wonder if it does after the war, then—how will this Supreme Council be formed, if not on the basis of freedom and democracy? The British Government have already promised freedom and democracy to India and it is likely that the promise will be given more or less concrete shape after the war. Thus India will be as free in her domestic affairs as the several dominions—such as Australia, New Zealand and Canada are at present, not excluding even England, the mother country of the Empire. India having gained its freedom, if India were to choose to remain within the Empire, she will have the right to have her say in the formulation of this Supreme Empire Council to carry on the "Supreme United Government for the British Empire." Naturally and as a matter of course and of right, this Supreme Council of United Government on the basis of democracy will be composed of representatives from the different component parts of the British Empire enjoying freedom and their numbers will be fixed on the basis of the proportions of their populations in the general populations of the Empire. Here India will have a special advantage, being populated as it is by 40 crores of people as contrasted with hardly 5 crores being the population of England, and with the populations of other dominions which are measureable by mere lacs. Thus, this Supreme Council of the United Government of the British Empire will have representatives from India very far in excess over the combined representatives of the several dominions and England itself. This Council will then be dominated by India and the British Empire will then be automatically changed into the Indo-British Empire.

Is this not an advantage if India after getting her freedom chooses to remain in the British Empire? Will this not be an adequate repayment for all the Indian money and blood spent by Britain like water during the last 125 years of its rule over India for the expansion of her empire?

#### Advantage

If this is to be ridiculed as a day-dream, then what about the Congress slogan of "Quit India"? It is most significant to not that ideas on this pattern are being cultivated in the United States of America.

The New York Magazine—"Fortune," in an editorial, "British Empire And United States" says: "In nine cases out of ten, arguments about the British Imperialism boil down to India.....And American intellectuals believed before the war that the only solution for India was immediate and complete Independence. Events have tampered the judgments of some." Mentioning later on, about the growing Volunteer Indian Army, now of 20 lacs, and of Indian steel production have been doubled and, what is more, of India being now Britain's creditor instead of a debtor as before to the extent of at most of over 2,000,000,000 dollars with her British Bank balance growing at the rate of about 700,000,000 dollars annually," the Magazine says: "In these circumstances, India may emerge from the war not as a kind of an annexe to the British Empire but as a huge power within it. ....India may choose to become peer of Australia, New Zealand and United Kingdom within the Commonwealth.....The bogey of the Imperialism will disappear and the Empire's creative achievement will endure." Such is the disinterested opinion of outsiders. Is it not worth our contemplating upon?"

Hindu Mahasabha not having yet been committed to any slogan, either of the Congress or of the Muslime League will, I hope, introspect and may perhaps come to a decision, which may support my imaginative intuition.

## Baroda Hindu Sabha Conference

### Presidential Address

The following is a summary of the presidential speech of Dr. B. S. Moonje at the Hindu Sabha Conference of Baroda State, held at Baroda in the last week of April 1944 :—

So much has been said and written about the Hindu Mahasabha and its activities both by its supporters, as well as by its opponents that there is nothing left that could be said to be new in conception or that has not been previously said or written. I have, therefore, to ask the Hindus to be united and to be continuously on the alert. Because no Nation or no community can live or thrive which is not always on the alert to defend itself whenever attacked.

But of late two events have happened and it is but natural that the Hindu Mahasabha should assess the value of the reactions of these events on the part of the various organisations and on the life of the Hindus. The first of these two events is the speech of His Excellency the Viceroy which is the first of its kind since he assumed the Viceroyalty recently and second is the interview which Mr. Jinnah has given quite recently to a correspondent of a British newspaper. These are the important events and it will be worth our while to analyse their effects.

### GEOGRAPHICAL UNITY OF INDIA

As for the speech of the Viceroy, the first thing that is striking is that the language and the phraseology of the speech is entirely out of line with what we have been accustomed to as coming from Viceroys. The language is straight, clear, direct and to the point. There are no diplomatic ambiguities or involutions. We must congratulate him. Such language can only come from a true soldier, though even in him the innate and inveterate love of a Britisher for what may be described as inscrutable diplomacy has not left untouched. But whatever diplomacy there may be, one should not forget that there can be no effective diplomacy unless it is based on a living consciousness of a forceful sanction behind, which the Viceroy has in ample measure. One thing however is certain that there are no ambiguities so far as the language used is concerned. The present Viceroy has clearly and directly told both the Hindus and the Mussulmans that "You cannot alter geography. From the point of view of defence, of relations with the outside world, of many internal and external problems, India is a natural unit." Though, of course, the indissoluble habit of being always on the alert, innate in the British blood, has eventually supervened and made him say, "You need not regard them as final views," still, at least for the present, it has been made clear to both the Hindus and the Mussulmans that whatever constitutional developments may take place in future, India, as the Viceroy says, will be "a united country", and therefore, there will be a Central Government which will be "a joint British and Indian affair with the ultimate responsibility still remaining with the British Parliament." Thus it may be said that, so far as the British Government is concerned, they have given a final reply, so far as finality can go in this world and also a dead quietus to the slogans "QUIT INDIA" and "DIVIDE AND GO." Thus from the British side, we know definitely, on the one hand, that they will not part with power, and therefore, there cannot be independence and, on the other, that there will not be vivisection, that is, division of India into Moslem India and Hindu India, so long as the present Viceroy can help it. We must be thankful because now we know where we are going to be definitely.

As for the transfer of power, if we scrutinise deeper, it is a sight for the Gods to see. Two Britishers of highest eminence and authority speak and though they speak in different language, their ultimate meaning is the same. One of them, the present Viceroy, says: "We are bound in justice, in honour.....to hand over India to Indian rule.....but until the two main Indian parties (Hindus and Mussulmans) at least can come to terms, I do not see any immediate hope of progress" and "Until they can agree on its (future constitution) form, the transfer of power cannot be made". The other, who is not less a person than Mr. Chur-

chill, the present Prime Minister of England, authoritatively says: "The penalties of Nazi's defeat are vital. After the blinding flash of catastrophic stunning blow and gaping wounds there comes the onset of the disease of defeat. The central principle of a nation's life is broken and all the healthy normal control vanishes. There are few societies that can withstand conditions of subjugation. Indomitable patriots take different parts; quislings and collaborationists of all kinds abound. Guerilla leaders (in India in peaceful times of subjugation) each with their personal followers quarrel and fight,.....animated by hatred more fierce than that which should be for the common foe.....Among all these varied forces the German oppressor (the conquerer) develops his intrigues with typical ruthlessness and merciless cruelty.... This is not the time for ideological preferences for one side or the other and certainly we, of His Majesty's Government, have not indulged ourselves in this way at all.

Is this not a vivid and detailed pen-picture of what is taking place in India since we were defeated and the Britishers were installed as Rulers? Are we not in the firm grip of the disease of defeat and subjugation, as Mr. Churchill describes? This is certainly not the situation for them to indulge in ideological preferences. Can we reasonably ever hope for Hindu-Moslem unity and for transfer of power by the Britishers to Indian hands? Thus there is rich food for thought to those who feel that independence could be gained by arguing or by appeasing Mr. Jinnah by granting him Pakistan.

#### A CONCRETE SUGGESTION

However, I make a concrete suggestion. Let Mr. Jinnah, the representative of the Moslems, and Mahatma Gandhi, if he were to give up his claim of representing the Congress and were to admit to be a communal Representative of the Hindus as Mr. Jinnah is of the Moslems, or Mr. Savarkar, President of the Hindu Mahasabha, sit together and come to an understanding among themselves. Let them deposit the document of agreement, without disclosing the terms to the Government, with the Imperial Bank; and then go together to the Government declaring that the Hindus and the Moslems have come to an agreement and ask for the transfer of power. If the Government were to agree, all right so much the better; but if the Government were still not to agree to transfer, will Mr. Jinnah and his Moslems join hands with the Hindus in quarrelling and warring with the Government for the transfer of power?

Mr. Jinnah is a wise man, a worldly practical man. He knows that neither the Hindus nor the Moslems, either singly or combined, can coerce the powerful Government to surrender power.

Having so far discussed briefly the pressing problems in the politics of India as a whole, I should now say a few words about what is agitating the Hindu minds in the Hindu States.

In imitation of the politics of Britishers who are foreign to India, the politicians particularly the Hindus of the Hindu States are carrying on intensive propaganda for the establishment of what they call democracy and responsible Government in their respective States.

#### HISTORICAL VIEW OF THE STATES

In contrast with British India, the Hindus of Hindu States should always keep in mind two points:—

(1) That the Prince who is ruling the States is a representative of the Hindu Raj of the past and as such incorporates in himself all traditions of dignity, and is suffering and fighting for maintaining the Hindu Raj against foreign opponents who were opposing them during the past 500 years or so. Thus the Hindu Prince holds in our hearts the same position of love and respect which any king of the nations in the world outside India inspires in the hearts of his own subjects. For example, the Britishers, who are at present ruling India, have love and respect for their own King for which there is no parallel in any nation in the world except, perhaps, in the case of Japan.

In India itself, in the Nizam Hyderabad, even an ordinary Moslem in the streets has such a pride for the Nizam whom he calls by the reverential name of Ala Hazrat, that he cannot brook any ill word spoken against the Nizam. In fact, he regards himself as a Nizam personified in miniature in his relations with the Hindus. He hates democracy and responsible government.

The Hindu Mahasabha, therefore, calls upon all Hindus to respect and love their Hindu Princes as embodiments of Hindu pride and Hindu achievements in the political world of the past and as hopeful in the future.

(2) Democracy and what is called the Responsible Government on the lines of western Nations, are forms of administration which are quite new to India. Though we like to have them introduced in the administration of India, we must never forget that the largest community which is the Hindu Community has got a caste system which being peculiar to itself and not known anywhere else in the world, is not very conducive to the western type of democracy.

Taking these two points into consideration, my conclusion in the matter is that the system of democracy and Responsible Government which is mostly of the British conception should first be introduced in the Central Government of British India and in the Provincial Government. After that it should then be introduced in the premier state of the Nizam. The other states will automatically follow.

#### HYDERABAD AND KASHMIR

In this connection, I should like to warn my Hindu brethren. They should study and try to know what the real motive is which inspires Mussulmans in the Hyderabad State, on one side, to oppose the introduction of democracy and Responsible Government and the same Mussulmans in the Kashmir State, on the other, to agitate for democracy and Responsible Government. In the Hyderabad State the majority, that is, more than 90 per cent of the subjects, are Hindus, but the Prince is a Mussulman. The converse is the position in Kashmir State, that is, more than 90 per cent of the subjects are Mussulmans and the Prince is a Hindu. I hope my Hindu brethren will take lesson and warning conveyed in the two contrary positions of the Mussulmans in Kashmir and the Hyderabad State.

The Hindu Mahasabha, however, holds that whatever political developments may take place in the future, the Hindu Princes are pillars of strength for the establishment of Hindu Raj in Hindusthan. The Hindu Mahasabha at times, may criticise them or find faults with them; yet the limit of criticism or fault-finding should not be carried to the extent of weakening the position of the Hindu Prince in his State and in his relations with the Crown Representative of the British Government of India.

#### A PRACTICAL VIEW

Now I should like to touch on a very delicate matter which concerns only the Baroda State. The Ruling Prince in Baroda State is a Representative of the Hindu power which uprooted the foreign empire established and ruling in India for more than 500 years and re-established in its place Hindu Raj practically in the whole of India before the advent of the British hardly 125 years ago. In the zeal for social reform which is a peculiarity more of the Hindus than of the Mussulmans, a law of monogamy only for the Hindus was passed in Baroda. Without trying to discriminate on merits of monogamy versus polygamy, I believe, in the first place, it was wrong to pass a law of monogamy which is clearly an unwarranted interference with the Hindu sociology; and in the second place, it is a greater wrong, I have no hesitation to say, to ask a foreign Government for his dethronement. If the Prince has broken his own law he has made himself liable to criticism but criticism should not be carried to such an inordinate and suicidal extent.

Do the Hindus perceive the suicidal harm that they are doing though unwittingly, by insisting on monogamy for the Hindus, while leaving the Mussulmans free to have as many wives as they may like?

Have you got the confidence and sanction to make a similar law of monogamy compulsory for the Moslems?

The fact is that, in India having Mussulmans and Hindus living side by side and competing for domination, nothing can be taken as good or bad on merit alone until its effects are calculated by the reaction thereby caused on the Moslem Community which regards Hindus as its rivals.

The Maharani of Baroda, of course, has a unique position of respect and personal dignity which cannot be affected by the second marriage of the Prince. Her Highness, despite the second marriage, is all the same the Rajmata, the mother of the subjects of the State. It is a position of dignity comparable with that of the British King when he takes the oath of "The Defender of Faith" at the time of ascending the British throne. We bow in all humility, loyalty and reverence to Her Highness, the Rajmata, though we may say that there was no need for the Prince to marry again. God may bless the Royal House of Baroda, to which the Gujerat owes a special debt of gratitude in having been saved by it from Moslemisation during the Moghul rule of Aurangzeb.

# The All India Aryan Congress

Open Session—New Delhi—20th. to 22nd. February 1944

The open session of the All India Aryan Congress commenced at New Delhi on the 20th. February 1944 under the presidency of Dr. *Shyama Prasad Mukherjee* and continued for three days.

Dr. Mukherjee, who arrived in Delhi in the morning, was given an enthusiastic reception at the railway station by Arya Samaj workers, volunteers and a large number of people. He was later seated on an elephant and was taken in a big procession to Aryanagar, where the conference was held.

Messages wishing success to the Congress were received from Mr. *M. R. Jayakar*, Sir *J. P. Srivastava*, Dr. *Moonje* and others.

## Dr. Mookherjee's Address

"A national opposition throughout India which will include all parties and sections who are agreed on the fundamental demands of Indian liberty", was advocated by Dr. *Shyama Prasad Mookherjee*, in his presidential address. "Let us not try to run after or cajole parties and persons who are not for Indian progress and freedom but act as subservient tools in the hands of their country", he went on. "There are other groups and sections, small and negligible by themselves, but strong and powerful if they combine, who may well constitute an All-India national opposition laying down the fundamental conditions of our struggle for liberty."

"It will be the duty of such a body to lay stress on the maximum points of agreement regarding national reconstruction, demand immediate settlement, plead for toleration and better understanding and fearlessly resist every encroachment on our civil, economic and political rights".

After referring to the Bengal famine, Dr. Mookherjee stressed the need for uniting Hindus. "We have to fight against a steady growth of fanatical zeal following the demand for India's vivisection, and we have to guard against the onslaughts of the ruling race itself which aims constantly at crippling Hindu strength and nationalist element in the public life of the country. Indian history gives us ample evidence that though there were giants among men in every generation who could easily be compared to the greatest men in any country or clime, the masses of the Indian people were not always swayed by a strong and vigorous impulse at any price. The great work that lies before political and other parties in India to-day, imbued with healthy ideas of national solidarity, is to spread far and wide this love for unity and liberty, this faith in India's inherent right to govern herself, this determination that unless freedom is achieved, life is not worth living at all. Our goal will be reached not by a mere appeal to the emotions of the people or by merely criticising our enemies but by carrying on an active programme of social and economic uplift and by making religion a true unifying factor for the uplift of human civilization".

## ACT OF ARROGANT INTOLERANCE

Earlier, Dr. *Mookherjee* paid a tribute to work of the Arya Samaj and to its founder Maharshi Dayanand Saraswati and characterised as "an act of arrogant and mischievous intolerance" the demand for the suppression of some of the passages in 'Satyarth-Prakash'. He thought that the agitation might itself serve to popularise more and more the great words of truth, courage and wisdom with which he said this famous book abounded and which had brought strength and solace to millions, thus serving further to carry into effect the great ideal of liberation of the Indian mind for which the master lived and died. Dr. Mookherjee declared that an attack on the book would be accepted as a challenge by the entire Hindu race and indeed by all lovers of freedom of thought and of opinion, no matter what their religious persuasion might be.

## INDIA IS ONE

Referring to the demand for Pakistan, Dr. *Mookherjee* expressed satisfaction that Lord Wavell had unequivocally recognised that politically, economically and culturally India was and must remain one single unit though Lord Wavell had no constructive plan to end the present deadlock.

"The Moslem League," said Dr. *Mookherjee*, "left to itself cannot divide India against the united opposition of the majority of her patriotic children nor can Britain with her sword vivisection India and guarantee peaceful possession to the

disruptionists but British policy to-day is encouraging Pakistan regime in action in provinces where Hindus are in a minority and their rights and interests are being systematically sacrificed at the altar of sordid communal opportunism. To test the 'bonafides' of the Moslem League as regards its anxiety for the welfare of the Indian people or even the Mussalmans, we have repeatedly offered proposals for closing our ranks, postponing all controversial points regarding the future constitution until after the war and of putting forward a united demand for immediate transfer of power specially for a vigorous and systematic preparation of national defence of India and utilisation of India's vast resources for her economic regeneration. That door of negotiation is still open though there is little chance of any such understanding being arrived at in view of the unconcealed manner in which all reactionary elements are encouraged by our rulers to put forth their unpatriotic and selfish demands".

### Proceedings and Resolutions

A strong protest against what is termed as an organised move on the part of the Muslim League to interfere with the religious liberties of the Hindus was made at the Congress.

The main resolution of the Congress on the agitation against the "Satyartha Prakash" was moved by Pandit Ganga Prasad, President of the International Aryan League, and was seconded and supported by Pandit Indra, Goswami Ganesh Dutt of Lahore and Bawa Bachittar Singh respectively.

*Pandit Ganga Prasad* said that 'Satyartha Prakash' was a sacred religious book of the whole of the Arya world and, as far as he knew, over two and a half lakhs of its copies had already been published in Hindi, besides its translations in other languages.

*Pandit Indra* said that the agitation against the "Satyartha Prakash" was a political move by the Muslim League and it must be nipped in the bud.

*Goswami Ganesh Dutt*, a Sanatanist leader, assured the Congress that all Hindus, irrespective of caste and creed, would stand shoulder to shoulder with the Arya Samaj in the defence of their sacred book.

The Congress concluded on the 22nd. February after passing a number of resolutions affecting the Aryans.

By one resolution, the session condemned Pakistan and opposed proposals for division of India.

It resolved to raise a fund of two lakhs of rupees for protection of the "Satyartha Prakash". Promises and collections on the spot immediately after passing the resolution amounted to about Rs. 1,50,000.

By another resolution, the session resolved to organise an Aryan Veer Dal, consisting of one lakh persons within three years and to establish 3,000 Arya Samajes all over the country.

The fourth resolution drew the attention of the Hyderabad Government to the conditions following which the Aryan Satyagraha was called off in 1939 and requested them to honour those conditions.

By the last resolution, the session urged all Aryans to abolish the caste system and decided that anybody who happened to be a member of a caste organisation should not be allowed membership of the Arya Samaj.

The session appointed a sub-committee to see that due consideration was given to Vedic Culture in post war reconstruction.

### President's Concluding Speech

A strong warning to the Muslim League to stop interfering with the religious matters of the Hindus and to withdraw their agitation against the "Satyartha Prakash" was given by *Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookherjee* in his concluding speech.

*Dr. Mookherjee* said that the "Satyartha Prakash" was a sacred and religious book of a large section of the Indian people in this country and if an attack came from either direction, it would not only be resisted by the Arya Samaj but all the Hindus throughout India. He warned the Muslim League not to throw stones on others while themselves living in glass houses.

The speaker blamed the Government for allowing the Muslim League to interfere with the religious rights of the Hindus.

The speaker, referring to the Bengal situation, apprehended a bigger famine in 1944 than that in 1943. He said that there was a complete black-out of news from Bengal and things were much different from what appeared to them. The present Ministry, which had been mostly responsible for the last famine, had no right to exist morally and physically.

# A. I. Scheduled Castes' Conference

## Second Session—Cawnpur—29th. & 30th. January 1944

The second session of the All-India Scheduled Castes' Conference was held at Cawnpur on the 29th. January 1944 under the presidency of Rao Bahadur N. Sivaraj, M. L. A. (Central).

Opening the proceedings, Mr. Piarelal Kureel, M.L.A. (Central), Chairman of the Reception Committee, said that it was time they retaliated against any attempts to suppress them.

Mr. P. N. Rajbhoj, the General Secretary, after reviewing the progress of work, in each province, paid a warm tribute to Dr. Ambedkar for all that he had achieved for the advancement of the community, especially since he joined the Government of India. Appealing for strengthening the Scheduled Castes Federation, Mr. Rajbhoj said: "We are ten crores and it is our aim and hope that our membership must be greater than that of any political party in the country."

### Mr. Sivaraj's Address

Explaining the main demands of his community, Mr. Sivaraj said that for creating a sense of security among them the new constitution must contain provisions recognising that the Scheduled Casts were distinct and separate from the Hindus, constituting an important element in the national life of India. They must be guaranteed due representation in the Executive Government and in the public services in proportion to their needs and importance. They demanded representation in all legislatures and local bodies by statute by the method of separate electorates. Another vital point to which they attached the greatest importance was the establishment of separate Scheduled Castes villages away from and independent of Hindu villages. For the settlement of his community members in new villages, it was necessary to set up a Settlement Commission, whose task it would be to allot Government land that was cultivable on the new sites. The present divisions in villages must be wiped out if untouchability was to disappear once for all. He thought that this offered the only solution to the problem.

Appealing to young men in the community to take up public work, Mr. Sivaraj said that the Federation claimed to voice the feelings of the community. Their women must encourage youths to come forward to shoulder the burden and enlist support for the programme and policy of their organisation. Expressing his appreciation of the valuable work of Dr. Ambedkar as a member of the Government of India for the uplift of his community, Mr. Sivaraj remarked, that for the first time, Scheduled Caste men had been sent out on behalf of India to the meeting of the Institute of Pacific Relations Conference and to lecture on India's war effort in Great Britain and America. The significance of this event ought not to be lost sight of by them. It behoved them to support him and strengthen Dr. Ambedkar's hands in the Government of India.

### Resolutions

The Conference, at its second sitting on the next day, the 30th. January adopted without dissent all the seven resolutions passed earlier by the Subjects Committee last night. The discussion lasted two hours.

Mr. Sivaraj, the President, moved, at the outset, a resolution of condolence on the death of the late Diwan Bahadur M. C. Rajah, which was passed all standing.

A resolution on the Cripps proposals declared that they are a breach of the assurance given by the Viceroy in his declaration of August 1940, and stated that the scheduled castes will strongly oppose any implementation of the proposals in the interim period unless they are modified so as to promise adequate representation for scheduled castes in the Central and Provincial executives. The resolution opposed the Constituent Assembly proposed by the Congress and agreed to in the Cripps proposals on the ground that it will mean framing of the future constitution by caste Hindus.

The Conference by two other resolutions expressed itself emphatically against the system of *begar* and forced labour prevalent in India, asked the Government of India to set up a committee to investigate with a view to abolishing the system by law and asked the Sind Government to recognise Scheduled Castes in Sind as a minority and grant them political and educational privileges which a minority was entitled to.

Another resolution supported the resolutions passed at the Nagpur Conference



in 1941. The Conference called upon various Provincial Governments to follow the lead given by the Government of India and define the proportion which the scheduled castes are entitled to in the provincial public services and to fix the annual amount to be spent on University and higher education of scheduled caste students. Regarding the Government of India's post-war reconstruction plans, a resolution declared that reconstruction would be "a sham and a mockery" if it was not planned in a manner so as to elevate the economic condition of the scheduled castes in India.

While regretting that neither the Bengal Government nor the relief committees started by Hindus or by Muslims paid any attention to the provision of adequate relief to the scheduled caste people in Bengal, the Conference urged the need for special measures for their relief. Other resolutions related to the disability of scheduled castes in the matter of recruitment to combatant forces, especially in the Punjab, and the Punjab Government's refusal to treat scheduled castes as agriculturists, thereby depriving them of the benefit of the Land Alienation Act.

Speaking on the resolution about recruitment of scheduled castes to combatant forces, *Sardar Gopal Singh* (Punjab) in a vehement speech asserted that his community yielded to none in martial spirit and yet they suffered from disabilities in his province. Declaring that organised strength was their vital need, the speaker urged their leader, Dr. Ambedkar, to exert his influence with the authorities and have the restrictions removed.

Speakers on the various resolutions detailed their experiences from various provinces about the sufferings of scheduled castes members and were unanimous in asking them to join the Federation.

#### Dr. Ambedkar's Plea

After the resolutions were disposed of, Dr. Ambedkar was presented with welcome addresses by three scheduled castes organisations, namely the U. P. Backward Classes, U. P. Scheduled Castes Students and members of the Reception Committee of the All-India Conference.

Speaking in reply to the vast gathering, which included about 500 women, for sixty-five minutes, Dr. Ambedkar set out the role of his community in India of the future and appealed to youths to forge sanctions by developing organisational strength behind the Federation so that no party, not even the British Government, would dare refuse to recognise their importance in the future scheme of India's constitutional development.

He explained that he attended the Conference as a guest on special invitation and thought it would have been improper had he spoken earlier in the proceedings. He agreed to place his views, he added, before the audience only after all the resolutions were passed by the Conference.

Crowds of visitors swelled up towards the close of discussion on the resolutions and over 20,000 people listened clamly to Dr. Ambedkar.

"We must resolve that in the free India of the future, we will be a ruling race. We refuse to continue to play a role of subservience or accept a position in which we could be treated as servants, not masters", declared Dr. Ambedkar. If and when a Swaraj Government was established in India, he asserted, Hindus, Muslims and the scheduled castes, three parties in the country, would share the political power. The days of domination of one community over another were certainly over, and he wanted to make it known that the scheduled castes were determined to fight for their rights and claim their due share in the administration of the country.

Unless they had political power in their hands, they could not hope to bring about the desired improvement in the conditions of their poverty-stricken people. He visualised the day when it would be possible to guarantee a minimum wage of Rs. 30 a month, provide housing for labour and pensions as an insurance against old age to the poor.

#### "PREFERRED HIS COMMUNITY TO SWARAJ

His answer to those critics who asked him to join the Congress was simple, said Dr. Ambedkar. "I regard as more important the freedom of the scheduled castes in India, the community which has been the victim of domination and oppression for over two thousand years." He preferred to work for the uplift of his community rather than for Swaraj for the country. If any leader assured him, he continued, that he was prepared to take over the responsibility of promoting and advancing the interests of the scheduled castes of which he was proud to be one, he would reconsider the position. He refused to recognise as a leader anyone who recognised caste distinctions or religious differences.

Dr. Ambedkar asked the people to ponder over the causes of their sufferings extending over a long period of two thousand years. The Hindu Dharma, he asserted, was the main cause. Of all religions in the world it was Hinduism that recognised caste distinctions and untouchability. This was the cover, the cloak for all injustices perpetrated on the scheduled castes by caste Hindus. The position even to-day, he regretted to say, was that in villages they could not live with self-respect. He, therefore, reiterated his conviction that they must discard Hinduism and refuse to submit to indignities any longer. What struck him most was that his community still continued to accept a position of humiliation only because caste Hindus persisted in dominating over them. He exhorted the people to rely on their own strength, shake off the notion that they were in any way inferior to any other community.

#### "BUILD UP ORGANISATIONAL STRENGTH"

Proceeding, Dr. Ambedkar emphasised the need for building up sanctions by organisational strength behind their political body, the Scheduled Castes' Federation. The British Government, he said, was ever ready to show consideration to the Muslims. If the Congress leaders, after their release, reached settlement with Muslims on Pakistan or a fifty-fifty basis agreement, what would be the position of the scheduled castes? If they were to share political power, they must be organised as one solid unit before they could successfully fight for their due rights in the future governance of the country. Dr. Ambedkar warned against the danger of having too many leaders who believed in paper bodies and paper parties.

Stressing the value of women's contribution, he observed that their movement could not succeed unless their women helped actively the work of intensification. He attached the greatest value to the formation of volunteer corps in each town and village to spread the message of the Conference and carry it to villages even 200 miles away from cities. He urged that they must realise their responsibility to wipe out internal divisions among the scheduled castes when they demanded of others' removal of untouchability.

Dr. Ambedkar concluded with an appeal to students and young men to inculcate a spirit of service to their community. The task of shouldering the future burden of welfare of the community would be theirs and at no stage whatever their station or position should they forget it.

Winding up the proceedings, Mr. *Sivraj* hoped that workers would spare no effort to carry the message of the Conference to people in villages and educate them. He declared the two-day session closed, amidst shouts in appreciation of Dr. Ambedkar's services to his community.

## The Punjab Muslim Students' Federation

Open Session—Lahore—18th- March 1944

### Mr. Jinnah's Opening Speech

Assuring the Muslim youth that they had a bright future if they would put forth courage and energy, galvanise the Muslim League and its programme, throw away fears and continue to be united and act under one discipline, Mr. *Mohd. Ali Jinnah* while inaugurating the Punjab Muslim Students' Federation at Lahore on the 18th. March 1944, asked the Muslim youth to change their mentality and their notions radically and begin to realise right from now that all of them could not depend or live upon Government jobs. He wanted them to take to industries and commerce in which they were nowhere and where wide avenues were thrown open to all. Mr. Jinnah received an ovation as he, accompanied by Mr. *Hussain Imam*, entered the Pandal, followed by Muslim student guards with naked swords amidst shouts of "Qaid-i-Azam Zindabad."

The Punjab Premier, Lt. Col. *Khizar Hyat Khan Tiwana*, *Mian Abdul Haye*, Minister of Education, *Syed Amjad Ali*, Private Parliamentary Secretary, *Raja Gazanfar Ali*, *Mian Allah Yar Khan Daultana*, Parliamentary Secretaries and *Sir Maratab Ali* were among those who were seated on the dais. After the recitation from the holy Quran and a poem, the League leader inaugurated the Conference and spoke for 75 minutes.

Mr. Jinnah began by explaining that on account of the heavy and important work he had in his hand at present, he was not able to go everywhere from where he received pressing and affectionate invitations. If someone would take over the work from him he would be glad to go everywhere and have big receptions.

Referring to the aims and objects of the Punjab Muslim Students' Federation one by one, Mr. Jinnah asked the Muslim students to do their utmost to arouse political consciousness among the Muslim students and do everything in their power to prepare them to partake in the struggle for the achievement of Pakistan and act as a corporate body in order to have the grievances of the students removed. He told them that they could contribute greatly to the social and economic uplift of the Mussalmans without in any manner prejudicing their studies. He was glad to say that the Punjab students had created a new life, at any rate, in the Punjab.

#### ENCOURAGE GOODWILL

They should encourage goodwill among the various nationalities in India as laid down in their constitution and here Mr. Jinnah claimed that even the worst enemies of Muslim India and the Muslim League must acknowledge in their heart of hearts that "we want peace with God and peace with man. We do not wish to harm any non-Muslim or wrong any one. But we do wish also that no one should harm or wrong us."

The development of relationships of brotherhood and sympathy with their co-religionists in the independent Muslim countries had been enjoined upon them by their Prophet and by their religion. Those national feelings were the bedrock of Islam. He was sorry that even that relationship was regarded as a part of the Pan-Islamic movement and a danger to the whole world and Hindu India. Mr. Jinnah said that Muslim India wanted to maintain brotherhood and if any one of those countries would be in trouble, they would help them and expected that they would do the same if Muslim India was in trouble.

Mr. Jinnah asked the Muslim students to qualify and train themselves academically during the period of their studentship and pass what he called the preliminary examination to make themselves fit for handling bigger problems. He asked them to be true to their real mission—studies and not fritter away their time because if that time was wasted, it would never come again. He advised the students not to be swept off their feet and not to think that any one of them could become a leader of Muslim India at once, though it was a good thing to aspire for. None of them should pick up catch words and lose his head and think that there was no better person than him. If they would do that, they might get applause by shouting "Down with the Nawabs" and while saying that he was not there to defend any Nawabs he had no doubt that it would not help matters.

While asking the Muslim youths not to play with gallery he asked them to remember that politics was one of the most difficult subjects and they must go through the will for year together, 10 or 15 years, before becoming competent to tackle their social, economical and political problems.

#### "ACHIEVEMENTS" OF LEAGUE

Mr. Jinnah, while telling the Muslim students of his contribution towards the arousing of the Mussalmans politically reported to them the activities of the League, which, he claimed, was now the only authoritative organisation of Muslim India. They had in spite of all the opposition they had to face, said Mr. Jinnah, given to the Muslims one platform unknown heretofore in the history of India and given Muslim India a flare under which 99 per cent Muslims were united. The League, he said, had taken out the Muslims out of darkness and to-day their clear cut and crystallised goal was Pakistan, which was now an article of faith with the Mussalmans, millions of whom were to-day prepared to fight and give up their lives for its achievement. "In Pakistan lies," said Mr. Jinnah, "our defence, our delivery and our destiny and it is something which will revive the past glory of Islam." Mr. Jinnah declared: "Without fear of being taunted, I say the plain truth is that we want to rule over our homeland and we shall rule."

The League, said Mr. Jinnah, was recognised everywhere and hardly a day passed when it was not mentioned by the Hindu papers and the British and American Press. Even if the League was criticised and vilified, it showed that its critics were conscious of its existence. The abuse, the misinterpretation and the vilification of the League and its programme were, however, said Mr. Jinnah, decreasing gradually, though there were still die hard. He was glad to say that the Muslim countries which treated them with contempt had come to understand their point of view which they appreciated.

Referring to the suggestion that the Hindus wanted only freedom of India and they would not mind if the Government of the country was handed over to the League and Mr. Jinnah was made the first Premier, Mr. Jinnah said that not long ago no one cared to listen to them. To day the voice of Muslim India was not only being heard and respected, but actually feared. He, however, added, "If Mr Jinnah becomes the first Premier of India with the Muslim India at his back, India will be happier than it has ever been before."

#### JINNAH'S TESTAMENTS

Commending his Delhi, Karachi and Aligarh speeches as "testaments" and asking the students to read them, he said that having established unity of thought and ideology and demonstrated their love for Pakistan, they had to take the next step. The League, he said, had appointed the "Committee of Action" to unify and galvanize the activities of the League and the Parliamentary Board to guide and control their parliamentary activities.

One thing which yet remained to be done and which he wanted to do but would not do until real capable men were available, was the appointment of the Planning Committee, for which, he said, he required not lawyers or doctors but financiers, economists, technicians and men with practical knowledge, all of whom he described as 'commercial scientists'. There was a dearth of commercial scientists in their community. But the appointment of such a committee was of the utmost necessity because the conditions of Muslim India in economic life were most deplorable and whatever position they had in the economic life had been washed away by the avalanche of the new scientific methods which had swept away the crude methods on which the Muslims worked.

Mr. Jinnah, however, added that his Planning Committee would not plan out schemes of hundred thousands crores depending upon the release of Mr. Gandhi and the establishment of a National Government in India. But it would be a practical body to see what could be done under the present circumstances and what future prospects there were. He asked the Muslims, however, to let him know of any Muslim "commercial scientists" to be appointed to the Committee.

He advised the young Muslim students to give up thinking in terms of merely being Government servants, even though he said they must fight tooth and nail for their share in the services, which they were not getting. "But a B.A. can get only Rs. 50 at the most and if one can put on his tie and collar neatly he may get Rs. 80". He asked them to remember that vast avenues were open to them in business. He reminded the Muslim youths how the Hindus and others were dominating business. He advised Muslim students to become stenographers.

Concluding, he suggested to those in power in the Punjab that it was high time that they diverted their educational policy and had more and more commercial and technical schools. He felt sorry that the Muslims had forgotten mathematics which was their own subject and to-day generally a Muslim could not even add or subtract correctly.

#### Mr. Daulatana's Address

Mr. *Mumtaz Daulatana*, in the course of his address as Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Conference, said the Muslims were eager and willing to come to any reasonable agreement with the Sikhs to satisfy their aspirations. He analysed the three fronts on which the Muslims had to face a struggle, namely, the Hindus, the British and the Muslims who attempted to disrupt the organised unity of their nation. He warned Muslim students not to fix their eyes too intently, in hope or in despair, on their legislatures and not to be dismayed if their "Pakistan Ministry" acted too often in a "non-Pakistan" way.

#### Mashriqi's Letter to Jinnah

In the course of a letter to Mr. Jinnah, *Allama Mashriqi* says : "Events of the past months have made you cause a breach between the Khaksars and the Muslim League and I have yet to know if I am to blame for that. My conviction is that Mussalmans and Hindus must come to an understanding at this critical moment in order to gain Pakistan as well as independence for India, but you in your fury are losing these precious moments amidst despair and inaction. I am open to conviction if you can convince me otherwise. You told Khaksars at Quetta that I should have written to you or met you if I thought you were mistaken. I have persistently written and now write again. I shall be pleased to meet you if you come to Ichhra but if my humble invitation does not suit you I do not feel at all small if I come over to you. I think we must come to an agreement."

## Second Day—Lahore—19th. March 1944

### Mr. Jinnah's Concluding Speech

Mr. Mohd. Ali Jinnah gave a "boot" to all the flattery which the Indian communists had indulged in with a view to "bringing round". Speaking at the concluding session of the Conference on the next day, the 19th. March, he spoke for 55 minutes and concluded his speech at 1 a.m.

"The Communists," he said, "think we are fools. There is some justification in their thinking like that. But they are mistaken now because the Mussalman of the last 5 or 7 or 10 years has changed and the Communists will not now succeed in fooling us. Hands off! Hands off!! I say, Communists, Hands off!!! If you try the same game, it will hit back like a boomerang. We do not want any flag excepting the League flag of Crescent and Star. Islam is our guide and a complete code for our life. We don't want any red or yellow flag. We don't want any isms, socialism, communism or national socialism." All this was received with loud cheers from the Muslim students.

### LEAGUE PARTY IN PUNJAB ASSEMBLY

Referring to the "complaints he had heard and received about the Ministry," Mr. Jinnah recalled the days when, in spite of his efforts and having come to Lahore four times in 1936, he succeeded in getting only two members returned on the Muslim League ticket to the Provincial Assembly. To-day he claimed that 90 to 95 per cent Muslim members of the Punjab Assembly had signed the Muslim League pledge and formed a Muslim League Party which was under the control and discipline of the All-India Muslim League. The Ministries, said Mr. Jinnah, were their laboratories and they were experimenting with them. If their laboratory in the Punjab did not work well, said Mr. Jinnah, "we shall have to find another laboratory". The Ministers, the League Parliamentary Parties, the Provincial League and the All-India League were referred to by Mr. Jinnah as 'parts' and if they moved in harmony, there was no power on earth which could force upon them any constitution which they did not want. Muslim League, he said, was certainly at their service and they in the League would be prepared to give up their lives, if necessary, for opposing any constitution being foisted upon them which they would not accept.

The Muslim League Party in the Punjab Assembly, he said, could render service not only to the Punjab but to the whole of India also, because it was in their power to pass measures, by which they could render service to the Mussalmans who were not getting a fair deal even in the Punjab. Their conscience must demand of them, said Mr. Jinnah, (referring to the Leader of the League Party in the Assembly) to do their duty as men of their word which they had given and to which they were pledged.

They could render service to the League and if they were to take off their coats, the organisation of the League could be revolutionised in the Punjab.

Replying to the question whether they would do it, Mr. Jinnah said: "They ought to do it. Make them understand that they should do it. They must do it."

### SINISTER MOVE

Mr. Jinnah described the movement in the Punjab to organise the Jats and Rajputs separately in different organisations as a "sinister move" and said: "We do not recognise any kind of distinction or any classification of castes or tribes. The Muslim League is not going to tolerate or allow anyone to create disruption among the Mussalmans by asking them to organise themselves separately into castes or tribes. We recognise no one as a Jat or a Pathan or even as a Shia or a Sunni. We can't tolerate any such caste being created and encouraged because it will not be possible to retain Pakistan if those distinctions were allowed. These castes are responsible for the slavery of India."

Mr. Jinnah added: "It is extraordinary that in the Punjab this movement should be started by a Jat who claims that Hindu Jats and Muslim Jats were one. I warn those who are trying these sinister methods. Let them know these won't do."

With regard to the constitution of Pakistan, Mr. Jinnah, while asking his followers among the Mussalmans not to be misled, maintained that they must acquire the territory first before they could frame any constitution for that territory. Quoting the example of Afghanistan, Mr. Jinnah said that as Nadir Khan came after Amanullah and ended the reign of Bachha Saqa, he got possession of the land and then asked the "Milat" (people) to elect representatives to what was called the constitution-making body, which sat to frame the constitution of Afghanistan. Mr. Jinnah said that the form of Government in Pakistan and its constitution

could only be decided upon by a constitution making body appointed by the people—and he called it a constituent Assembly—that body being a sovereign body to frame the constitution.

#### AUGUST RESOLUTION OF CONGRESS

Regarding the August resolution of the Congress the League leader, after explaining the resolution briefly said that the resolution completely ignored the Mussalmans and the League which was bypassed by the Congress. If the Congress had succeeded or the British Government had conceded their demand, said Mr. Jinnah, "not only Pakistan would have been dead, but the 100 million of Mussalmans of India would have been under the Raj of Hindu Imperialists and Akhand Hindustan would have been established."

The Mussalmans therefore could not sit quietly and do nothing. The danger was there. The British did not want to part with power and the Hindus did not want them to go because they thought the Muslims were not sufficiently crushed.

Mr. Jinnah added, "We thought that the British, who is a white Bania, may come to have a compromise with the Hindu Bania and if the two came to an agreement we will be let down. It was against this that we wanted to guard."

Alluding to Lord Wavell's speech, the League leader, while pointing out that there had been geographical changes, asked what about the Suez and Panama canals, Spain and Portugal, Sweden and Norway; Ulster and Eire, Sudan and Egypt; and then added: But tell us by what rule of geography are you in this country."

Mr. Jinnah felt relieved and happy to say that the Hindu leaders and the Hindu press had seen through the game which Lord Wavell had tried to play.

He knew that such speeches were feelers and they meant much. But the British Government, he said, was making a great mistake and as the Muslims and Hindus began to understand more and more that sort of game by Lord Wavell or Amery, it would cease to be played and if the Hindus and Muslims could understand still more, their own settlement would be quicker.

The solution of the problem was that if the British Government wanted to give freedom, let it be to Pakistan and Hindustan.

#### THE PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Mr. Hussain Imam, President-elect of the Conference, in the course of his extempore address repeated what the Qaid-i-Azam had said last night and exhorted the Muslim youth to do whatever they could to achieve the goal of Pakistan.

Mr. Hussain Imam said that the Muslims wanted that before any details were worked out the principle of Pakistan should be accepted. If the Hindus had an alternative for Pakistan it was for them to suggest it to the Mussalmans.

Mr. Hussain Imam said that the Hindu Rishis of the old had enjoined the division of property among brothers in case there was a quarrel. The Mussalmans, he said, wanted nothing more than to have the joint property divided among the two brothers, the Hindus and the Muslims, as they had after most thoughtful consideration arrived at the conclusion that they must have and be the owners of their own share. He thought that division of the property would not jeopardise anybody's interests but would improve matters.

Referring to the grievances of the Hindus and the Sikhs against the Punjab Ministry, Mr. Hussain Imam maintained that if any one could have any grievance against the Ministry it were the Mussalmans because 50 per cent share in everything had been given to the non-Muslims. A ministry which included a gentleman like Sir Chhotu Ram could not be called a Muslim Ministry.

#### R e s o l u t i o n s

A suggestion to the Punjab Government to levy a cess on Mussalmans for their industrial education was made at the concluding session of the Conference. The resolution, which contained the above suggestion, demanded from the Punjab Government to constitute a Muslim Education Board, enjoying the confidence of the Mussalmans, to be entrusted with the work of arranging for the industrial education of the Mussalmans.

It was further demanded that scholarships to the students and grants-in-aid to Muslim institutions be distributed through that Board.

A resolution of even greater significance was the one which related to the condemnation of what were described as the clannish organisations like the Rajput Sabha and the Jat Mahasabha, which were characterised as un-Islamic. Sir Chhotu Ram, who had been claiming to have the full support of the Jats, including the Muslim Jats, came in for scathing criticism by the young Muslim Jat students,

who said that Sir Chhotu Ram did not represent the Muslim Jats and he was challenged to put up a candidate in a by-election anywhere on the Jat Mahasabha ticket and look for the result.

"To say that the Jat Mahasabha represented Muslim Jats also," said a Muslim student, "is dishonesty." The Provincial League was castigated for having watched those un-Islamic activities quietly.

Some other resolutions were also adopted. By one of them confidence was reiterated in Mr. Jinnah.

Qazi Isa asked the students to be ready to respond to the call of their leader when the time came for action. Referring to Lord Wavell's speech he said that the geography of countries was changing every day. Did not the geography in Burma change when it was separated from India.

#### Mashriqi-Jinnah Correspondence

Mr. Jinnah in his reply to *Allama Mashriqi's* letter said :—

"I am in receipt of your letter of the 18th of March late last night and I regret very much, indeed, to note that you have thought fit to accuse me for having caused the breach between the Khaksars and the Muslim League and further, you convey and insinuate that I am, to use your own expression, 'in my fury' opposed to Hindu-Muslim understanding under any circumstances. There is no truth whatsoever in these allegations that you make against me and you should know that there is no justification for it. I have repeatedly made my position clear by my statements and speeches that have been broadcast in the press.

"However, as you say, you are open to conviction, may I draw your attention to the fact that now the All-India Muslim League has appointed a committee of action, in whom are vested all the powers of organising the Muslim League and request you to get in touch with the chairman, *Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan*, whose address is, *Mustafa Castle, Meerut, U. P.*, or the convener, *Nawabzada Liaqatali Khan*, whose address is *8B, Hardinge Avenue, New Delhi*, as they are free from accusations and reflections that you have cast on me, both in his letter under reply and by your previous writing and statements that you have issued to the press heretofore. I hope that in that atmosphere they may be able to convince you that the policy and the principles and the programme of the League are in the best interest of Muslim India. I am informed that the full Committee of Action is going to meet at Delhi on the 25th instant. I am releasing this letter to the press, as I notice that you have already published yours without waiting for my reply."

#### Allama Mashriqi's Letter

*Allama Mashriqi* sent the following reply to Mr. Jinnah's letter :—

"Your reply to my letter of last night, received after much persuasion after sixteen hours, settles that I am not to blame for not meeting you for an understanding between the Mussalmans and the Hindus, or even between the Mussalmans themselves. My assertion, therefore, that you made an attempt to cause the breach between the Khaksars and the Muslim League stands true. Please reconsider the position in which you have involved yourself by this refusal. I can assure you that the Khaksar is not against the Muslim League in spite of everything that has happened.

"Your reference to the "Committee of Action" as having been given powers to organise the Muslim League, is most amusing as this means that you consider the Muslim League to be a disorganised body so far. I assure you that the disorganisation is solely due to your inaction and despair, also, if I may add, to the expectant sentiments you arouse at the shows you make in public and the high words you give to them. I can respectfully assure that the Mussalman public is tired of all this.

"I have asked you to reconsider your decision not to meet me, but I confess here that I shall be one of your lieutenants if you show real action. As regards your Committee of Action, I shall certainly give my best attention to it if it shows any action.

"As a last word I can only say that if you, as the Quaid-i-Azam of the Mussamans of India, do not show any real action in the matter of Hindu-Muslim understanding or in getting Pakistan for the Mussalmans, I shall be compelled to the conclusion that the Mussalmans of India must leave you alone and try their luck elsewhere.

With best expectations that I shall get a more prompt reply.

# The Assam Muslim League Conference

Barpeta—8th. and 9th. April 1944

## Presidential Address

Presiding over the Assam Provincial Muslim League Conference held at Barpeta on the 8th. April 1944, *Chaudhury Khaliq-uz-Zaman* declared that Pakistan was the only effective safeguard for the protection of political, cultural, economic and religious rights of Muslims against the vagaries of the majority. Pakistan, he thought, would ensure the healthy progress of this sub-continent towards real and lasting democracy, since majorities in Pakistan and Hindustan zones would have to behave in a more responsible way towards the minorities.

Referring to the Viceroy's recent reference to the geographical unity of India, Chaudhury Khaliq-uz-Zaman said that it was strange that the British Government which conceded separate electorates to Muslims on grounds of their historical importance, should be found stressing the geographical unity of India to resist the Muslim claim. Geographical unity had often been torn into pieces through all ages and times but there had been no one so great or powerful as to be able to change history, for history alone was unchangeable and adamant.

The President said that it was a matter of some satisfaction that some Congressmen had started realising that Muslim India could not be disposed of by merely keeping up an air of superiority under the cloak of guardianship of independence and persisting in hollow propaganda both inside India through the Hindu press and outside by securing their doubtful sympathies of opposition benches in England and America. If the report in the press that the attitude of some Congressmen who informally assembled at Allahabad towards the Muslim demand was true, then there was little doubt that a healthy change was taking place in the outlook and the realities of the situation had begun to be appreciated.

Continuing the President said that some Muslim young men were anxious to define now the form of Pakistan Government. "Hasty steps in politics are most dangerous and I would advise my young friends to leave the matter to the people of Pakistan areas with the sincere belief that those on whom the task of framing the constitution will fall, will not be found wanting in their love for Islam and sense of responsibility towards the minorities. It is only by pinning our faith in the future generation of Muslims that we can work with real energy for the realisation of Muslim ideals. Let us remember that definition impose limitations and any premature elaboration of constitutional niceties may seriously injure the cause of Pakistan."

Referring to Palestine, the President said that it appeared that for the time being at least the British Government had shelved the question, but nobody knew what it would do when pressed by America and world Jewry. He wanted the British Government to understand that any change in the policy envisaged in the White Paper of 1939 would not only be followed with grave consequences in India but outside in the whole Muslim world which was learning the value of unity of purpose under the wise and able leadership of Nahas Pasha.

## Second Day—Resolutions—Barpeta—9th. April 1944

The Conference adopted a resolution affirming its faith in Pakistan as its political objective and goal and expressing determination to spare no effort or sacrifice for its achievement. The Conference further resolved that it was "definitely of opinion that the provinces of Bengal and Assam should be formed into an independent sovereign state to be known as Eastern Pakistan."

In an address to the conference, Sir Muhammad Saadullah, the Chief Minister, explained the position of the Government in regard to what was known, as the line system for the abolition of which a resolution was passed. *Quazi Muhammad Isa* and the *Nawab of Mamdot* also addressed the Conference on the importance of members of the League undergoing training and learning discipline.



# The Gaya Pakistan Conference

First Session—Gaya—9th. April 1944

## Presidential Address

Presiding over the first Pakistan Conference held at Gaya on the 9th. April 1944, *Kwaja Sir Nazimuddin*, Chief Minister of Bengal, said that Great Britain, which had accepted and conceded the principle of Pakistan for India, would be forced to concede the Muslim demand in full, in view of having to recognise similar demands from other parts of the world.

"To the Muslims my advice is: Do not take any notice of the pronouncements of retiring Viceroy and arm-chair politicians in England," said Sir Nazimuddin. "We have the commitment of the British Cabinet and it is our duty to see that we do not allow the British Government to go back on their pledge.

"I also believe in the theory that it is the duty of the Muslim Ministry in the majority provinces to so govern and administer that non-Muslim minorities will have no reason to oppose the scheme of Pakistan." He continued, "As long as we do not come to terms on the Pakistan issue and present a united front the trump card will remain in the hands of the British Government and we shall be fighting a losing battle. Pakistan has become an article of faith with the Muslims, and even if Mr. Jinnah were to try to persuade us to give it up he will not succeed. An agreed and an amicable settlement is, therefore, the only alternative with which to confront the British Government. And in that case, they will find it impossible to reject our demands."

Sir Nazimuddin said that he remembered the "terrific struggle that the Bihar Muslims had to put up during the Congress regime" and asserted that during the Congress regime Muslim rights were trampled upon by the then Government and referred specifically to the enactments made by the Congress Ministry in introducing joint electorate and single voting in local bodies against the unanimous opposition of the Muslim minorities.

Sir Nazimuddin thought that there was no doubt that public opinion was gradually veering towards the ideal of Pakistan. The main objections to Pakistan were under (1) geographical unity. (2) economic and financial considerations and (3) defence. Dealing with these, he said: "It must be remembered that this vast sub-continent of India includes within it an area of 13 lakhs square miles, which is 20 times the area of Great Britain and contains a population of 400 millions which is equal to one-fifth of the population of the whole world. In British India alone, excluding the Indian States, there are two and a half times as many people as in the United States of America. Of its Provinces, Bombay and Madras are both larger than Italy and even the smallest of the Provinces—Assam is bigger than England. In short any two major provinces in India will be greater in area and population than most of the States of Europe.

"In the past there had never been a united India with one Central Government. Even now theoretically some of the major Indian States enjoy sovereign powers and only because there is a foreign rule, it is possible to keep the semblance of a central united Government. If Independent Republics are possible in South America, where the question of geographical unity was never raised, I see no reason why this issue should be raised in the case of India. From the points of view of finance, economics and defence, Pakistan Government in India will be in a far stronger position than a number of independent sovereign States in Europe, Asia and South America. If Transjordan, Iraq, Persia, Belgium, Holland, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and Greece could be independent States, there was no reason why they could not have more than one independent State in India. Last of all, we have the latest example of the declaration of Soviet Russia which is going to be one of the many such examples in support of the demand for more than one independent State in India."

In conclusion, Sir Nazimuddin appealed to them to organise themselves and to rally round the banner of the Muslim League, which alone could lead them to their goal and restore them to their rightful dignity and greatness.

Second Day—Gaya—10th. April 1944

## Proceeding & Resolutions

"Pakistan is our birthright, and we have once for all decided to achieve it and thereby establish a Government, wherein Islam would be free and its tenets would

reign supreme. We will not consider any sacrifice great for achieving our cherished political goal which also implies and assures a free and independent India", declared Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, General Secretary of the All-India Muslim League addressing the second day's sitting of the Conference.

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali maintained that the spirit of Pakistan was manifest even in the Congress-League Pact of 1916 and in the subsequent demand of the Mussalmans for effective safeguard and protection in any constitution that might be framed for India. He was glad that an influential section of Hindu leadership had begun to realise that in the absence of any other suitable alternative plan, Pakistan was the only feasible solution of the Hindu-Muslim problem.

Reference to criticisms why Muslims in the minority provinces should support the demand for Pakistan, the Nawabzada said that Pakistan meant "free Islam and a free India" and it was because these ideals were cherished by every Muslim that Muslims even in minority provinces strongly and consistently supported the Pakistan demand.

Begum Aizaz Rasul, addressing the Conference, urged women to muster strong under the League flag and work shoulder to shoulder with the men to ameliorate the educational, economic and political conditions of the Muslims.

Maulana Hamid Badayuni, Syed Zakir Ali, Secretary of the All-India Muslim League Defence Committee, Mr. Latifur Rahman, member of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, and Khan Bahadur S. M. Ismail addressed the Conference.

Resolutions were passed reiterating the demand of Pakistan and acceptance of the Lahore Resolution and requesting the Provincial Muslim League and the All-India Muslim League Committee of Action to impress upon the respective Governments the necessity of appointing communal ratio officers to watch and safeguard the interest of Muslims and other minorities in the matter of services and promotions and to publish six monthly lists of all appointments and promotions made in the province. By another resolution the conference expressed concern and anxiety at the situation in Palestine and requested the British Government to adhere to the pledges given to Muslim India by His Majesty's Government through the Viceroy of India.

## Ministerial Developments in Punjab

### Break-down of Jinnah—Khizr Hyat Khan talks

The Jinnah-Khizr Hyat Khan talks finally broke down at Lahore on the 27th. April 1944. The Punjab Premier's afternoon interview with Mr. M. A. Jinnah lasted eighty minutes.

Immediately after the Premier left, Mr. Jinnah went into a conference with nearly twenty Muslim members of the Punjab Assembly, including Sardar Shaikat Hyat Khan. Others present at the conference were Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, General Secretary of the All-India Muslim League, Mian Bashir Ahmed and Kazi Mohd. Isa, members of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League.

#### MR. JINNAH'S STATEMENT

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, in a statement to the Press issued from Lahore on the 28th. April 1944 says :—

We (Mr Jinnah and Malik Khizr Hyat Khan) have had prolonged discussions and since my arrival here a second time in continuation of our previous discussions which started as far back as March 19, I met Malik Khizr Hyat Khan on April 20 and he has discussed the matter with me during half a dozen interviews lasting over two hours or three hours on each occasion and he had promised to give me his final reply to-day. He arrived at my house this afternoon when I asked him what was his final attitude and that of Sir Chhotu Ram and Sardar Baldev Singh regarding the proposals which I had placed before him and them. He then verbally told me many things and I suggested that in fairness to him and me it is better that he should give me the final reply in writing so that there should be no room for any misunderstanding. Accordingly when he was here I dictated a letter to my private secretary. It was typed and handed over to him on the understanding that he will let me have a final reply in writing by 9 o'clock to-

night, as I made it clear to him that we had discussed the whole question threadbare and that it was not possible for me to wait any longer, especially as I was booked to leave for Sialkot to-morrow. He promised to let me have his reply by 9 o'clock to-night. I waited for the reply and at 9-20 p.m. I rang him up saying that I had not received from him the promised reply in writing. Much to my surprise, on the telephone he informed me that he had no reply to give except what he had told me verbally. Thereupon I sent him a letter, same date, after this telephonic conversation between him and me at about 9-30 p.m. I sent this letter with a responsible person to make sure that it was delivered to him. When he went there Malik Khizr Hyat Khan declined to acknowledge even the receipt of the letter on a slip of paper which was sent along with the letter. I had again to send the Nawab of Mamdot, President of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League and Mumtaz Daulatana, M. L. A., with the letter and the slip on which he was requested to acknowledge the receipt, but he again declined to sign the receipt and receive the letter. I had to send them a second time to deliver the letter personally to Malik Khizr Hyat Khan and endorse upon that acknowledgment slip that they had, in fact, delivered the letter personally to him. This was on April 27 at 11 p.m. and their endorsement runs as follows: "We have personally delivered this letter to Malik Khizr Hyat Khan on April 27, 1944 at 11 p.m. and he refuses to acknowledge receipt of it. Therefore, we hereby state that we have, in fact, delivered the letter to him personally and certify to that effect. (Sd.) Iftikhar Hussain Khan and Mumtaz Daulatana."

Malik Khizr Hyat Khan has neither answered my first letter of April 27, which was delivered to him personally to-day nor my second letter of which he refused to acknowledge the receipt giving the final reply in writing as to what Sir Chhotu Ram, Sardar Baldev Singh and he himself had to say with regard to the proposals of ours which now had been the subject matter of discussion since my arrival in Lahore and had been discussed threadbare. As Malik Khizr Hyat has not replied to me yet—00-30 hours—it is now for the Muslim League to decide what course of action they should take.

#### MR. JINNAH'S LETTERS TO THE PREMIER

The following is the text of the letter delivered personally by Mr. Jinnah to Malik Khizr Hyat Khan:

"We have had prolonged discussions and I shall feel obliged if you will be good enough to let me know your final decision with regard to the three points which are as follows: (1) That every member of the Muslim League Party in the Punjab Assembly should declare that he owes his allegiance solely to the Muslim League Party in the Assembly and not to the Unionist Party or any other political party. (2) That the present label of the coalition should be dropped, namely, the "Unionist Party". (3) That the name of the proposed coalition Party should be the Muslim League Coalition Party.

"Please let me know to what extent Sir Chhotu Ram and Sardar Baldev Singh agree with all these three proposals or any of them and also whether you agree with all these three proposals or any of them. I hope that you will let me have your reply by this evening, as it is not possible to wait any longer."

The following is the text of the second letter addressed by Mr. Jinnah to Malik Khizr Hyat Khan which the Nawab of Mamdot and Mr. Mumtaz Daulatana went to deliver to the Premier:

"You promised to send me your reply to my letter dated April 27, which was given to you this afternoon, by 9 o'clock the latest to-night and I waited for it and rang you up that I was waiting for a reply because it was nearly 9-20 p.m. I received an answer from you that you have no reply to give, except what you told me verbally. That is going back on the promise to give me your reply in writing. You said so many things verbally that it was impossible to know what your position was. I once more request you to give me your reply in writing and if I do not hear from you immediately in reply to this letter I shall conclude that you do not accept the three proposals or any of them that were made in my letter and in view of this the Muslim League now will have to decide as to what course of action they should adopt."

#### PREMIER EXPLAINS STAND

Malik Khizr Hyat Khan, Premier of the Punjab in a lengthy statement, explains the reasons for his inability to accept Mr. Jinnah's proposals. He says:

The Unionist Party was founded by the late *Mian Sir Fazli Hussain* in December 1923. The object was to have an Assembly Party on a non-communal

basis with a programme which would rectify the lop-sided development of the Punjab in the educational, economic and political spheres of life. Speaking generally, the prominent features of this lop-sidedness were the glaring inequalities of development both between the agricultural and commercial classes and between the rural and urban areas. With this broad distinction, the late *Mian Sahib* sought to give an agricultural and rural bias to the Legislative and administrative policy of the Government. But he perceived further that the under-dog was not confined either to agricultural classes or to rural areas. Therefore, he described the distinction as one between "haves" and "have-nots." He stated the objective of his policy as being the special care of backward classes, irrespective of caste or creed and of backward areas irrespective of location. It so happened that among backward classes the Muslims predominated. This supplied the political opponents of Mian Sir Fazli Hussain with a loop-hole to suggest that the Unionist Party was a communal party and was designed specifically to promote the interests of the Muslim community. But there were many classes among Hindus as well as among Sikhs who were equally backward and to whom Mian Sir Fazli Hussain's policy and programme made a very strong natural appeal. Thus the Unionist Party was founded on sound principles and worked for the benefit of Muslims as a whole and for the backward among all communities.

After having completed his term in the Government of India, Mian Sir Fazli Hussain returned to the Punjab in April, 1935. He was pressed by his lifelong friends and associates, including Sir Shahabuddin, Sir Firoz Khan Noon, the late Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, the late Nawab of Mamdot and the late Mian Ahmad Yar Khan Daultana to re-enter politics and reorganise the Unionist Party and set in train the necessary arrangements for the coming elections. He agreed strictly on the condition that individual members would not allow their personal jealousies to impair their loyalty towards the Party and their province. Though pressed in some quarters to start a purely communal organisation he was unwilling to accept this suggestion.

In the spring of 1936 Mr. Jinnah spent a considerable time at Lahore trying to persuade the late Sir Fazli Hussain to run candidates on the Muslim League ticket and to enter into an alliance with non-Muslim groups as soon as the results of the general elections were known. The late Mian Sahib declined to accept the suggestion on the ground that a natural alliance fitted to the peculiar economic and social conditions of the Punjab was already in existence for the benefit of Muslims in the shape of the Unionist Party. Sir Fazli Hussain undertook to render all possible help to the Muslim League in all-India affairs but declined to have purely communal parties in the Punjab and the Muslims of the Punjab decided to follow the lead of Sir Fazli Hussain and stood by the Unionist Party. Mr. Jinnah ran some candidates on the Muslim League ticket but only two succeeded and subsequently one joined the Unionist Party.

Exactly the same question is raised again to-day some seven years later in the form of Mr. Jinnah's demand, originated on the initiative of a few interested persons and like Sir Fazli Hussain and for the same reasons I am unable to accept this demand which is contrary to the best interests of the Muslims of this province, who should refuse to be divided among themselves or to accept outside interference to their detriment.

#### SIKANDER—JINNAH PACT

The first general elections under the Government of India Act, 1935, resulted in no Muslim League Ministry being formed, which severely handicapped the Muslim League and its leader, Mr. Jinnah, in all discussions and negotiations of an all-India character. In October, 1937, to meet the criticism questioning Mr. Jinnah's status as the accredited Muslim leader and to enable him to represent the whole Muslim community and settle terms with other parties in All-India matters, Sir Sikander Hyat Khan concluded the Sikander-Jinnah Pact. The Pact was announced to the Council of the All-India Muslim League and references have been made to it repeatedly in responsible League quarters since 1937, without any repudiation from Mr. Jinnah or the League itself. The Pact provided that on his return to the Punjab, Sir Sikander Hyat Khan would convene a special meeting of his Party and advise all Muslim members of the Party, who were not members of the Muslim League already, to sign its creed and join it. The Ministry continued to function according to the terms of the Sikander-Jinnah Pact.

In March 1943, after the unfortunate death of Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, Mr. Jinnah at the session of the All-India Council of the Muslim League at Delhi,

while recalling the Sikander-Jinnah Pact, said that constitutionally the Muslim League Party was in existence, though it did not function properly as it ought to. I assured the Council that I would put life into the Party and consolidate it and bring it up to a standard worthy of the great organisation of the Muslim League and the Muslims of the Punjab and serve the true interests of the Muslims. The Qaide-Azam, in return, assured me that he would stand by the Sikander-Jinnah Pact and the name and the programme of the Unionist Party, and also agreed not to interfere in provincial affairs. On my return to the Punjab in a full Cabinet meeting, I placed the facts before my colleagues and conveyed to them the assurances given to me by Mr. Jinnah. Thereafter I forthwith implemented my assurances to Mr. Jinnah by constituting the Muslim League Assembly Party and at its first meeting the understanding arrived at between me and Mr. Jinnah was unanimously approved by the Party. At the next meeting of the Muslim League Party when the rules and regulations were being framed the Sikander-Jinnah Pact was unanimously approved as binding on all concerned.

#### MR. JINNAH'S "TOTALITARIAN" METHODS

The question whether the Sikander-Jinnah Pact should be made a part of the rules and regulations was put to vote in the Muslim League Party meeting and carried by a majority of 52 against 7. Mr. Jinnah now proposes to repudiate the Pact and wishes that I should convey to my non-Muslim colleagues a message that the pledged word of the Muslim community, pledged through the League Council, approved by the Qaide-Azam and conveyed through me should no longer be respected. I as a true Muslim and a follower of the Prophet of Islam will not be guilty of a breach of faith. Mr. Jinnah now wishes to interfere in provincial affairs and disturb the inner working of the Ministerial Party. This attitude has no justification and savours of dictatorship and totalitarian methods. I have reiterated on several occasions that I am prepared to extend my whole-hearted and fullest support to the Qaide-Azam and the League in all questions which relate to the welfare of the Muslim community and to strengthen and to enliven the organisation of the Muslim League in the Punjab. It is not possible for me to accept a demand involving interference in provincial affairs and the inner working of the Ministerial Party formed under the Sikander-Jinnah Pact. This would be contrary to the accepted democratic principle that the wishes of the electorate and the Legislature should prevail.

During the course of my recent talks with Mr. Jinnah, I have very faithfully endeavoured to preserve and promote the best interests of my community and my province with the concurrence of my non-Muslim colleagues. I have tried my best to come to a settlement fair to all concerned, but I regret to say that Mr. Jinnah has refused to agree and as his refusal was not in the best interests of the Muslims of this province, I have no option but to continue to serve the Punjab Muslims as before to the best of my ability.

#### BREACH OF FAITH TO CHANGE PARTY'S NAME

Under the Sikander-Jinnah Pact it was clearly understood that the formation of the Muslim League Assembly Party "will not affect the continuance of the present coalition of the Unionist Party" and also that "the existing combination shall maintain its present name—the 'Unionist Party.' Mr. Jinnah now desires that the name should be changed to "the Muslim League Coalition." This is violation of the Sikander-Jinnah Pact and contrary to all commitments made to my non-Muslim colleagues by my revered predecessor, the late Sir Sikander Hyat Khan and by myself for a period of well over six years. The only material point is that the Muslim League rather than the Unionist Party should be regarded as the primary and the only political party of the Muslims in the Punjab. My non-Muslim colleagues agreed to this and it stands to the credit of their earnest desire for co-operation with the Muslims of this province that they agreed to co-operate with the Muslim League as the only Muslim Party in the Punjab and to co-operate with it in running the Government of this province for the duration of the war. It is highly regrettable that no use should be made of this achievement and that instead I should be invited to be guilty of a breach of promise to the other communities of the Punjab by forming a Muslim League Coalition Ministry.

The proposed agreement would have secured the wishes of the Muslim League and its greatest merit would have been to maintain complete unity within the Muslim community, which has been the most significant feature of the political life of the Punjab. Ever since 1923, the Muslims have been united under one banner and have marched from strength to strength. It is entirely due to the

agrarian legislation of the Unionist Party, spread over a period of twenty-one years' that the backward Muslim community of the Punjab can now compare favourably with any in India or even elsewhere and the fact that Muslims are the predominant community has been freely recognised.

#### MOVE TO DISRUPT EXISTING UNITY

As a recent instance, when at the end of 1942, calamity befell the province in the death of the late Premier it was the most senior member of the Cabinet (Sir Chhotu Ram) who should have filled the place, but it was a Muslim who succeeded a Muslim. It is this unity and strength of the Punjab Muslims that it is now proposed to disrupt. Within the existing combination on the golden principle of helping backward classes and backward areas the Muslims have secured the enactment of countless measures which have proved to be of the greatest benefit to them while this would not be possible with an unstable and weak League coalition, which necessarily must place greater reliance on non-representative non-Muslims required to form a Ministry with the normal Muslim majority in the Legislature.

The fact that I have found it impossible to accept Mr. Jinnah's demand does not mean that our ultimate objective namely, the cultural protection and economic betterment of the Muslim masses, is different. There is no conflict between the Muslim League Party (as governed by the Pact) and the League itself on any question of principle but disaffected persons with the League are trying to use the name of Qaide-Azam for their own ends. We differ in our methods of implementing the League programme. The All-India Muslim League resolution of 1940, popularly known as the Pakistan Resolution, is the sheet anchor of Muslims in the Punjab as elsewhere. I have on countless occasions declared my faith in it and I propose to stand by it. The Muslims of the Punjab must have the right of self-determination. Mr. Jinnah has refused categorically to agree to any possible solution and has insisted on a "League Coalition Ministry" rejecting my offer, made with the concurrence of my non-Muslim colleagues, to name the existing combination as "Unionist Coalition Ministry." I asked for alternatives to be put to my colleagues but in vain.

#### APPEAL TO MUSLIMS

I appeal, therefore, to the sturdy commonsense of the Muslims of the Punjab to continue to support the Muslim League Party which forms the bulk of the Ministerial Party constituted under the Pact, as they have always done and must do now with re-doubled vigour in order that the war effort of the Punjab, which has been the outstanding feature of that Party, since the outbreak of the war, should in no way be relaxed. This is in full accordance with the traditions which have made the Punjab famous in the past. The Japanese aggressor is on the soil of India and if at this stage all of us Punjabis do not co-operate to continue our glorious contribution to the war effort, there would be dark days ahead not only for this province but for the whole of India. The disunity of different communities can only spell disaster; the embitterment of non-Muslims and the intensification of communal hatred leading, as past history has amply shown, to bloodshed and disorder. Men's minds will be turned not to fighting the enemy but to fighting their neighbours. The peace of mind of Punjab soldiers serving in the army will be destroyed. Instead of growing harmony there will be chaos. And how will it be of help to Muslims elsewhere in India if Punjab Muslims now forsake their non-Muslim friends and prejudice the peace of this province? Will this incline the leaders of the other communities predominating elsewhere to treat their Muslim neighbours with forbearance and respect? This is no time for petty squabbles and rivalries but for making a sincere and united effort to do our duty to our country at this critical stage of the war and to consolidate the Muslims for the constitutional struggle ahead for which we are all united.

## The Punjab Muslim League Conference

### Resolutions—Sialkot—30th. April 1944

The open session of the Punjab Muslim League Conference held at Sialkot on the 30th. April 1944 passed two resolutions. The first resolution deplored the whole attitude and action of Maalik Khizr Hyat Khan and the second called upon every member of the Punjab Assembly to declare that he owed allegiance solely to the Muslim League Party in the Assembly and not to the Unionist Party or any other political party, that the present label of coalition should be dropped namely

the "Unionist Party" and that the name of the proposed Coalition shall be "Muslim League Party."

The Conference requested Malik Khizr Hyat Khan, Premier of the Punjab to afford all facilities to Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan to clear up his position and in the event of the Governor's declining to do so the Conference called upon Malik Khizr Hyat and Mian Abdul Haye, the remaining two Muslim League Ministers in the Punjab Cabinet, to resign their offices.

The Conference commenced at 11 a.m., Mr. A. R. Nishtar presiding.

*Syed Ghulam Bhik Narang*, M.L.A., (Central), moved the third resolution relating to the Premier's statement. He referred to the talks between Mr. Jinnah and Malik Khizr Hyat Khan and deplored that the Punjab Premier had defied the Muslim League and the Quaide-Azam. He should have come before this Conference and obtained the verdict of the Muslim community, he added.

*Syed Ghulam Mustafa Ilahi*, seconding the resolution, reminded Malik Khizr Hyat Khan of the fate of Mr. *Fazlul Huq* and requested that he was playing into the hands of Sir Chhoturam. He said that they had assembled to give a burial to the Unionist Party.

The resolution when put the House was passed unanimously.

Mr. Jinnah arrived at this stage and received an ovation from the audience. As soon as he had taken his seat *Quazi Mohammad Isa* of Baluchistan moved a resolution on Palestine appreciating the friendly reply of the Prime Minister of Great Britain, Mr. Churchill, to the telegram sent to him recently by the President of the All-India Muslim League and asking the British Government to make a definite pronouncement of completely adhering to the White Paper regarding Palestine.

The conference also adopted half a dozen other resolutions, among other things calling upon Mussalmans not to join the Jat Mahasabha or any other tribal organisation in the province, and condemning the policy of the Government of India in withdrawing facilities in connection with Haj pilgrimage, and requested them to give effect to the recommendations of the special Haj Enquiry Committee.

#### PRESIDENT'S ADVICE TO MUSLIMS

An advice to the Muslims not to join any political Anjuman or Sabha other than the Muslim League which was the only representative organisation of the Muslims was given by Mr. *Abdul Rab Nishtar*, Finance Minister, Frontier Province, in the course of his Presidential address to the Conference.

He said that organisations such as the Jat Mahasabha or the Momins Conference had been formed to disrupt Muslim solidarity, but he was sure that the Muslims would not fall into any such trap and would continue to march on towards their goal of Pakistan. They were passing through critical times and it was therefore, imperative that the Muslims should unite under the banner of the Muslim League.

Earlier, Mr. B. *Abdul Rab Nishtar* said that the Conference was concerned with three questions, viz., Pakistan, Palestine and the Punjab Ministry. He left the Punjab question to Mr. Jinnah and asserted that Pakistan was the only solution of the Indian problem. He declared that the Muslims could not tolerate Hindu domination nor did they wish to dominate over the Hindus. They only wished to be allowed to have their own Governments in Muslim majority provinces.

As regards Palestine, he reiterated Mr. Jinnah's warning to the British Government against the consequences if, influenced by the capitalist American Jewry, they injured the interests of the Arabs.

#### MR. JINNAH DENIES PACT WITH SIR SIKANDAR

Addressing the open session of the Conference, Mr. M. A. Jinnah referred to the Punjab Premier's statement regarding his talks with the League President. Mr. Jinnah categorically and publicly denied that any secret commitment was made or any assurance about non-interference in the internal affairs of the Punjab given under the so-called Jinnah-Sikandar Pact. According to that document it was open to the League Party in the Assembly to terminate this coalition or any other coalition. A coalition could not be permanent. Coalitions were always at will. It was open to the League Party to enter into coalition or alliance even before or after elections. He completely denied that it was a pact and asserted that a pact could only be between two parties. This was only a record of what Sir Sikandar had said he would carry out. How could there be a pact between a lender and a follower or prospective follower?

#### NAME OF "UNIONIST" MUST BE BURIED

Characterising the attitude of Malik Khizr Hyat Khan as childish, Mr. Jinnah said that he (Mr. Jinnah) wanted to kill the very name "Unionist" and see its funeral.

He exhorted the Muslims to unite and organise themselves. The more they were organised and united, the less would be the efforts made to destroy them.

Mr. Jinnah reiterated that the League attitude towards the war effort was that of non-embarrassment. It was a lie and an insinuation to say that the League wanted to interfere in or obstruct the war effort or put difficulties in the prosecution of the war. It could only be intended to poison public opinion in England, America and this country. The defence of their country, he said, was of far greater interest to the Indians than to America or any other foreign country.

Mr. Jinnah then recalled the change of Government in England amidst the war when Mr. Churchill became the Prime Minister, and asked whether there were not controversies in England, Canada and America. Whenever any constitutional controversy arose in this country, it was imputed to wicked intentions. If that was so, why not close down this constitution altogether? He then referred to the formation of League Ministries in Bengal, Sind and Frontier Province, and said that, on the one hand, they were told that there should be no fresh elections and on the other hand, they were told that this constitution was at their disposal, if they wanted to work it, but the constitutional right of working it on honourable lines was taken away.

Referring to the recent statements of Mr. Savarkar and Dr. Moonjee, he said that it was clearly indicated that some leaders of the Punjab Hindu Mahasabha had sought their advice regarding the formation of a coalition with the League but the matter had been left to the discretion of the Provincial Hindu Mahasabha leaders, as the policy had already been laid down that whenever it was found inevitable they could join the League.

### Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan's Dismissal

#### Mr. Jinnah on the Implications

The open session of the Punjab Muslim League Conference adopted the resolution about the dismissal of *Capt. Shaukat Hyat Khan*. The resolution was moved by *Malik Barkat Ali* and seconded by *Sheikh Sadig Hassan*.

Intervening in the debate on the resolution, Mr. Jinnah said that the first question that arose was whether the Governor, as he had purported to dismiss Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan under Section 51, had the power to dismiss a single individual Minister composing his Council of Ministers. The constitution had a basic principle which imposed joint and collective responsibility on the Cabinet. "This raises," said Mr. Jinnah, "a very serious constitutional issue, and we shall have to examine it in the light of the correct interpretation of the constitution. It raises an all-India issue."

Proceeding Mr. Jinnah said without prejudice to this joint responsibility, there is the second question that arises. Is the Governor not bound to furnish all the allegations and charges that are made against Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan? In the communiqué one can only read that Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan was, in the opinion of the Governor, guilty of gross misconduct in the discharge of his responsibility and duty as Minister and had thereby forfeited the confidence of the Governor. Even the meanest subject of his Majesty is entitled to know the particulars of the charges and allegations or accusations against him and is entitled to a hearing and full facilities for his defence must be afforded to him. The rule of natural jurisprudence is that the Governor is bound to give Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan full particulars of the allegations and charges and his reasons and the fullest opportunity should be afforded to Sardar Shaukat Khan to give his explanation and offer defence, as it is obvious that otherwise he remains condemned unheard. Apart from the public issue involved, unless Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan clears his character and an opportunity is given to him his future career will be blasted and reflections will remain unanswered.

Continuing Mr. Jinnah said: The third question that arises is what is the duty of the Premier as Chief Minister, with regard to the dismissal of his colleague. He cannot be relieved of his responsibility as the chief and Malik Khizr Hyat Khan owes it to the public to explain his position in this matter. The general public impression is that Sardar Shaukat Khan has been dismissed and victimised because of certain political views that he holds, under cover of some plausible wrong which is attributed to him. If this be the case, then it destroys the very foundation of democracy and if revenge can be taken against a person in this manner through the instrumentality of the Governor by his exceptional powers then this constitution becomes a farce. If the Governor is proved guilty of having victimi-



sed him then the Governor should be dismissed forthwith for marring the career of a man who has great family tradition and great status in life. He held the King's Commission, fought on the battle-field and was a Minister. That is the general public view. But, I am a very peculiarly constituted person. I am guided by cold-blooded reason, logic and judicial training and I want, therefore, to hold our judgment in abeyance as an impartial judge would, until we are in possession of the complete and full facts of the case. If, unfortunately, it is found beyond reasonable doubt on fact and evidence, that Sardar Shauka Hyat Khan has been guilty of gross misconduct, then we shall not hesitate to give our judgment accordingly irrespective of personality.

The resolution was carried unanimously amidst shouts of 'Alla-ho-Akbar' and 'Shaukat-i-Punjab Zindabad.'

#### PARTY ALLEGIANCE OF MUSLIM LEGISLATORS

*Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan*, ex-Parliamentary Secretary, moved the second resolution about the allegiance of the Muslim members of the Punjab Assembly to the Muslim League Party and not to the Unionist or any other political Party. He said that after remaining a member of the Unionist Party for seven years it was still doubtful whether the Unionist Party was in existence at all. Except that a few members mostly representing rural constituencies, met together and did not object to being called as Unionist, the Party had no organisation outside the Legislature. They had never held any annual elections of office-bearers, had no office-bearers, no constitution and had never held any constitution and had never held any conference. Before the advent of Provincial Autonomy there used to be a strong official block in the Assembly and they wanted some people to help them in getting through some measures which the Government wanted to pass and in return sometimes in small matters the official lent their support to this zamindari group. The Party as such never had, nor now had, any influence in the Province. During the last general elections all the contesting candidates were given Unionist tickets and any one of them who succeeded at the elections through his own personal influence was patted on the back and given the *nom de plume* of Unionist. To tell the plain truth, concluded *Raja Ghazanfar Ali*, it is only an instrument to lower the prestige and influence of the Muslim League in the Province.

The resolution was seconded by *Maulvi Ghulam Mohiuddin* who said that the hour of trial for the Mussalmans had arrived. He asked the Premier to give up his dual policy as there could never be an alliance between the League and the Unionist Party.

The resolution was carried unanimously and the Conference adjourned.

### Premier Contradicts Shaukat Khan's Statement

*Malik Khizr Hyat Khan*, Premier of the Punjab, in a press statement, issued from Lahore on the 30th. April 1944, contradicting Captain *Shaukat Hyat Khan's* statement that he had given to the Premier his resignation a week before his dismissal, says :

"I have seen the statement published by Captain Shaukat Hyat Khan on the subject of his dismissal and regret to say that he has confused the issue by associating politics with the action taken by H. E. the Governor in the discharges of his official duties. In it he has made certain misleading and incorrect statements of fact.

"To the best of my recollection I never received from Captain Shaukat Hyat Khan in July 1943 any such letter as that which he says he then wrote to me. But his views at that time and till recently may be judged from the following facts : When Captain Shaukat Hyat Khan was appointed a Minister in the Unionist Government, he had difficulties in obtaining the Muslim League ticket for his election to the Punjab Legislative Assembly. For this reason he was disgruntled with the League and after his election was responsible for a news item in *The Tribune* of June 8, 1943, in which it was said that his success was not due to the help of the League since no statement was issued by the Qaid-i-Azam or the Provincial President but to the personal factor and to the great influence of his father's name in the area. I am assured by *The Tribune's* special representative that this news item was published as a result of information given by Captain Shaukat Hyat Khan. Although there was no indication of the authorship of this article, it was likely to lead to difficulties with the League and at my instance the following statement was issued by Captain Shaukat Hyat Khan on June 11, 1943. 'My attention has been invited to the note in *The Tribune* of June 9th regarding

my election. I strongly condemn the mischievous references made therein to the Qaid-i-Azam for whom I have the greatest feeling of respect and gratitude. I contested the election on the Muslim League ticket under the Sikander-Jinnah Pact. As such the credit for my success is due to that ticket and to the programme hitherto followed by the party. At the same time I am grateful, in particular, to my constituents, to the Premier and to my other colleagues, to those workers of the Muslim League and other friends, including the Press who generously lent their active support to my candidature.' It is significant that he states that he obtained the League ticket under the Sikander-Jinnah Pact. It is well known that in July 1943, there was some criticism of certain speeches made by Captain Shaukat Hyat Khan. To clear his position he issued the following statement on July 20, 1943. 'My attention has been drawn to the comments which appeared in a certain section of the Press with reference to certain passages contained in the speeches delivered by me in the course of my recent tour. These comments are erroneous and based on a misunderstanding of my position. I would remind my critics and commentators that on each occasion, my observations were strictly subject to the Jinnah-Sikander Pact and to the statement made by the hon. Khizr Hyat Khan Tiwana at Delhi on March 7 on the occasion of the meeting of the Muslim League Council. My regret is that I did not explicitly refer to the background furnished by the aforesaid Pact and the statement against which I was speaking I took it for granted that the Punjabi audience, whom I was addressing, would interpret my speeches in the light of this background. That I was wrong in my assumption, is apparent from the fact that the people read into my speeches things which bear no resemblance to my real intentions. I need hardly emphasise that I will faithfully abide by the policy pursued by my late lamented father and continued by his worthy successor.'

Coming to more recent events in the Muslim League Party meeting on November 8, 1943, he voted for the inclusion of the terms of the Sikander-Jinnah Pact in the rules of the party.

#### NO RESIGNATION RECEIVED

"I come now to his statement that he had given me his resignation a week before his dismissal. It is totally incorrect and is clearly an after-thought in a statement made on the third day after the event. There was no reason why he should give me his resignation at a time when negotiations were still proceeding, for, at that stage, there was no issue on which he could be expected to resign. Nor is it creditable that if Captain Shaukat Hyat Khan's resignation had been in my possession at the time when the matter, which resulted in his dismissal, was under consideration, he should have failed to bring this fact to notice before the order of dismissal was finally passed. He made no mention whatever of this alleged resignation at the time in question, nor did he mention it when making a statement to the Press immediately after his dismissal, when he only said that he had been dismissed. I have no wish to comment in detail on the statement made by Captain Shaukat Hyat Khan, I only wish to lay the facts before the public."

### The Ministers' Statement

The position taken up by the three non-Muslim Ministers during the recent negotiations between Mr. Jinnah and Malik Khizr Hyat Khan is revealed in a joint statement issued from Lahore on the 1st May 1944 by Choudhary Sir Chhatu Ram, Revenue Minister, Sir Monoharlal, Finance Minister, and Sardar Baldev Singh, Minister for Development. The statement says:—

In Mr. Jinnah's letter of the 27th April to the Premier there is reference to certain proposals on which Mr. Jinnah wished to ascertain the views of the non-Muslim members of the Cabinet. In this connection the whole background of the situation is explained below.

Mr. Jinnah requested the Premier to ascertain the grounds of our objection to the formation of a Muslim League or Muslim League Coalition Ministry in the Punjab. The written statement which we handed to the Premier on the subject runs as follows:

"There are many cogent grounds on which we consider the formation of a Muslim League or Muslim League Coalition Ministry or any Ministry bearing a communal name in the Punjab or any other province to be wrong morally, constitutionally and politically. Without entering into a discussion of these grounds we propose to answer the question put us by the hon Premier in the following words: "We can consider the question of our joining a Muslim League or Muslim

League Coalition Ministry as an emergency measure only if the formation of such a Ministry in the Punjab is a part of an all-India understanding and the idea of Pakistan is abandoned for the period of the war, and in order to enable all concerned to judge the merits of the scheme, its precise political and constitutional implications are fully explained and the geographical boundaries of the Punjab under the scheme of Pakistan as well as the principles to be adopted for the fixation of such boundaries are indicated as clearly as practicable and an unequivocal assurance is given in a resolution formally adopted by the League that the League will unconditionally support all forms of war effort until final victory is won."

#### MR. JINNAH'S COMMENTS ON POSITION OF NON-MUSLIM MINISTERS

The following comments reduced to writing by the Premier to the dictation of Mr. Jinnah were received by us : (a) The proposed coalition is confined only to the Punjab and under the present constitution, therefore, the question raised is irrelevant and the League cannot form an All-India understanding merely with two groups that are willing to come into the Muslim League Coalition Party, (b) This also is an All-India question and irrelevant for the present purpose of forming the present proposed coalition. The question raised in this clause (b) cannot be settled only with two groups in the local legislature, as this is an All-India question ; (c) the policies of the League have been made quite clear with regard to the war effort and that question cannot be discussed with groups in the Punjab Assembly and is therefore, outside our present purpose. We are, however, willing to make it clear if it is necessary although it is obvious, that by the entry of any group or groups into the Muslim League Coalition Party, it is clearly understood that the groups that enter this proposed Coalition would be in any way prejudiced or bound not to follow their respective creeds and general policy and programme. Coalition is always a provisional arrangement which may be understood between the respective groups and within arrangement they would be carrying on the Government of the Province and such administrative and legislative measures as would be within the main principles of the arrangement and understanding which would bring certain groups within the proposed coalition.

#### REPLY TO MR JINNAH'S COMMENTS

The reply in writing which we handed to the Premier on receipt of these comments runs as follows : We note with great regret and surprise that these comments are not indicative of any desire to come to terms. We drew attention to certain conditions which would make it easy to form a Muslim League coalition ministry in the Punjab with prospects of smooth and successful working. The definition of Pakistan and other relevant consequences which would follow upon the establishment of Pakistan is absolutely essential, particularly in the Punjab which is, according to Mr. Jinnah himself, the corner-stone of any scheme of Pakistan. The non-Muslim minorities of the Punjab are vitally interested in an elucidation of the problems so closely associated with Pakistan. Mr. Jinnah's comments can offer no comfort or satisfaction to anybody. In fact, they seem to be visibly evasive and suggest a complete reluctance to face the issues inherent in Pakistan. To bring in the plea of the All-India character of Pakistan as a bar to an answer to a question put by the representatives of the Punjab minorities is to forget the fundamental principles recognised by All-India parties that a settlement affecting one or more constituent parts of India shall not be arrived at on an All-India basis without the previous full and free consent of the minorities concerned. The attitude of any political organisation towards war effort is of immeasurably greater importance to the Punjab than perhaps to the whole of the rest of India put together. The Punjab is committed to whole-hearted and unconditional support of war effort. To enter into a coalition with a political organisation, the attitude of which towards the war effort remains hedged in by so many conditions and permits or withdrawal from war effort at any moment, will be courting disruption within a very short time. The Punjab, which has sent approximately one million men to the army, cannot view with indifference or complacency any attitude which is characterised by such elements of vagueness and uncertainty. We send these statements of our views along with Mr. Jinnah's comments to the Press for publication without any comment from ourselves.

#### Sikh Minister Denounces Jinnah's Proposals

"To divide the people of this province by aggravating communal bitterness at this time, would be a positive danger to all concerned", says *Sardar Baldev Singh*,

Development Minister, Punjab in the course of a statement to the Press commenting on the Ministerial developments in the Punjab.

*Sardar Baldev Singh* says that on its surface the controversy raised by Mr. Jinnah related to the Unionist Party, which, according to him, did not exist in fact. He demanded, instead, a formal recognition of a change in party alignments in the Punjab Legislature with the implied sequel that the Ministry would be a League Coalition Ministry. This meant that we were in effect to commit ourselves to a vague Pakistan scheme. I am not a member of the Unionist Party. But it is impossible to ignore the consequence if, as Mr. Jinnah holds, the Unionist Party were dissolved. My reason is simple. It was in earnest of a desire I shared with the late Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan that I entered into a pact with him primarily for removing the besetting curse of inter-communal bitterness in the Punjab. This pact was signed by me with the late Premier as the leader of the Unionist Party, a non communal organisation. Sir Sikandar always maintained that the Party of which he was the Leader and the Government of which he was the head were both non-communal in outlook and character. Attempts were made during his life time within and without the province to assign a communal—Muslim League—character to his Ministry. Sir Sikandar resolutely resisted these attempts. His successor, our present Premier, has maintained the *status quo*. After attending a session of the All-India Muslim League in Delhi in March last year, he conveyed to me and to his other colleagues in the Ministry an assurance that Mr. Jinnah adhered unequivocally to the Sikandar-Jinnah Pact and would honour its commitment so far as the Punjab was concerned. The statement of the Premier was made with the full blessings of Mr. Jinnah and was received with applause by the Council of the All-India Muslim League.

"It is admitted that, as a direct result of my pact aforesaid with the Punjab Premier, a number of misunderstandings between the Muslims and the Sikhs were removed. The communal atmosphere in the Punjab improved materially. Not all had been done. Admittedly many grievances remained unresolved. The *sine qua non* of continued improvement, however, was a determined effort to maintain the improvement noticed in inter-communal relationship. This in its turn implied an honest and straightforward respect for mutually agreed understandings and pacts.

I must say that Mr. Jinnah's present activities in Lahore, his attack on the Unionist Party and his insistence on the Punjab Ministry being recognised as the Muslim League Coalition Ministry have caused wide-spread alarm in the province. In the first place, the attempt to destroy the Unionist Party apart from anything else, amounts also to a unilateral repudiation of the pacts arrived at by Mr. Jinnah and the League with the Unionists and by the Unionist Party with me. If the leaders of the Muslim League encourage Muslims who are a majority in the Unionist Party to treat their plighted word so lightly, the Sikhs will greatly hesitate to rely on any future promises made by them. I ask Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim members of the Ministerial type in all sincerity to take due note of this and to avoid sowing seeds of suspicion.

"Secondly, it is no more a secret that the acts of indiscipline by a few members of the Unionist Party are the result of internal intrigue by interested persons. Whatever their own designs, I have no hesitation in saying that an encouragement of such acts for communal domination would destroy for all time confidence in the integrity and working of political parties. Differences in opinion are no new phenomenon. But to achieve the object of such differences by internal surreptitious intrigues is against all canons of public conduct.

#### SIKHS' FAITH IN UNITY OF INDIA

"I would say here that as an earnest of our desire to live peacefully with our Muslim brethren, I with the concurrence of my friends in the community made every effort to come to terms with Mr. Jinnah. I repeatedly and pointedly asked him for a clarification of the Pakistan scheme. There was no response. I must here make it clear that it is not offices, posts or even exclusive communal advantages that we seek. The right of self-determination is now an admitted principle recognised all the world over. The Sikhs hold that this right of self-determination can and should be exercised to the fullest extent without violating India's integrity and unity by Muslims and in the same measure by non-Muslims. Mr. Jinnah has so far shown no inclination to accept this clear principle. Nor does he explain what his own scheme of Pakistan is. We have at one time been assigned the status of a subnationality and at another offered lavish promises of generous privileges. The time has come to end this purposeless manoeuvring. But why this drift into fratricidal disruption ?

"Sikh history is my witness that we stand for justice and equality. To treat us with condescension or dub us as sub-nationals is to expect us the denial of our proud lineage. No Sikh may fall so low, whatever his preferences. We have lived in peace as equal neighbours, with our sister communities. We are resolved to stand by and will, if necessary, die with those who keep their troth in pursuit after our common aspirations. The Sikhs have never faltered. They shall not do so now.

"Finally I cannot help observing that as a direct result of the recent aggressive turn in the attitude of a few Muslims, the general communal atmosphere in the Punjab has already had a severe setback. Doubts in the sanctity of pacts and weakening of confidence in the operations of political groups must, in the nature of things, create serious communal misgivings. I do not suggest that the Muslim League is conscious of it but if aggressive communalism were to spread in the countryside, its repercussions on our war effort are bound to be grave and no comparable calamity could befall us at this time.

"To divide the people of this province by aggravating communal bitterness at this time would be a positive danger to all concerned."

### Jinnah's Reply to Minority Ministers

The stand taken up by him during the talks with the Punjab Premier in connection with his proposal to form a League-Coalition Ministry in the Punjab was explained in a statement issued by Mr. Jinnah on the 2nd. May in reply to the statement issued by the non-Muslim Ministers in this connection. He says :—

So now at last, the statement issued by the non-Muslim Ministers makes it clear that it is not the sanctity claimed by Malik Khizr Hyat Khan for the so-called Sikander-Jinnah Pact nor anything over and above it, by way of secret commitments, that may have been made as alleged and stated by Malik Khizr Hyat Khan recently, by his revered predecessor, Sir *Sikandar Hyat Khan* and himself, the nature of which has not up to the present moment been disclosed, which prevents them from entering into a coalition with the Muslim League, but that the non-Muslim Punjab Ministers are ready and willing to agree to the formation of a League Coalition Ministry provided they are satisfied with regard to the points raised in their statement published in this morning's papers.

With regard to the first point mentioned, it is obvious to any intelligent man that an all-India understanding or settlement cannot be accomplished when dealing only with three non-Muslim Ministers in the Punjab, whose position is as follows :

Sir *Chhotu Ram* does not represent more than nine Jat Hindu members of the Punjab Assembly, and this is the only section behind him.

Sardar *Baldev Singh* does not represent more than ten members, as his group consists of only ten Sikh members out of a total number of 28 Sikhs, and Sir *Monohar Lal* has no following of any kind whatsoever. In other words, these three gentlemen, together, do not represent more than 20 members out of the total number of 175 members of the Punjab Assembly. The demand that we should come to an all-India settlement or understanding with them is on the face of it preposterous.

Similarly, as regards the second point, how can we come to any settlement with regard to Pakistan which is an all-India question with these individuals? If such a course was adopted, the settlement or arrangement would be, on the one hand, binding on the Muslim League which is undoubtedly the authoritative organisation of the Mussalmans of India but nobody else or no other organisation outside these three non-Muslim Ministers of the Punjab would be bound by any settlement that might be arrived at on this question. It is really surprising that this patent absurdity is not present to their mind. Our proposal to form a League Coalition Ministry is under and within the limits of the present constitution and the Government of India Act 1935, as it is applied and worked in the province of the Punjab. I regret, I have failed to make them understand the elementary principles on which coalitions are formed or dissolved in any legislature.

### LEAGUE AND WAR EFFORT

As regards the third point mentioned, this I can only characterise as insidious tactics intended to poison the mind of the public in England, America, India and elsewhere as it contains insinuations that the Muslim League is opposed to war efforts and the successful prosecution of the war. They arrogate to themselves the claim that they are the only champions and defenders of India. Our attitude has been made clear from the very commencement of the war and we have never put any difficulties or obstructions in the way of war effort or embarrassed the British

Government in any way whatsoever. That has been made clear as an actual fact by the co-operation of the Muslim League Ministries in Bengal, Assam, the North-West Frontier Province and Sind, and the same position will be continued in the Punjab, if we are able to form a Muslim League Ministry in the province of the Punjab. If the Government of India is misled and the present Punjab Ministry, under the false pretext that the Muslim League is opposed to war efforts, is allowed to resort to repressive or oppressive measures or if they stifle the constitutional liberty on the people of the Punjab and the free and independent working of the constitution, they will be making a very great mistake. In England, in the midst of the war, the Chamberlain Cabinet went and Mr. Churchill formed a new Cabinet and many changes have occurred since in his Cabinet. In Canada, elections were held in the midst of the war and Cabinets have been formed. In Australia the Menzies Cabinet went and another Cabinet was formed in the midst of the war, and thereafter the legislature was dissolved and fresh elections were held. In India itself, Mr. *Fazlul Hug's* Ministry went and the Muslim League Ministry was formed. In Sind the Allah Bux Ministry went and the Muslim League Ministry was formed. In the North-West Frontier Province Section 93 went and the Muslim League Ministry was formed. Therefore the question is: Is the present constitution under which we are working, to function fully and freely? The present legislature is now seven years old. We have repeatedly urged that fresh elections should be held, but the Government have turned a deaf ear so far. Are we not entitled to make every legitimate effort to put our House in order and work the constitution under the present Government of India Act 1935? Either we should be allowed full freedom to work it or we must be definitely told to close down our shutters. But it would be a great plunder to interfere with constitutional liberties under the pretext that they might interfere with the war efforts. As we have already been threatened and informed in some sections of the Press that the Government have got ample and extraordinary powers which they can use, I hope that the Government will not abuse these powers and be stampeded into any hasty action.

#### READY TO COME TO UNDERSTANDING WITH SIKHS

As regards *Sardar Baldev Singh's* fear, as reported in the Press, that his joining the Muslim League Coalition Party would amount to his acceptance of Pakistan, he is entirely wrong. No party that enters a coalition ever forswears its creed *ipso facto* or is compelled by merely joining a coalition to accept the creed and ideals of the other party. As regards the Sikh demand, I have repeatedly requested the Sikh leaders, including Sardar Baldev Singh, and in my recent interviews with him last month, repeated my request personally, to make their proposals as to what they want and, once again, I publicly request the Sikh leaders to acquaint me with their proposals to what the Sikh community desires. As this is not an all-India question and is confined only to the Punjab, we are ready and willing to come to any fair and equitable adjustment with them on behalf of the All-India Muslim League.

## Muslim League Committee of Action

Lahore—27th. May 1944

### Expulsion of the Punjab Premier

The Committee of Action of the All-India Muslim League decided that *Malik Khizr Hyat Khan Tiwana* shall be forthwith expelled from the membership of the All-India Muslim League and shall be ineligible to become a member in future till the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League remove this ban against him. The Committee issued the following statement from Lahore at midnight, the 27th. May 1944 :—

The hon. Malik Khizr Hyat Khan Tiwana, the Premier of the Punjab, and a member of the All-India Muslim League, issued a lengthy statement on April 28 immediately after the breakdown of his conversations with Mr. M. A. Jinnah, the President of the All-India Muslim League. In the course of this statement, Malik Khizr Hyat Khan Sahib gave expression to his views and made assertions which were not only diametrically opposed to the declared policy and programme of the All-India Muslim League, but constituted a grave violation of the fundamen-

tal principle of its constitution and rules and thus rendered himself liable to disciplinary action. The Committee of Action, when they met at Lahore on May 2, examined this statement with great care and picked out passages from it which, in their opinion, offended against the basic principles of the constitution and the rules of the All India Muslim League. They authorised Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, the convener of the Committee, to draw Malik Khizr Hyat Khan's attention to these objectionable passages by means of a communication which was sent to him on May 3 and called for his explanation. It may be mentioned here that in this letter of the convener not only those passages were reproduced *in extenso*, but it was also pointed out to him how they contravened the aims, objects and rules of the Muslim League.

Malik Sahib sent his reply to Nawabzada Sahib on May 8, in which he *inter alia* says: (1) That the passages to which exception is taken had been isolated from the context; (2) That the Committee had not taken into account the background and the circumstances in which his statement of April 28 was made; (3) That he had joined the Muslim League in pursuance of and subject to what he calls "Sikandar-Jinnah Pact"; (4) That the Committee had not defined their attitude towards this so-called Pact and requested them to do so in order to enable him to offer further explanation.

These were, in short, the salient points on which he laid stress in his letter. The Committee will deal with these points at some length later. All that need be said here is that he neither told the Committee what other meanings besides the obvious ones could be attached to the passages, alleged by him to have been torn from their context, nor has he taken the trouble to describe the background and the circumstances in which he gave expression to these heterodox opinions which challenged the very existence of the Muslim League organisation. It may further be mentioned that he did not favour the Committee with a copy of the so-called Sikander-Jinnah Pact on which he asked the Committee to pronounce their opinion and that he failed to point out any section or clause from the constitution and rules of the Muslim League which could justify a member of the League to assert that he can join the League with some mental reservations or self-imposed condition, which would exempt him from the obligations imposed upon a member by the constitution and rules. The Committee of Action in their meeting in Delhi on May 14, after giving their earnest consideration to Malik Sahib's contentions, passed a resolution in which they explicitly asked him to confine himself to answering the specific charges formulated against him, based on the passages from his statement of April 28 and not to confound the issues by dragging in extraneous matters having little or no bearing on them.

#### ATTITUDE TO SIKANDER-JINNAH PACT

This resolution was forwarded to Malik Khizr Hyat Khan under a covering letter from Nawabzada Sahib on May 14, to which Malik Sahib sent his reply on May 20. In this letter also Malik Sahib reiterates his previous allegations and persists in his request to the Committee to define their attitude to the so-called Sikander-Jinnah Pact. He further claims that the position he took up in issuing his aforesaid statement was strictly in conformity with the Pact and if the Committee are of the contrary opinion, they should enlighten him as to what provisions and terms of the Pact he is supposed to have infringed and then he will give further explanation if necessary. In fact, he bases his whole defence on the so-called Pact.

The Committee of Action never had any hesitation in defining their attitude towards this Pact, but at the time the request was made, the Committee considered it inadvisable to give their decisions piece-meal. Now that the Committee are in full possession of Malik Sahib's plea, which he urges in his defence, the Committee proceed to record their decision on this as well as on other points on which he relies for his defence.

It has been observed in a previous paragraph that no copy of the so-called Pact has been supplied to the Committee by Malik Sahib. The Committee have, however, in their possession a copy of the rules of the Punjab Muslim League Assembly Party in which this Pact is reproduced as an appendix. In the Appendix, its appellation is given as Sikander-Jinnah Pact, while the inscription immediately below reads as follows: "Sir Sikander Hyat Khan had consultation with Mr. Jinnah to-day, after which he attended the meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League by special invitation. At the meeting the following statement was made:....."

It will thus be seen that the so-called Pact is nothing more than a statement

which the late Sir *Sikander Hyat Khan* made at a meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League held at Lucknow in October 1937, in which he undertook to do certain things on his return to the Punjab. How this simple statement became magnified into a Pact and how this high-sounding title was bestowed upon this one-sided statement has not been made clear. Although Malik Khizr Hyat Khan does not state whether any resolution was passed by the Council approving or sanctioning this pact, yet in fairness to Malik Sahib, the Committee took the trouble of examining all the resolutions of the All-India Muslim League since 1937 without coming across any resolution which would throw any light on it.

The Committee have, therefore, no hesitation in holding that the statement of Sir *Sikander Hyat Khan* is not in the nature of a Pact. It is at the most an undertaking or an assurance given by him to the All-India Muslim League Council that he will himself become a member and also induce other Muslim members of his Party to sign the Muslim League creed and join it. As soon as the Muslim members of the Unionist Party joined the League, the Unionist Party as such ceased to exist because of the defection of the vast majority of its members who had theretofore made themselves subject to the rules and regulations of the Central and Provincial Muslim League Parliamentary Boards and had thrown off the yoke of the Unionist Party. This did not mean, however, that there was any bar to the continuance of a coalition with the then existing Hindu and Sikh groups, provided this was acceptable to the majority of the Muslim League members.

#### THE PREMIER'S DEFENCE

Having disposed of this issue, which is the main prop of his case, the Committee will now briefly deal with other points raised by Malik Sahib in his defence. His first contention is that the passages quoted by the Committee have been removed from their context.

The very first passages from his statement to which the Committee objected was reproduced in full and had not been isolated in any way. Malik Sahib, in tracing the history of the Unionist Party, says that the late Sir *Fazli Hussain* was opposed to communal parties and would not brook outside interference in provincial matters and then he goes on to say that he is in complete agreement with these views and appeals to the Mussalman of the Punjab not to tolerate outside interference and refuse to be divided among themselves. This statement amounts to an open defiance by Malik Sahib of all the aims and objects of the organisation to which, he says, he still belongs and with whose creed he professes to be in full accord. He forgets that the All-India Muslim League by its constitution is purely a communal organisation, having its branches all over India both inside and outside the Legislature and having the authority to direct and control their activities. It is most unbecoming of a member owing allegiance to such an organisation to violate its basic principle in such a flagrant manner as has been done by Malik Sahib, who not satisfied with his own open defiance, goes further and invites the Mussalman of the Punjab to revolt against their national organisation. The Committee are constrained to observe that it would have been more honourable on his part to have resigned the membership of the organisation if he did not agree with its aims and objects than to try to disrupt it from within. He has committed a clear breach of discipline and no self-respecting organisation can tolerate this. It must take effective steps to vindicate its authority by putting a stop to such disruptive tendencies.

The second point on which Malik Sahib lays stress is that the Committee have not fully appreciated the background and the circumstances under which his statement of April 28 was made, but beyond making this vague assertion, he has not thought fit to mention them in any detail. He declined to take advantage of the suggestion of the convener to come to Delhi and discuss the whole matter with the Committee face to face. In his second reply also, he says that no useful purpose would be served by an oral discussion. The Committee are, therefore, unable to understand how any circumstances could have justified Malik Sahib in taking up the stand that he did.

His third point is that he joined the League in pursuance of and subject to the Sikander-Jinnah Pact, with which the Committee has already dealt. The Committee do not understand the significance of this claim, for the constitution and rules of the All-India Muslim League apply equally to all its members and no individual can join it with conditions and self-imposed terms. There are no two categories of membership *vide* Rule V of the constitution and Rules of the All-India Muslim League which runs as follows:

"Every candidate shall become a member of a primary League on payment of



an annual subscription of annas two in advance, provided it is declared in writing that the candidate will abide by the objects and rules of the League mentioned herein”

This plea has no force and only demonstrates his subservience to the Unionist ideals.

#### LEAGUE AND UNIONIST PARTY IDEALS

The Committee have also examined the constitution of the erstwhile Unionist Party. Its creed is wholly different from that of the All-India Muslim League. It is, therefore, quite impossible for any honest man to own allegiance at one and the same time to two parties with such differing creeds. Malik Sahab's lip service, therefore, to the Pakistan ideal sound hollow, particularly when reviewed in the light of his statement and will not deceive any one who has been blessed with some understanding from the passages from his statement of April 28. which were quoted in *extenso* in the first communication sent to Malik Sahab on behalf of the Committee. It is quite evident that like the late Sir Fazli Hussain he does not believe in communal parties or organisations and is opposed to outside interference in the affairs of his province. He calls upon the Mussalmans of the Punjab to resist such interference and refuse to be divided among themselves at the instance of any one. This statement, it must be remembered, was issued soon after his talks with Mr. Jinnah had ceased, who, on behalf of the Muslim League, was exhorting the Mussalmans to stand by their organisation and owe their sole allegiance to it, in order to have an effective voice in the decisions of the Coalition Government in the Punjab. The Unionist label in the Punjab was a pretence for keeping down the Mussalmans and making them subservient to the dominant Hindu group, which in and out of season exploited it for its own selfish purposes. It was this background which Malik Sahab would probably like the Committee to ponder over. How such a stand at this crucial moment could justify Malik Sahab in making these mischievous assertions is wholly incomprehensible. Then again his emphasis on the fact that he joined the Muslim League subject to the term of the so-called Pact indicates that his allegiance to the League is only a secondary affair and he does not regard his membership of the League as imposing any obligations upon him which he is in duty bound to carry out.

His defiance of the advice tendered to him on behalf of the Central Muslim League organisation is indicative of his recalcitrant attitude on the subject. The Committee have in the previous paragraph shown that Malik Sahab has made no serious attempt to explain or rebut the charges formulated against him. On the contrary, he has been trying to sidetrack the issue by asking the Committee to define their attitude to a matter which is not relevant in any degree to the present inquiry. The Committee have, therefore, reached the conclusion that Malik Sahab in issuing the statement, containing the objectionable passages referred to above, has contravened the policy and programme of the Muslim League and violated its constitution, rules, aims and objects and has therefore, proved himself unfit to be a member of this sole national organisation of the Musalmans of India. The Hyat Khan Sahab Tiwana shall be forthwith expelled from the membership of the All-India Muslim League and shall be ineligible to become a member in future till the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League is pleased to remove this ban against him.

## Expulsion of Malik Khizr Hyat Khan

### Punjab Muslim League Council

The Council of the Punjab Muslim League, which met at Lahore on the 28th. May 1944 under the presidency of *Nawab Iftikhar Hussain Khan* of Mamdot, adopted a resolution endorsing the action taken against *Malik Khizr Hyat Khan Tiwana* by the Committee of Action. The resolution, which was moved by *Khan Bahadur Maulvi Ghulam Mohiyuddin, M. L. A.*, and supported among others by *Malik Barkat Ali, M. L. A.*, and *Khan Bahadur Karmat Ali, M. L. A.*, says:

“This meeting of the Council of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League, views with satisfaction the action taken against the Hon. Malik Khizr Hyat Khan Tiwana by the Committee of Action for his open defiance of the aims and objects and rules of the All-India Muslim League and creating disruption in the Muslim nation. This meeting calls upon the Muslims of the Punjab to demonstrate, beyond all doubt, that they stand solidly behind their national organisation.”

The Council also approved the programme for strengthening the Muslim League organisation in the province, recently framed by the Working Committee of the Punjab League, and in pursuance thereof elected five organising secretaries, one for each of the five divisions of the province.

The meeting was attended among others by twelve members of the Punjab Assembly.

*Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan*, General Secretary of the All-India Muslim League, in the course of a brief speech, said that it was a matter of great satisfaction that the purge in the Muslim League had ended the seven years of camouflage in the Punjab. He exhorted the Muslims to strengthen the Muslim League, so that they might assert themselves as a majority community in the province, and declared that the League had no secret or destructive programme.

*Qazi Mohammad Isa*, who also addressed the Council, said that the Sword-Arm of India would be utilised to protect the legitimate interests of Muslims and other minorities in the Punjab.

## Punjab Premier And The League Reply To Committee's Allegations

"Specious reasons have been advanced for my expulsion, but it is obvious that I have been expelled because I refused to accept Mr. Jinnah's demands which sought to end a state of affairs accepted by Mr. Jinnah and the League for more than six years," said *Malik Khizr Hyat Khan*, Premier of the Punjab, in a statement to the Press from Simla on the 5th. June 1944.

He added: My fears have been realised and the Committee of Action has decided to expel me from the Muslim League without giving me an opportunity to clear my position. I cannot say that I am surprised. When Mr. Jinnah had his last conversation with me on the telephone on the night of April 27-28, he informed me angrily that he would expel me from the League. This threat was made before I had issued my statement. Later, he thought better of this and referred the matter to the Committee of Action. It was, however, hardly to be expected that the Committee of Action, which, after all, consists of his nominees, would fail to carry out his orders.

My case was prejudged and decided before the Committee of Action ever professed to give me an opportunity to explain certain passages in my statement on April 28. While striving to maintain an appearance of judicial impartiality, the Committee soon showed that, in fact, the matter had been prejudged. In its resolution dated May 14th. 1944, there occurs the following passage: "The Committee once again desire to draw Malik Sahib's attention to the passages quoted in the previous communication from his statement of April the 28th which, in their opinion, constitutes deliberate and grave violation of the basic principles, rules, policy and programme of the All-India Muslim League."

I feared from this explicit expression of opinion that the Committee had already decided on its course of action, but, in my anxiety to preserve Muslim solidarity and to avoid precipitating a breach, I deliberately refrained in my letter dated May 20th from protesting against the Committee's attitude and merely repeated my request for a reply to my questions. The Committee saw that I would not fall into the trap laid for me and announced its intention of making known its pre-determined decision on May 27 in Lahore. Then and then only did I protest against the inequity of condemning me unheard.

The Committee of Action has made much of my alleged refusal to go to Delhi and discuss the matter face to face with it. It has misquoted my second reply (dated May 20th). I said: "No useful purpose would be served by my going to Delhi in the present circumstances." In referring to this sentence, the Committee has omitted the words "in the present circumstances", and so has altered its sense. I was prepared to discuss the matter with the Committee, but my doing so was useless until the Committee had clarified its attitude to the Sikandar-Jinnah Pact. Had it done so, I would have been glad to meet it.

Although the Committee of Action previously refused to answer my questions about its attitude to the Sikandar-Jinnah Pact, it has now made its attitude clear. The amount of space which the committee has devoted to the Pact in its statement shows how little truth there was in the allegation that I had introduced an irrelevant and confusing issue by referring to the Pact.

The Committee of Action holds that there was no pact and that there was,

at the most, an understanding or assurance given by "him (Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan) to the All-India Muslim League Council that he will himself become a member and also induce other Muslim members of his party to sign the Muslim League creed and join it." It goes on to say "that, when the Muslim members of Unionist Party joined the Muslim League, the Unionist Party ceased to exist, though there was no bar to the continuation of the coalition between the Hindu and Sikh groups and the Muslim League Party." The Committee of Action says that the Muslim League never adopted a resolution accepting the Pact, that no person can join the League subject to mental reservations and self-imposed conditions, "and that the committee has examined the constitution of the Unionist Party" and found it so different from that of the League that no honest man could belong to both.

#### PACT ACCEPTED BY LEAGUE

It may be that there was no formal resolution of the Muslim League accepting the Pact, but there is no doubt that it was regarded by Sir Sikandar as a gentleman's agreement between him and Mr. Jinnah equally binding upon Sir Sikandar's followers and the Muslim League of which Mr. Jinnah was the leader. That the Pact was accepted by the All-India Muslim League is shown by a statement issued to the Press on October 20, 1937 by the Secretary of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League. After referring to Sir Sikandar's statement at the meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League held on October 14, the Secretary says: "After Sir Sikandar had made the statement, the drafting of the agreement was entrusted to Sir Sikandar and Malik Barkat Ali, M. L. A. The agreement so drafted was adopted by the Council of the All-India Muslim League."

It is quite untrue that there was no Pact. Its existence can be proved from Mr. Jinnah's introduction to the publication by Sheikh Mohammad Ashraf of Allama Iqbal's letters to Mr. Jinnah. Mr. Jinnah says: ".....Sir Mohammad Iqbal played a very conspicuous part, though at the time not revealed to the public, in bringing about this consummation. He had his own doubts about the Sikander-Jinnah Pact being arrived at and he was anxious to see it translated into some tangible results without delay so as to dispel popular misapprehension about it."

Moreover, Sir Mohammad Iqbal himself refers to this Pact in his letter to Mr. Jinnah. In a letter dated November 1, 1937, he says: "Statements have been issued to the press by both sides, each side putting its own interpretation on the terms of the Jinnah-Sikandar agreement.....This, as far as I know, does not appear in the Jinnah-Sikandar agreement."

In another letter dated November 10, 1937, the following passage occurs: ".....In your Pact with his (Sir Sikandar), it is mentioned that the Parliamentary Board will be reconstituted and that the Unionists will have a majority in the Board. Sir Sikandar tells me that you agreed to their majority in the Board..... It is noteworthy that Mr. Jinnah did not then declare that there was no Pact, but only a unilateral declaration made by Sir Sikandar. How could Sir Sikandar re-constitute the Muslim League Parliamentary Board? This was to be done by Mr. Jinnah and the League, so clearly there were two parties to the agreement."

Even if as the Committee of Action contends, there was only a statement made by Sir Sikandar before the Council of the All-India Muslim League, is it not also true that for nearly seven years that statement has been acted upon and is not this sufficient to establish the existence of a Pact?

The Committee of Action has not denied that the membership-forms signed by the Muslim members of the Unionist Party when joining the League, specifically declared that they joined it in pursuance of the Sikandar-Jinnah Pact. If the League never recognised the Pact, why did it accept as members Muslims, who specifically said that they joined in pursuance of it? If there was no Pact, the Committee of Action has no jurisdiction over me.

It is incomprehensible how the Committee of Action has now discovered that it is quite impossible for any honest man to owe allegiance at one and the same time to two parties with such differing creeds. If, however, members of the Punjab Muslim League Assembly Party are to be described as dishonest because of their allegiance to these two parties under the Jinnah-Sikandar Pact, I am afraid the description will also apply to those who accepted this arrangement for over six years.

After answering the other criticisms of the Committee, the Premier says: In my statement of April 28, I said clearly and explicitly that I was a firm believer in and a supporter of the aims and objects of the Muslim League. I stood

loyally by its creed and policy subject only to my insistence on the following two points: (1) In general the Muslim League Party in the Punjab Assembly should be free to choose its own allies, determine the basis of its alliance and conduct its Parliamentary work in accordance with the terms of the Sikandar-Jinnah Pact. (2) In particular it should not be compelled to commit a breach of faith with its non-Muslim co-workers in the Assembly in respect of the undertakings formally embodied in the Jinnah-Sikandar Pact.

#### ACTED WITHIN MY RIGHTS AND IN BEST INTERESTS OF MUSLIMS

I maintain that I was within my rights and acting in the best interests of the Punjab Muslims in declining to yield on these two points. Every Province has its own peculiar problems and its own back-ground of economic and social conditions and party politics. It is only right and proper that within the general framework of All-India policies every Province should be free to conduct its affairs in the light of its own condition and experience. There is no doubt that in the Punjab the parliamentary alliance and the parliamentary programme represented by the Unionist Party are best suited to the interests of the Muslims and the best guarantee from their point of view to a stable Ministry under the present constitution. Nobody has yet been able to suggest to us a better or in fact any practical alternative to this alliance or this programme. Nobody has shown us how they offended against any All-India policy of the Muslim League. In the circumstances, I could see no force whatever in the demand for a change in the arrangements that were working so well from the Muslim point of view and the fact that the acceptance of the demand would have amounted to a breach of faith with our non-Muslim allies and co-workers in the legislature left me no choice but to resist it firmly. I have little doubt that the Muslims of the Punjab and their elected representatives in the Legislature will understand the issues involved and support me in the stand which I have taken for the vindication of their pledged word and their constitutional rights and for the protection of their best interests which would be seriously affected if the stability of their Ministry were allowed to be undermined by unjustified outside interference.

In conclusion, I should like to make it clear that as far as the Muslim ideal of self-determination, as embodied in the Lahore resolution popularly known as Pakistan, is concerned, the Committee of Action's present decision does not affect in any way my wholehearted support to it. Whether I remain in the Muslim League or not, I shall do all I can to help my community's efforts to realize this ideal.

### The Sind Muslim League

The jealousies of power politics and the struggle for seats and offices should give place to a simple ideal of service for its own sake; otherwise there is danger of friction and disintegration setting in within the organisation, said Mr. G. M. Syed, speaking at the annual meeting of the Sind Muslim League held at Karachi on the 14th. May, 1944. He criticised the attitude of the Hindu minority in Sind and said that the methods adopted by them to encourage the disruptive forces in the Muslim community betrayed their evil intentions.

Mr. Syed also referred to the Khaksars, the Ahrars, Jamait-ul-Ulema and the Socialists whom he described as disintegration forces in the Muslim Community and said that being frightened at the increasing power of the League they were trying to organise themselves in order to present a united front against it.

The League appointed a committee of five persons to organise and strengthen the Muslim League in the province. The meeting which was attended by the Premier and other Muslim Ministers passed a number of resolutions, by one of which it condemned the action of the Governor of the Punjab in dismissing Captain Shaukat Hyat Khan "without assigning proper reasons".

The meeting requested the Government of India to convey to His Majesty's Government that it was the desire of the Muslims of India that the promises given to the Arabs of Palestine should be kept by His Majesty's Government.

The Sind Government was urged to abolish the system of joint electorates in the borough municipalities of the province as the system of joint electorates was against the League creed. The meeting appointed a Parliamentary Board of five members including the Premier, Sir Ghulam Hussain, for the new year and a vigilance committee to secure the proper ratio for the Muslims in the public services.

# The Baroda State Muslim Conference

Seventh session—Kholwad—20th May 1944

Mr. R. K. Pathan's Address

"Pakistan is the symbol of Indian independence. It is very strange that after five years of explanation some people are yet asking for its clarification. Self-determination and distribution of provinces on a national basis is Pakistan," said Mr. Rasoolkhan Pathan, presiding over the seventh session of the Baroda State Muslim Conference held at Kholwad (Baroda) on 20th. May 1944. He added: "The principle of self-determination is accepted by the British Government, the principle of redistribution of provinces on a national basis is accepted by the Congress. The position is not impossible of solution if the League, the British Government and the Congress place their heads together."

Continuing, Mr. Rasoolkhan said that Muslim bodies other than the League like the Ahrars, the Khaksars and the Jamiat Ulema accepted Pakistan in some form or other as their creed. The Cripps' proposals contained the germ of acceptance in principle of Pakistan. If all the parties concerned frankly considered the problem, its solution was not difficult. The State people were not directly concerned with Pakistan but they had their sympathies with the demand just as their Hindu brethren were in accord with the Akhand Hindustan demand.

Referring to the food problem, Mr. Rasoolkhan said that this question of the day called for the immediate attention of the national leaders. He welcomed the release of Mahatma Gandhi and while wishing him early and complete recovery, he appealed to him to join hands with Mr. Jinnah and other great leaders to beat down profiteering and the black market. A National Government was suggested as the panacea for these problems, he went on; what was immediately wanted was not a "responsible government" but a "responsible market." Countering the profiteering stalking the land and enabling the poor to get their daily necessities at reasonable price—should become the first and immediate concern of our leaders, he said.

The President welcomed the merger scheme by which Baroda had acquired during the last year about 5,400 square miles of land with a population of about 520,000. The State had decided to spend about Rs. 100,000 a year for the improvement of these areas. He believed that by joining a progressive State like Baroda these backward areas got the benefit of its social and political reforms and as such the scheme would be a blessing in disguise for other areas which should merge themselves into the State.

Mr. Rasoolkhan dwelt at length upon the separate electorate campaign in Baroda State and expressed dissatisfaction of the panel system of representation which, though it was temporarily useful to tide over a crisis, could not for ever do. He complained that the Praja Mandal members frequently opposed Muslim social reforms and educational advances. Muslims remained backward in education and proper facilities had not been accorded to them. Their redemption, he said, lay in uniting under the banner of the Muslim Conference and presenting a single front. He exhorted the Muslim youth to take to education seriously.

## The Punjab Muslim Students' Federation

Rawalpindi—19th. June 1944

League Leaders' Criticism

The action of the Punjab Premier in not coming to an agreement with Mr. Jinnah was criticised by several speakers at the open session of the Muslim Students' Federation Conference held at Rawalpindi on the 19th. June 1944 under the presidency of *Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan*, an ex-Minister of the Punjab. Prominent League leaders from various provinces were present.

Inaugurating the conference, *Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan* referred to the political ideal of the Muslim League which, he said, was the only representative body of ten crores of Muslims, having one platform, one leader and one ideal.

He envisaged the complete independence of India in the real sense as one in which the ten crores of Muslims would be absolutely free from the domination of the Britishers and the Hindus.

Referring to Punjab politics, he criticised the Punjab Premier's stand regarding the Jinnah-Sikander Pact. Malik Khizr Hayat who had promised to infuse fresh life in the Muslim League Party in the Punjab Assembly, was in fact responsible for strangling the party which was yet hanging between life and death. He added that the only fault of the League Council was that they had trusted Premier Tiwana and his associates.

Dwelling on the League-Unionist Party controversy and the statement of the Punjab Premier, the speaker stated that it was absolutely wrong to state that the only bone of contention between the Qaid-e-Azam and the Punjab Premier related to the Punjab Ministry and added that the real trouble arose over the demand by Mr. Jinnah that Muslim members in the Punjab Assembly could owe allegiance only to one political party as the Muslim League could no longer tolerate divided loyalties of the Muslim members to two masters. Referring to the criticism that the war effort in the Punjab was likely to be handicapped by the coming into power of a Muslim League Ministry in the province, the speaker pointed out that this was another Unionist stunt to mislead the people and to discredit the League in America and England. In conclusion, he appealed to the Muslims to unite under the Muslim League banner and strive hard to reach their goal of Pakistan.

*Sirdar Abdur Rab Khan Nishtar*, Finance Minister, Frontier Province, characterised the action of the Punjab Premier as an affront to the ten crores of Muslims. The object of establishing Muslim League ministries, according to him, was to strengthen the hands of the League for the attainment of Pakistan.

*Wazi Mohd Isa*, President of the Baluchistan Muslim League, in the course of his speech, reiterated that they had neither declared war against the British nor against the Hindus but they had only decided to organise themselves. Justifying the decision of the Muslim League Council of Action expelling the Punjab Premier from the League, the speaker refuted the allegation that the Committee in their decision was influenced by Mr. Jinnah.

*Sardar Aurangzeb Khan*, Frontier Premier, in the course of his speech, referred to his meeting with the Punjab Premier with the approval of Mr. Jinnah and the Nawab of Mamdot and regretted that his persuasions had had no effect. Accepting the Jinnah-Sikandar Pact as a reality for the sake of argument, he said it could not be binding for generations. He assured the audience they would quit the Frontier Cabinet within a minute of receipt of instructions from Mr. Jinnah or the League High Command if their continuance in office was detrimental to the interests of the Muslim community or the attainment of Pakistan. Alluding to the question of outside interference in internal administration, raised in the Punjab, he stated that there had never been a single occasion during his tenure of office when Mr. Jinnah or the League High Command had interfered in the internal administration of the province.

## The Jammu & Kashmir National Conference

### Sheikh Abdulla's Rejoinder to Jinnah's Attack

*Sheikh Mohamad Abdullah*, President of the All-Jammu and Kashmir National Conference, issued the following statement from Srinagar dated the 26th. June 1944 :-

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, addressing the session of the Muslim Conference in Srinagar on the 17th June thought fit to open an attack on the All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference. He questioned the correctness of its objectives as an organisation, aiming at uniting the entire people of Kashmir under one national banner.

This abrupt utterance was surprising since Mr. Jinnah had declared on his arrival that he had not come to Kashmir for any political propaganda. This, he said, first at Jammu replying to the Muslim Conference address, and he repeated it on his arrival at Srinagar.

It was in deference to his standing in the public life of India that we gave him

a civic reception in Srinagar, on behalf of the National Conference and all the communities combined.

Again Mr. Jinnah at the Press Conference on the 23rd May, while answering a question whether it would not be best for people of all communities to unite under one banner, said that in the State there existed various organisations, e.g., the National Conference, the Muslim Conference, the Hindu Rajya Sabha, the Yuvak Sabha and the Sikh Party. It was for the people of the State themselves to decide what course would best strengthen their forces.

Up to that day, Mr. Jinnah appears to have maintained his "let alone" attitude towards our Kashmir politics.

#### MR. JINNAH BREAKS HIS ASSURANCE

But in his last speech at the session of the Muslim Conference on the 17th of June, Mr. Jinnah—our honoured guest—not merely identified himself completely with the politics of the Muslim Conference, but went further and attacked the National Conference. By so doing, Mr. Jinnah broke his repeated assurance to the people of Kashmir that he was not on a propaganda tour and, I regret to say, thus violated the spirit in which he was received by us all.

Now, as to the National Conference, we certainly owe no apologies to Mr. Jinnah for our existence.

Starting the Muslim Conference as a sectional organisation in 1932 we passed on to a higher stage of political evolution in 1939. It that year by a democratic decision of the overwhelming majority of our works, we transformed ourselves into the one national organisation of the people of Kashmir calling this body the All-Jammu and Kashmir National Conference. This change enabled us to handle the new tasks arising out of the developing political situation.

Thus we passed Mr. Jinnah's milestone of to-day over five years ago.

To-day the All-Jammu and Kashmir National Conference is the national organisation of the Kashmiri people, not only because its membership is open to all communities, but because it has got a truly national programme and a national vision.

Mr. Jinnah has attacked the Kashmir National Conference with the same weapon with which he attacks the Indian National Congress. According to him the National Congress is a Hindu attempt to cheat the Indian minorities, and the National Conference is a Muslim attempt to cheat the Kashmir minorities.

The programme of the National Conference is before our Kashmiri people in the form of our recently published "New Kashmir." That programme is a sign-post of our future struggle towards freedom, supported by the strength and co-operation of the minority communities whose rights are fully guaranteed and safeguarded.

Viewing the position from an all-India perspective, we find that Mr. Jinnah has repeatedly declared that he does not extend his plans of Pakistan to the Indian States. Thus his conception of Islamic sovereignty conveniently halts at the customs barrier which divides our State from British India. Yet, when it comes to giving advice, Mr. Jinnah trespasses over his own boundaries.

Reiterating our position, I say that the National Conference does not stand for the splitting of the people's forces in Kashmir by diverting them into the channels of mere communal organisations. Such a division can never be conducive to the growth of our own united strength, and would also belie the history of progress the world over. This does not however mean that the rights and demands of the backward sections of the community do not receive our attention and support. In point of fact, we fight for their rights ourselves, and unite with those striving towards the same end.

But while disavowing communal separatism, the programme of the National Conference envisages the free and full development of cultural units, and the principle of self-determination on the basis of nationality, as a solution of problems which are not only our own, but those of India as a whole.

We, of the National Conference, are conscious of the work that lies ahead. In spite of outsiders who misunderstand our problems and are hardly capable of helping us we shall carry on our work. With traditions of struggle at our back, and the heritage of the sacrifices of our martyrs and workers to strengthen us, we shall march forward to new Kashmir, our free homeland.

# All India Majlis-i-Ahrar Conference

Open Session—Rawalpindi—11th. June 1944

Maulana Sarhadi's Presidential Address

The spacious pandal in the Ahrar Park, Rawalpindi was packed to capacity on the 11th. June 1944 when the All-India Majlis-i-Ahrar Conference commenced its open session. Prominent All-India Ahrar leaders, including Maulana Ghulam Ghaus Hazarvi, Mr. Abdul Rehman Mianawi, Mr. Mohd. Ali Jullundhari, Sardar Ahmed Shah, Salar-Azam Ahrar, Mr. Mazhar Ali Azhar, M.L.A., Qazi Ahsan Ahmed Shujabadi, Hakim Abdul Islam Hazaroi, Comrade Ghulam Mohd. Hashami, and Mr. Mohd. Hussain, Naib Salar, participated in the conference, while more than 10,000 visitors attended the session.

Mr. *Anayat Shafi Mohd, Pasruri*, Chairman on the Reception Committee, in the course of his welcome address made a touching appeal to all Ahrar leaders present to concentrate their undivided attention, infusing the Ahrar spirit amongst the Muslim population of Pindi Division.

The chairman referred to the murder of Maulana Shergul, vice-president of the Punjab Provincial Majlis Ahrar in his village home in Attock district and paid a tribute to the departed leader.

On account of unavoidable absence, due to illness, of *Maulana Attaullah Shah Bokhari*, President-elect of the conference, *Maulana Ghulam Ghaus Sarhadi* was voted to the chair. The Maulana delivered an extempore address and referred at considerable length to the international and Indian political situation with special reference to the present war and asserted that the programme chalked out by the Majlis-i-Ahrar was a panacea for all maladies from which the world, and India in particular, was suffering.

Several other speakers then referred to the saintly character and patriotism of the late lamented Maulana Ghulsher, the prominent Ahrar leader who was recently murdered.

*Qazi Ahsan Ahmed Shujahabadi*, in the course of his speech, referring to the claim of Qaide-Azam, Mr. Jinnah, president of the All-India Muslim League, that Pakistan had already been established in five provinces in India, said that all these assertions of the Qaide-Azam were nothing but building castles in the air and had no reality behind them. The Punjab Premier had already exposed the claims of Mr. Jinnah in unequivocal terms pointing out that no Muslim League Government functioned in the Punjab.

The Qazi Sahab asserted that no Islamic Government functioned anywhere either in British India or in any Indian State and added that he did not recognise Turkey, Iraq, Iran and other Muslim powers as Islamic rulers. His ideal was the rule according to the laws of the Quran.

A resolution expressing condolence on the death of Mufti Sarhad Maulana Abdul Rahim Popalzai and offering sympathy with his brother, Maulana Abdul Qayyum Popalzai, was adopted at the conference.

Working Committee—Sialkot—19th. June 1944

Mr. Jinnah's Appeal for Merger Turned Down

The Ahrars' attitude towards the Muslim League was clearly brought out in a resolution adopted at a meeting of the Working Committee of the All-India Majlis-i-Ahrar held at Sialkot on the 19th. June 1944. The resolution which was moved by *Maulana Mazhar Ali Azhar*, M. L. A., expressed its inability to comply with Mr. Jinnah's appeal to the Majlis-i-Ahrar to merge with the Muslim League.

The resolution stated: "The attitude of Mr. Jinnah in regard to his demand for Pakistan will not lead him towards that ideal. The non-Muslim and most of the Muslims are fed up with the vision of Pakistan presented by him.

"Mr. Jinnah," the resolution pointed out, "has never asked the Majlis-i-Ahrar for co-operation in any matter, but on the contrary, he is desirous of its obliteration by asking it to merge itself in the Muslim League. The Majlis-i-Ahrar would have been prepared even to lose its identity, had the Muslim League and Mr. Jinnah given any evidence of self-sacrifice and suffering. Mr. Jinnah had stated in unmistakable terms at Lucknow that civil disobedience could never be of any avail. But the Majlis-i-Ahrar can never fall in with such a policy because its very superstructure stands on self-sacrifice and suffering."



The resolution added: "Mr. Jinnah is in favour of a constitutional struggle which can never set a slave nation free. On the contrary, it strengthens the shackles of slavery, because by following it no effective step can be taken against the Government."

*Maulana Atta Ullah Shah Bokhari* who presided over the meeting condemned the cold-blooded murder of *Maulana Sher Gul*, a prominent Ahrar leader.

## The Amritsar Ahrar Conference

### Ahrars Severely Criticise Jinnah

The attitude of Ahrars towards the Muslim League was defined on the 24th. June 1944 in the Ahrar Conference held in the Golbagh, Amritsar under the presidency of Mr. *Mazhar Ali Azhar*. The conference was very well attended.

Severely criticising the policy of Mr. Jinnah, the President, in the course of his address, expressed the Ahrars' inability to accede to the appeal of Mr. Jinnah to the *Majlis-i-Ahrar* to merge itself into the Muslim League. He was of the opinion that the policy of Mr. Jinnah would not lead him towards the attainment of Pakistan. The President further remarked that Mr. Jinnah never asked for the co-operation of the Ahrars in any matter. On the other hand, he always desired the extinction of the *Majlis-i-Ahrar* as a separate organisation. The Ahrars, the President said, would have responded to his appeal if the Muslim League and Mr. Jinnah had ever given evidence of self-sacrifice and suffering.

*Maulana Mazhar Ali Azhar* said that not a little finger had been raised by the Muslim League when Mr. *Allah Bux* and Mr. *Fazl-ul-Huq* had been removed from ministries while supporting popular feelings, whereas a storm was raised in the Punjab over the dismissal of *Sardar Shankat Hyat*. He said that Mr. Jinnah only wanted to fight for obtaining ministries for the League. He referred to the Congress ministers, who had preferred jail life to ministries and said that Mr. Jinnah did not want to court imprisonment. He criticised the Muslim League resolution about help in war.

He said that *Malik Khizar Hyat Khan* should be credited with consistency, since he had declared that after the war, he would ask for rights for his community, in view of their active help in war, whereas Mr. Jinnah pursued a double policy. He thought that Mr. Jinnah wanted to create a split among the Muslims.

Continuing, he said that Mr. Jinnah's mentality was clear from his readiness to approach the Viceroy with requests for Pakistan, but was not prepared to write a letter of sympathy to *Mahatma Gaudhi* on the death of his wife. Nor would he care to inquire after his health.

*Maulana Atta Ullah Shah Bukhari* criticised Mr. Jinnah and the policy of the Government.

## The Bengal Majlis-i-Ahrar Conference

### Majlis-i-Ahrar and Mr. Jinnah

A resolution calling upon Mr. Jinnah to state categorically and unequivocally his attitude towards such political hooliganism as has been directed against the *Majlis-i-Ahrar* recently and warning him that his continued silence in this respect had already led to grave misunderstanding in responsible political circles, was adopted by the Bengal Provincial Committee of the *Majlis-i-Ahrar* held at Calcutta on the 13th. June 1944. The *Nawab Bahadur of Dacca* presided over the meeting, and the President of the All-India *Majlis-i-Ahrar*, Mr. *Sheikh Hisamuddin*, who was present, made a statement about the general position of the *Majlis-i-Ahrar* all over India.

The resolution said: "This meeting of the Bengal Provincial Committee of the *Majlis-i-Ahrar* Islam condemns the cowardly and stealthy attack, during the absence of the members of the *Majlis-i-Ahrar* on its office and on one young volunteer by a band of hooligans who shouted slogans of the Muslim League. This meeting recalls that in the last few years there have been several occasions when members or supporters of the League have resorted to hooliganism and violence in the attempt to impose their opinion on the public and to suppress by force all other political parties. The *Majlis-i-Ahrar* notes with regret that the leader of the League has never condemned such political hooliganism, and has maintained a strange silence even when Mr. *Allah Baksh* and Mr. *Gulsher Ali Khan* were murdered in a most brutal and cowardly manner. The *Majlis-i-Ahrar*

has always condemned such methods of violence and terrorism and has allowed perfect freedom of propaganda to its opponents even in areas where it has complete control. It points out that the recent League Conference at Sialkot would never have been held if the Majlis-i-Ahrar had chosen to prevent or oppose it. This meeting of the Majlis-i-Ahrar, therefore, calls upon Mr. Jinnah to state categorically and unequivocally his attitude towards such political hooliganism and murder and warns him that his continued silence in this respect has already led to grave misunderstanding in responsible political circles. This meeting requests the All-India Working Committee of the Majlis-i-Ahrar to survey the whole situation and issue clear directions for safeguarding its own members and guaranteeing the peaceful prosecution of its principles and programme."

## The Azad Muslim Conference

### Syed Abdullah Brelvi's Statement

Dr. *Shaukatullah Ansari*, Secretary of the Azad Muslim Board, announced that a meeting of Nationalist Muslims will be held in Delhi on the 6th, 7th and 8th of May. Invitations have been sent to prominent leaders of the Ahrar Party, Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind, Momin Conference, Krishak Praja Party of Bengal, All-India Shiah Conference, Muslim Mjilis, Khudai Khidmatgars of N. W. Province, Anjuman-i-Watan of Baluchistan and Independent Muslims. The meeting has been summoned to discuss the present political situation in the country and to decide upon what lead to give to Indian Muslims. If the meeting should decide to call a large Conference, its dates and venue would be announced immediately. The Azad Muslim Board will meet on the 4th and 5th of May and will, obviously, formulate definite proposals for the consideration of the meeting which will be held on the 6th of this month. The Board is the Executive of the Azad Muslim Conference, which is itself a federation of the various parties mentioned above.

The present political deadlock cannot be resolved until Government take the initial step of releasing Gandhiji and other Congress leaders and, in consultation with the major political parties, transfer complete power to the people and establish a provisional Coalition Government. The Azad Muslim Board, when it met in November 1942 under the chairmanship of the late Mr. *Allah Bux*, suggested this solution, because it was convinced that the establishment of a provisional Coalition Government would alone enable the people of India to undertake the defence of the country with success and make all necessary sacrifices for the purpose. The existing war situation on the eastern frontier of India does not make the establishment of a provisional Coalition Government less urgent to-day than it was in November 1942. The Azad Muslim Board realized that the solution of the deadlock required a spirit of unity and trust among the major political parties and a determination to take concerted action for the maintenance of internal security and the defence of the country against aggression. But it also made it clear that this was feasible only if the parties were convinced that their sacrifices would be for the good of the country and not for strengthening of the bonds of imperialism.

#### STAND FOR DEMOCRACY

The forthcoming meeting of Nationalist Muslims in Delhi is being held none too soon. No body of men have worked with greater sincerity, devotion and persistence than have the Nationalist Muslim leaders to bring about unity and trust among the major political parties. In the most disheartening circumstances they have persevered in their efforts to help the attainment of a permanent and honourable understanding between Hindus and Muslims. Though the Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha mentality seems at the moment to dominate the country, they have not lost their faith that there are enough resources of patriotism and statesmanship in the country for the communal differences to be amicably adjusted. Nor have they outlived their own usefulness in the role of peace-makers that they are anxious to fill. Ever since the first Non-co-operation Movement was started, a majority of them have made no small sacrifices in the cause of the country's freedom. They are all passionate seekers of independence. They have no fear of Hindu majority in an independent India. For such a feeling of fear to them is un-Islamic. Islam teaches fearlessness, Islam also teaches

brotherhood. The Nationalist Muslims do not countenance any policy or programme which is based on fear or is opposed to the idea of brotherhood. They stand for democracy, not a democracy which means nothing more and nothing less than enforcing the will of the majority but a democracy which means a rule of liberty, equality and fraternity, a rule in which the smallest minority has an equal opportunity of being heard and has never any fear of its right being heard and has never any fear of its rights being trampled upon and in which the majority identifies itself with the needs, fears and hopes of the minority. They strive for Hindu-Muslim unity for its own sake and not merely as a means to any other end, because they aspire to build a new India which will neither be a Hindu India nor a Muslim India but an India in which every Hindu, every Muslim, in fact every citizen, will find the highest satisfaction, in political, economic, cultural and religious spheres, that is available to a citizen in any other State in the world. They are no friends of capitalism or feudalism. They are champions of the "Have Nots" and the underdogs. The Nationalist Muslims can thus justifiably claim the right to ask their coreligionists to realize their responsibilities to the country. Similarly they can claim the right to appeal to their Hindu fellow-country-men to consider the rights of the Muslim minority in a spirit of broad-minded patriotism.

#### CONGRESS-LEAGUE SETTLEMENT

In spite of seemingly formidable obstacles, a settlement between the Congress and the Muslim League—and the Nationalist Muslims desire to help and not to hinder such a settlement—is not as difficult as many suppose provided the Congress leaders are released. The Muslim League demands self-determination. The Congress has agreed to self-determination. The difference between the two is that while the Muslim League demands self-determination in regions where the Muslims are in a majority, the Congress has accepted the principle of self-determination of territorial units. In the resolution which the Working Committee of the Congress passed about the Cripps proposal it declared that it was wedded to Indian freedom and unity. "Nevertheless," it added, "the Committee cannot think in terms of compelling the people in any Indian Union against their declared and established will." This position of the Congress was not affected when the A.I.C.C. at its meeting in Allahabad in the following month passed Babu Jagat Narayanlal's resolution rejecting the principle of division of the country. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the President of the Congress, in his reply to Dr. Abdul Latif's letter and in his statement at the A.I.C.C. meeting in Bombay made this clear beyond any doubt. The resolution passed at an informal meeting of Congress workers of the United Provinces held last month, expressing adherence to the principle of self-determination of territorial units shows the unmistakable trend of opinion in the Congress. The Congress and the League were, in fact, never so near each other as they are to-day and there is sufficient justification for the optimistic view of the Azad Muslim Board that the steps taken by the Congress towards the settlement of the communal problem are so substantial that further negotiations with its leaders offer the basis of a provisional Coalition Government for the duration of the war without prejudice to the rights and interests of any community in the post-war constitutional settlement. It is well-known that, immediately after the meeting of the A.I.C.C. in August 1942, Gandhiji had intended to strive for a communal settlement through negotiation with the League. The letter that he wrote from the place of his detention to Mr. Jinnah, which was not delivered to the latter, expressing his desire to meet him, showed his keenness for a settlement. The present writer had the privilege of seeing and talking with Gandhiji during his fast. Referring to the communal question Gandhiji told him that that question was uppermost in his mind on the eve of his arrest and that, if he had not been arrested, he would have gone to Mr. Jinnah even if the latter had not invited him. On the part of Gandhiji, thus, not only is there the will for a settlement but it is also most insistent and pressing. The way, as has been indicated above, is also there. Mr. Jinnah missed a great opportunity of serving his community no less than his country when he misunderstood and misrepresented Gandhiji's desire to meet him. However, where great causes are concerned, failures and lost opportunities are to those who serve these causes merely spurs goading them to redoubled efforts. In the midst of encircling gloom the Nationalist Muslims have never lost hope of a satisfactory and enduring communal settlement. Their meeting in Delhi will be helpful in clarifying the issues facing the country in emphasizing how the release of Congress leaders is essential for a communal settlement and in mobilizing public opinion effectively to press the demand for an immediate transfer of power to the people and the establishment of a provisional Coalition Government,

## Proceedings of the Conference

### New Delhi—6th. May to 8th. May 1944

#### Dr. Latif's Suggestions

An appeal to Nationalist Muslims to enter the League with a firm determination to put it on better foundations is made by Dr. *Syed Abdul Latif* of Hyderabad (Deccan), who by special invitation attended the Conference of Nationalist Muslims.

Dr. *Latif* says: In my three days' association with the leading members of the Nationalist group, I found that they were deeply dissatisfied with the present policy of the League. Some of the more earnest among them were prepared to work with the League, but they felt strongly that, under its present leadership, it was not possible for them to do so. That was the primary consideration which induced them to bring forward a proposal to establish a separate and parallel organisation under the name of "The All-India Muslim Majlis". I was opposed to this move. My plea with the members of the Conference both in my personal conversations with individual members, and in my speech at the open session, was that such a step would prove suicidal to the interests of the Muslims. I tried to bring home to them that if they really believed that the policy and demeanour of the League's High Command was disagreeable to them, the best way to alter that was to get into the League and seriously work for a change.

"In fact, I suggested to them and to the representatives of the other groups present there, that they should all join the League in a body and gain the opportunity to lift up their voice from within. The need of the moment, I pointed out, was to sink all differences, however acute, and consolidate all our energies and resources under a single organisation in order that we might possess the necessary strength to help resolving the present deadlock.

"I sincerely hope and trust that whatever be their immediate feeling, my friends of the Nationalist and other groups will reflect over the humble opinion I have offered and see if they cannot get over that feeling and resolve to enter the League with a firm determination to put it on better foundations. At the same time, may I hope that the League Executive will give a new turn to its outlook and come forward to claim back to the fold of the League all those groups who have till now stood aloof from it? The time is not far off when the Muslims of India will be called upon as a body to join hands with other leading elements in the land in shaping India's future on lines of mutual agreement. The earlier the much-needed solidarity for this purpose among us is attained, the better. The Muslim Nationalists have now, even as some other groups, resolved to support the right of self-determination to territorial units, and have thus come closer to the League. It is true that their methods of approach is somewhat different from that of the League; but it affords all the same, a common ground between the two. Similar common factors might emerge if the League and these groups come together in a spirit of mutual regard, and contribute to the consolidation of the Muslims under a single banner and an honourable settlement of the Muslim problem in India."

#### Resolutions

##### A NATIONAL GOVERNMENT ESSENTIAL

The Conference passed a resolution, expressing relief at *Gandhiji's* unconditional release and praying for his early recovery, "so that he may once again resume his service to the cause of India's freedom." The Conference also adopted two resolutions, one asking for the formation of a National Government and the other setting out "fundamental considerations" on which the communal problem could in their view, be solved.

The first resolution ran:—

"This meeting of Nationalist Muslims views with great concern the hardships to which India has been subjected in the present phase of the war and the sufferings borne by the Indian people under the existing system of Government, the evidence of which is to be found in the intolerable rise in prices, burden of taxation, scarcity of certain essential commodities and the total absence of others.

"In the opinion of this meeting experience has shown that the present Government is not capable of saving the people from this distress and that no satisfactory solution is possible until a real National Government exercising full authority is formed at the Centre.

"This meeting further declares that all Indians, irrespective of creed or

community, and all patriotic organisations without exception are deeply interested in the defence of India. They are inspired with a real patriotic urge and a true spirit of sacrifice which can be directed most effectively, under a National Government, for the protection of the country against foreign invasion and aggression by Fascist powers.

"This meeting deplores the fact that the British Government in spite of its knowledge that the Indian people are opposed to Fascism, is still unwilling on account of its short-sighted policy to transfer power to them through a National Government.

"This meeting now declares that the formation of a National Government is no longer a political issue but has become a first-rate military question in view of the exigencies of the present phase of the war. The victory of the democratic forces, the Defence of India and resistance of Japanese aggression, all these considerations demands the immediate establishment of a National Government and the transfer of power to the Indian people.

"This meeting, therefore, urges the British Government to start negotiations with the leaders of India without any further loss of time so that a real National Government wielding effective authority should be established in the country."

#### RESOLUTION ON HINDU-MUSLIM SETTLEMENT

The second resolution stated :

"This meeting of Nationalist Muslims considers, in the best interests of the country, that a Hindu-Muslim settlement should be brought about without any delay. It appeals to both Hindus and Muslims that having regard to the urgent need of such a settlement, they should take necessary steps towards this end and considers that the release of Gandhiji offers an excellent opportunity of which advantage should be taken. In the opinion of this meeting a solution of the communal problem satisfactory to all parties concerned can be secured on the following fundamental considerations and such a solution will satisfy the needs and aspirations of Indian Muslims : (1) India should continue to remain a united country. (2) The constitution of India should be framed by its own people. (3) There should be an All-India Federation. (4) The units of Federation should be completely autonomous and all residuary powers should be vested in them. (5) Every unit of the Federation should be free to secede from it as a result of a plebiscite of all its adult inhabitants. (6) The religious, economic and cultural rights of minorities should be fully and effectively safeguarded by reciprocal agreement.

#### PAKISTAN OPPOSED

Messrs. S. A. Brelvi, Hafiz Mohamed Ibrahim and Dr. Shaukatullah Ansari explained to the press correspondents on the 8th. May, the background of the meeting and said that the second resolution set out the immediate programme with which Nationalist Muslims proposed to go before the country. Nationalist Muslims, they said, realised that the Congress took steps which would hasten a Hindu-Muslim settlement but unfortunately those steps were interrupted by the arrest of Congress leaders. With Mahatma Gandhi's release, the process of attempting a settlement would be resumed and Nationalist Muslims suggested in the resolution means by which that settlement could be hastened.

As Muslims they asserted they believed in the unity of India but they also conceded the right of each territorial unit to secede if it so chose. They also contemplated redistribution of these units. What was proposed was not Pakistan but a plan that should let India remain a united country for all time to come. That is the fundamental difference between them and the League. There was however, in the mind of certain people the fear of a federation by compulsion and in order to allay that fear, Nationalist Muslims conceded the right of secession but advised the units not to exercise that right.

The meeting, they said, would devise methods to implement the resolution : and in the pursuit of their ideal they contemplated replacement of the Muslim League. They were considering the reorganisation of Nationalist Muslims into a party and the revival of the branches which once existed of that party in every province. Those who attended the meeting did so as individual Nationalist Muslims and were a larger body than the Azad Muslim Board.

The meeting also passed a resolution "welcoming" Mahatma Gandhi's unconditional release and praying for his early recovery so that he might once again resume his services to the cause of India's freedom.

#### ARABS IN PALESTINE

In another resolution the meeting drew attention to "the common and unbreakable bonds of faith and affection which unite the Muslims of India to their Arab brethren in Palestine" and warned the British Government that "if it once again breaks its promises clearly given in the White Paper and surrenders to the financial pressure of the Jews and the dictates of plutocratic America, it will unleash the boundless indignation and hostility not only of the Muslims of India but of the entire world." The meeting declared that if the attempts to change the status of the Arabs and Jews of Palestine succeeded, the meeting would hold the British Government entirely responsible for the "consequent hostility of Muslims and the crime of ignoring democratic principles by forcing a majority to submit to a minority."

The meeting expressed grief at the death of Mr. Allah Bux, Begum Azad and Kasturba Gandhi.

#### ALL INDIA MUSLIM MAJLIS

The Conference passed the following resolution :

"In view of the present political situation in the country and the interests of the Muslims, as also for implementing the resolutions on Hindu-Muslim settlement and other resolutions passed at this session, it is resolved that the Nationalist Muslims should reorganise themselves under the name of the All-India Muslim Majlis with its headquarters at Delhi and branches throughout India."

"This organisation shall seek to guide and lead the Muslims unitedly for the achievement of complete National Independence and other correct objectives and shall also strive to bring about a Hindu-Muslim settlement in their own interest and in that of the country as a whole."

"This meeting therefore emphatically appeals to the Muslims of India to join and support this organisation so that its aims may be realised and it may become a popular and powerful organ of Indian Muslims."

## Released Congress Leaders' Conference

### Resolutions—Lucknow—15th. & 16th. April 1944

The meeting of the Congress leaders and workers recently released from jail commenced on the 15th. April 1944 and was resumed on the next day, the 16th. April in the *Trilok Nath Hall*, Lucknow with Babu *Sampurnanand*, ex-Education Minister, U. P. in the chair.

#### FAITH IN GANDHIJÍ'S LEADERSHIP

The meeting adopted resolutions reiterating its faith in the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress Working Committee, expressing condolence on the death of *Kasturba Gandhi*, Begum *Azad*, Mr. *Mahadev Desai*, Mr. *R. S. Panáti*, Mr. *Allah Bux* and Mr. *Chandrabhal Johri*, sympathising with the sufferers in Bengal, appealing to the public to contribute to the detenus' families relief fund and urging Congressmen to intensify the production of Khadi.

#### JAPANESE INROADS INTO ASSAM

Dr. *K. N. Katju* moved the resolution relating to Japanese inroads into Assam. The resolution was seconded by Mr. *A. G. Kher* and was accepted in an amended form. Following is the text of the resolution :

"This meeting views the inroads made by the Japanese troops into Assam with great concern. It expresses its sympathies for the people of Assam who already afflicted by famine have now to suffer the hardships and ordeal of invasion."

"The renewed Japanese offensive once again underlines the danger of Fascist aggression to which the country is still exposed. While reiterating the Congress attitude towards imperialism, this meeting expresses confidence that despite all difficulties and impediments the people of Assam will resist the Japanese attack with all the strength at their command. The Congress has always stood against all aggression and is committed to the defence of the country under all circumstances."

Dr. *Katju* at the outset referred to the resignation of the Congress Ministries and said that the main reason behind their resignation was that Indians were not consulted by the British Government on the question of India's active participation in the war against the aggressors in Europe. There was no danger to India at that time, but still the Congress High Command made it clear that they had no sympathy for the aggressors, be they Japanese, Germans or Italians. That had always been their view and that view prevailed to-day.

Dr. Katju added that at the time Sir *Stafford Cripps* came out to India, the country was pregnant with various rumours. The Japanese had even raided certain parts of India, *Mahatma Gandhi* and the Congress Working Committee had even then made it absolutely clear that it was their firm determination to defend their country and oppose any sort of aggression. The position of the Congress, continued Dr. Katju, had always been clear.

Dr. Katju further said their position to-day was the same as it was when the war began. They were determined to defend their soil and would not look to any outside nation to come and win freedom for them. Indians had themselves to defend their country.

Concluding, Dr. Katju said that they all sympathised with the people of Assam in their present ordeal and it was the duty of every Indian to oppose outside aggression.

Seconding the resolution, Mr. *A. G. Kher*, ex-Parliamentary Secretary, U. P., expressed deep concern over the situation in Assam. The Congress, he said, had envisaged that the defence of the country was only possible with the co-operation of the people. It had always been the view of the Congress that the aggressors in Europe—Germans and Italians—should be fought against. When the Japanese invaded China, the Congress raised its voice against the aggressive nation and lodged a strong protest. It had always been a principle with the Congress to oppose foreign aggression and they would adhere to it to the last.

*Babu Sampurnanand*, speaking on the resolution, said that the Congress had always been anti-Fascist. It even raised its voice of protest against the action of the British Government when the latter supplied petrol to Italy in the Italo-Abyssinian war and closed the Burma Road when Japan invaded China. There was, therefore, no truth in the allegation that the Congress was pro-Japanese.

The resolution was put to vote and carried.

#### CONGRESS TO CONTEST MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS

Mr. *Sri Prakasa*, M.L.A. (Central), then moved the following resolution: "The meeting feels that it will be desirable to contest the forthcoming Municipal elections as a preliminary step. This meeting calls upon Congressmen in all urban areas to form local committees and make arrangements for the proper enrolment of all persons entitled to the franchise so that the elections may be held on as fair a basis as possible."

At the outset, the mover referred to *Mahatma Gandhi's* illness and expressed the hope that the Mahatma would soon recover.

Dealing with the resolution, Mr. *Sri Prakasa* said, no election had been held for the last eight or nine years. Since the Congress went out of office, it had been repeatedly emphasised that they had lost the confidence of the people. It would, therefore, be in the fitness of things to contest the forthcoming Municipal elections in December 1944, in order to show that the masses had not deserted the Congress. The elections, he felt, would also afford them an opportunity to form a correct estimate of their present position.

Concluding, Mr. *Sri Prakasa* said that it was a pity that Government had decided to hold Municipal elections only and not elections to district boards as well. He suggested that district election boards be formed to conduct elections in various districts of the United Provinces under the direction of the Central Election Board.

Seconding the resolution, Mr. *Khurshad Lal* said that it was imperative for Congressmen to fight the elections. It would help them counter their opponents' attempt to keep them aloof from the masses. They should go back to the masses and establish that they still enjoyed their confidence.

The resolution was carried after authorising the President to nominate a committee of five to the Provincial Election Board. It was also decided that no member of the Board would seek election to any local body.

By another resolution, the meeting protested against the treatment meted out to political prisoners in jail.

Winding up the proceedings, *Babu Sampurnanand* referred to the money raised for the distress relief fund and said that all expenses would be sanctioned by the Provincial Relief Committee of which Mr. *Firoz Gandhi* was the Secretary. The money collected for the relief fund would not be devoted to any other cause or work.

Concluding, the President announced that a central office for the co-operation of work of the various committees would be set up at Lucknow.



# The All India Kisan Conference

Resolutions—Bezwada—12th. March 1944

## Proceedings of the Subjects Committee

The Central Committee of the All-India Kisan Sabha met at Bezwada on the 12th. March 1944 and converted itself into a subjects committee of the session.

Formally inviting the President-elect, *Swami Sahajananda Saraswati*, to take the chair, Mr. *Bankim Mukherjee*, the outgoing President, said that Swami Sahajanand was the most militant and experienced leader of the Kisans. In spite of the detention of various Kisan leaders, the Kisan Sabha was stronger than ever and was India's biggest class organisation to-day. It would grow stronger under the new President's guidance.

Swami Sahajanand, who took the chair amidst cheers, said his one idea from the early days of his life was liberty and from 1927 onwards had devoted himself to the service of the Kisans. The political deadlock in the country at times dejected him, but he knew that nothing could check India's march to liberty. The people of the Soviet Union and China was advancing, and this must have its effect on contiguous areas. Our liberty could not be denied to us long. The service of Kisans was his mission and he was not going to leave the field until the goal was reached.

Resolutions of condolence touching the deaths of Mrs. *Kasturbai Gandhi*, Mr. *R. S. Pandit* and several Kisan leaders were moved from the chair and passed.

Mr. *Bankim Mukherjee* moved a resolution conveying greetings to the Soviet people and the Red Army. The mover said the Soviet peoples had increased production of food and machine to outmatch Fascist Germany and the Red Army, an army of Kisans and workers, had at Stalingrad indirectly saved India from Fascist attack. The Red Army was an army of liberation for the oppressed peoples of Europe and the world.

Mr. *Nidhan Singh*, who returned from the Soviet Union in 1943, seconded the resolution which was passed unanimously.

Another resolution was passed, protesting against restrictions put by the Governments of Madras and Hyderabad State on travelling to Bezwada by the delegates and Kisans for this session and declaring that such obstructions placed before the session "are not only an infringement on the freedom of association of the Kisans of India, but must seriously hamper the work of mobilising the people against fascism, against food crisis and epidemic. The resolution also referred to the spirited fight put up by the members of the Central Legislature belonging to all parties and hoped that the patriots inside and outside the legislature would follow this example and fight such restrictions put by the bureaucracy and bring relief to the people by ending the deadlock.

## TAXATION PROPOSALS CRITICISED

Regarding the new taxation proposals, the Subjects Committee adopted a resolution protesting against the proposals of the Government of India to impose tax on betelnuts, tea and coffee and to increase the tax on tobacco and the rates of third class railway fare for increasing their revenue. "The burden of these taxation, the resolution stated, will mainly fall on the Kisans and the poor sections of the population in the country since the articles on which Government proposed to levy and increase the tax are daily necessities for the life of the vast masses of the people. The Government proposals of levying indirect taxation on the necessities of life of the barest strata of the population is opposed to the recognised canons of just taxation."

The Committee similarly condemned the government's attitude of persisting and imposing these additional burdens on people who were in no position to bear them in defiance of unanimous opinion of public bodies as well as the elected representatives of people of the Central Legislature.

By another resolution the Committee protested against the proposed reassessment of revenue by the North-West Frontier Government and pleaded that it should be suspended till the war ended and stability of price was eased. The Committee further pointed out that the Frontier tenants suffered from numerous privations as they have no Tenancy Act to protect their rights. The Sabha, therefore, demanded that a Frontier Tenancy Act must immediately be passed to give



the necessary rights to the Frontier Kisans, their lands and the produce of the lands.

The Committee condemned in another resolution, the most reactionary move of the Jagirdars and the Myre of the province of Sind to get the Jagirdari Act either repealed or amended in such a way as to deprive Kisans and Mukadims of their rights by paying rent in cash—a right which they enjoyed under the provision of the Act. The Committee, therefore, appealed to the members of the Muslim League and all other progressive sections in the Sind Legislature to fight for the just cause of the Haris and Mukadims and defeat the nefarious move of Jagirdars and the Myre the object of which was to secure unlimited power in their hands for exploiting the Haris and Mukadims ruthlessly. The Committee also called on the Haris to strengthen their unity solidarity and organisation for defeating the move of the Jagirdars. They urged on the Government of Sind to pass immediately tenancy legislation giving occupancy rights to all the Haris who were cultivating the lands at the time of the appointment of the Tenancy Committee.

By another resolution, the Committee decided to appoint a committee to go into the grievances of the agricultural labourers and report to the Central Kisan Committee its recommendations. By a further resolution moved, it was suggested an enquiry to be made by the Government for adequate supply of essential commodities and reduction in price.

### Resolutions—2nd. Day—Bezwada—13th. March 1944

#### RELEASE OF NATIONAL LEADERS URGED

The Subjects Committee resumed discussion on the next day, the 13th. March, with *Swami Sahajanand* in the chair. The proceedings commenced with National songs by lady volunteers. The pandal was packed to capacity.

The committee passed the following resolution on land transference and eviction:—The All-Kisan Sabha considers that relief should be given to the Kisan to enable and encourage him to produce more food crop for the benefit of the entire nation and demand that measures be taken forthwith by the Governments concerned for the immediate restoration to the Kisan of land transferred by him or the land from which he was evicted in 1943 and such other reliefs as are called for under the circumstances, and urges the Government to modify the ordinance promulgated in Bengal, in connection with the transference of land which does not in any way improve the present position and that measures be immediately taken in all provinces to stop enhancement of rent and eviction of Kisans from land.

The Sabha further urges the Kisans to set up settlement Boards of villages for settling all such cases of transference of land and eviction through mutual understanding of the parties concerned.

A second Resolution passed by the Committee warns the Government that its policy of refusal to release the national leaders and enable them to solve the deadlock, will only result in further worsening the situation, thus delaying and weakening the common cause of the Chinese, American, British, and the Indian people. The Sabha therefore demands the immediate and unconditional release of *Mahatma Gandhi*, *Maulana Azad*, *Pandit Jawharlal Nehru* and other members of the Working Committee.

The Sabha is convinced that release of the leaders would create an atmosphere favourable to the achievement of national unity and for the setting up of a National Composite Government enjoying the confidence of the people and that this is the only way to effectively fight famine and ensure success of the Central Food Plan so that everybody gets his food through effective control of prices and rationing. This would also ensure economic stability and political freedom and enable the people to lead a counter-offensive against Japanese aggression. The Sabha calls upon all its provincial units and all Kisans to start a campaign for the release of national leaders for ending the deadlock and for achieving all-round national unity based on an understanding as a result of mass urge between the major parties and communities.

Resolutions on aid to Bengal and on the policy of the Kisan Sabha were also adopted by the Subjects Committee.

The Subjects Committee adopted on the motion of Mr. *Bankim Mukherjee* a comprehensive resolution explaining the policy of the Kisan Sabha. The resolution stated that a National Coalition Government, responsible to the Legislature and to the people of India, based on the "unequivocal declaration of India's right to freedom and to frame her own constitution after the war" and functioning both at

the Centre and in the Provinces was essential. It added that the present war can effectively be converted into a people's war only when it is fought under the leadership of a National Government and with the willing and hearty co-operation of the people of India. The resolution also pleaded for Hindu-Muslim unity and called upon the Kisans to organize a united campaign to promote unity between Hindu and Muslim masses and to create the urge for Congress-League unity with a view to forging all in national unity.

## The Open Session of the Kisan Conference

### Eighth Session—Bezwada—14th. March 1944

#### The Welcome Address

The opening session of the eighth All-India Kisan Sabha commenced at Bezwada on the 14th. March 1944 amid scenes of great enthusiasm. There were over 50,000 people including more than 5,000 women. The President was taken to the rostrum to the accompaniment of band played by Kisan volunteers.

After the recital of some Kisan songs by lady volunteers, the Secretary to the Reception Committee introduced prominent delegates from various provinces to the audience.

Welcoming the President and the delegates, Mr. C. Vasudeva Rao, Chairman of the Reception Committee, said: "Ours is mainly a food-growing province and it is our duty to produce more; but mere increased production will not result in any good unless we see the prices are fair and within the reach of the masses; or else the unspeakable tragedy of Bengal will be repeated here."

After narrating at considerable length the work done by the A. I. K. S. towards the relief of famine-stricken places, viz. Bengal, Rayalaseema and Malabar, the Chairman recounted the various achievements of the Kisan Sabha, by the "grow more food" campaign, such as the Madras Government's law, making it obligatory on the Zamindars to repair all the irrigation works under their charge; the building up by Government of a number of projects in Kistna West Godavari and Rayalaseema districts. He said that, when these were completed, lakhs of acres would be freshly brought under cultivation.

Stressing the necessity of Kisan-agricultural labour unity to fight for equitable Wages for agricultural labourers, he said such unity could do a lot in the way of securing grain loans at low prices and settling disputes among agricultural labour and the peasants by mutual discussion and co-operation. He condemned the Rangaites who, he said, were nothing but disruptionists who are neither striving for protecting the interest of the peasantry nor for national Defence, but continuing in their activity of disruption against the people and against National Defence.

Concluding, Mr. Vasudeva Rao hoped that this session, in the present national and international events, would unify the entire Indian peasantry and fulfil its historic role. The country was looking to them for guidance, he said, and he firmly believed that this Conference would show a correct way out of the so many difficult problems facing the country to-day.

Amid shouts of "Kisan Sabha Zindabad" and "Inquilab Zindabad", Swami Sahajanand then delivered his presidential address. The address lasted an hour and a half and was translated in Telugu by Mr. J. Ramalingayya, as most of the audience were from Andhradesa.

Condolence resolutions on the death of Mrs. Gandhi and Mr. R. S. Pandit were then put from the chair and passed.

Messages wishing the Conference success were read. Prominent among those who sent the messages were Babu Sohan Singh and Sohansingh Bhakana (Punjab), Dr. Subbarayan, Mr. Sri Prakash, M.L.A. (Central), Mahakavi Vallathol, Mr. G. M. Syed, President, Sind Muslim League and member of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, Mr. Mrinalkanti Bose (Amrita Bazar Patrika), Mr. Bhupendranath Dutt and Mr. M. S. M. Sharma, Editor, Daily Gazette, Karachi.

#### President's Address

A demand for the release of Congress leaders and the establishment of a national government was put forward by Swami Sahajanand Saraswathi in his presidential address to the All-India Kisan Sabha Conference held at Bezwada on the 14th. March 1944. The President expressed his opposition to the Pakistan scheme and dealt with the economic problems of the Kisans.

Scenes, reminiscent of the visit of Mahatma Gandhi and other national lead-

ers some years back when the constructive programme of the Congress to collect one crore of rupees for the Tilak Swaraj Nidhi and enlist ten lakhs members was formulated, were again witnessed here to-day when the All-India Kisan Conference opened its session. Despite the restrictions imposed on railway and bus travel, thousands made their way to Bezwada.

The President-elect *Swami Sahajanand* and other Kisan leaders were taken in procession in country carts drawn by sturdy Andhra bulls. The procession which was two miles long was composed of nearly 20,000 people and was very colourful, with thousands of red flags fluttering. Slogans such as "Release Congress leaders" and "Down with Fascist Aggression" were frequently uttered with enthusiasm.

After the procession, Mr. *Bankim Mukerjee* unfurled the Kisan flag. In doing so, Mr. Mukerjee said that the flag was a sign of victory and unity. The Red Flag gave hopes to the people of the country who were ravaged by famine and pestilence and dispirited by disunion. The flag also promised the release of national leaders and the establishment of a responsible National Government.

The Conference was held in an open maidan. About 400 delegates and 30,000 visitors had arrived by last evening. Various exhibition stalls were opened. A cattle show was also held.

After Mr. P. C. *Joshi's* opening speech, *Swami Sahajanand* delivered the presidential address.

The Kisans, the President in the course of his address said, represented 80 per cent of the people residing in villages and played an important part in the life of the country. They knew very little of politics, but understood well their day-to-day needs and economic problems and were devoid generally of the idea of collective bargaining and assertion of their rights. "The Kisan Sabha," he said, "judges the soundness or otherwise of politics to the extent it effectively solves the bread and butter problem of the producing masses, while others judge economics in the light of its serving their politics or being an end in itself. In my opinion they cannot constitute the executive of the Sabha. It is our duty to clear once for all the cobwebs and mists that surround it, declare its position in unequivocal terms and adopt measures on the basis of its distinct political entity."

Dealing with the economic problems of the Kisans, the President said that the growers of jute and cane and the manufacturers of *gur* were the hardest hit of the Kisans during these days of high prices for all other commodities. The Kisan Sabha had been demanding a fair price for both of these. The enquiry committees set up by the Government from time to time, had in their own way arrived at charges of cultivation. Many important items of expenditure like interest charges on capital investment, which had changed hands almost cent per cent, had not been taken into account by those committees. The All-India Kisan Sabha must appoint an enquiry committee to make a detailed survey of the cultivation costs for jute and cane, and submit a report on the basis of which they could demand fair and minimum prices for both jute and cane. "There is a wide disparity in the prices of sugar prevailing in the various parts of the country. As regards *gur*, the U. P. and Bihar Governments fixed a very low price and later, to add insult to the injury, the authorities have totally stopped the export of *gur* outside these provinces by any private agency and they themselves have so far exported, if at all, very little *gur* from U. P. and perhaps nothing from Bihar. The one distinct effect of the policy is that while in Bihar and U. P. *gur* is simply rotting and wasting for want of consumers and purchasers, in the consuming provinces of Maharashtra and others it is selling between Rs. 20 to 30 a maund. The authorities have also banned the manufacture of *gur* in the areas of the sugar factories in the Punjab, Bengal and Andhra, and the Gwalior State too has not lagged behind in the matter. Cannot we force the unwilling hands of the rulers to concede our demand in respect of at least sugarcane and *gur*?"

"The more food we produce," the President continued, "the more scarce it becomes. In the forms of our food committees and other kindred activities we want indeed very much, by setting examples, to force the Government to adopt our method and suggestion to solve all these knotty problems. But even our well-thought-out plans to meet the most threatening situation have no place in the minds and workings of our rulers. Politics lies at the root of all this. I am afraid, and without the political solution, no amount of such committees and the apparent popular unity behind them all will do as that unity is like a body without the soul."

The President protested strongly against the increase in railway fare in the

face of unanimous opposition in the country and criticised the present method of drives for investments.

#### MYTH OF PEASANTS' PROSPERITY

Proceeding, *Swami Sahajanand* said : "It has become almost a fashion with the officials and others to repeat that the Kisans have become wealthy and prosperous due to the high prices they are getting now. But it is an established fact that more than 80 per cent of the peasant-holdings are un-economic and almost 90 per cent of the Kisans are consequently under-fed and under-clothed as they cannot produce enough to feed and clothe themselves and their dependents. So the 90 per cent of the Kisans have no surplus to sell and thus get themselves enriched." The President appealed to the Madras Government to take up immediately the construction of canal projects in Rayalaseema in order to root out famine which was often prevalent there.

#### RELEASE CONGRESS LEADERS

*Swami Sahajanand*, dealing next with the political situation, said : "Indian politics is allowed to drift and the political stalemate betrays not even the remotest sign of solution. The more the country endeavours to find a way out of the impasse, the more baffling and complicated form it assumes. Almost all the elements in the country are persistently demanding the release of the Congress leaders and an understanding between the Congress and the Government. But the Government turns a deaf ear to all this and the Government's consistent reply is an emphatic "No." This shows the comparative weakness and strength of the country and the Government respectively."

Referring to the success of the Congress in the recent bye-elections, the President observed that they did not indicate any rising strength of the country politically. "Real political power lies in foreign hands that are becoming increasingly determined and emboldened not to part with it. So far, the people have not been able to wrest this power from the unwilling hands. No doubt, the general political consciousness in the country has increased manifold, but it has taken no definite form and bereft of the fighting mood in the public, it counts little in concrete politics."

#### PAKISTAN AND RUSSIAN ANALOGY

"I am no believer," *Swami Sahajanand* declared, "in either Pakistan or Akhand Hindustan. An indivisible India in the sense of unstinted and unwavering loyalty to it and the intact preservation of all the communities, sects and religions that inhabit this great and ancient land of ours is the thing to be conceived of, achieved and aspired after, and it is this India that really matters with me. But indeed we cannot see such an India an accomplished fact by means of the Hindus, the Muslims, the Depressed Classes and others constantly sparring at each other. This can be achieved only as a result either of the prolonged deliberations in a spirit of give-and-take by cool-headed spokesmen of all the communities and sects possessed of broad outlook or of an economic programme comprehensively prepared and boldly undertaken, executed and translated into action by those who really mean business.

"At this stage there come forward some, despairing perhaps of the quick result of the latter and believing in the former. They seriously suggest a formula as a basis for the former. They interpret Pakistan as the right of self-determination for the Muslim nationalities, and taking their cue from Soviet Russia they press for its acceptance by the Hindus and the Congress leadership. The Kisan Sabha has so far chosen to remain neutral in the matter in its own interest and I am convinced that this has been the right choice.

"But so far as I am personally concerned, I have serious fears and doubts about the success of the national self-determination policy as applied to India in the present state of her political development. I fear that that policy will be dangerously misplaced here. Firstly, the military and economic union between the nationalities and the rest of the country, and as its basis the complete emancipation of the peasants which can be nothing short of the absolute liquidation of all sorts of landlordism, and the handing over of the entire political power to the Kisans and the Mazdoors—these three are the basic elements and factors which constitute together the national self-determination policy. How is Mr. *Jinnah* to subscribe without reservation to these three fundamentals of that policy? I think not. Secondly, in the circumstances, the moment the principle of self-determination is granted, the question of a corridor between the Eastern and Western Pakistan zones is bound to crop up immediately and assume a serious political form too. Thirdly, the Pakistan movement cannot be identified with the national movement

of the Muslims, because the Muslim peasants as such have never identified themselves with Pakistan movement and if ever they have done so at all they have done as Muslims and not as peasants. And if and when they do so, I am afraid, all the Nawabs and Zamindars of the Muslim League, who are so vociferous regarding Pakistan now, will either drop this thing totally or slip out of the League in a body. Lastly, M. Stalin opposed vehemently the secession of the border regions during the civil-war days and after, with all his might on the plea that to demand separation then was a counter-revolution. Now supposing the right of self-determination is granted to the Muslims and they demand immediately their separation, without waiting for an indefinite period till the Muslim masses have become economically and politically class-conscious what will be our position then? Will we then oppose it on the same ground as M. Stalin? Will it not then look ridiculous and fighting for the impossible at that? I am, therefore, definitely of opinion that until a congenial atmosphere for mutual understanding is created, we must concentrate on a well-thought-out economic programme.

#### CONGRESS TO REMAIN AS NATIONAL BODY

Referring to the Congress and attempts to set up an anti-Congress bloc, the President said: "Our differences with the Congress and its leadership are fundamental in many respects. But they are matters between ourselves *vis-a-vis* one another and surely not when the country's freedom is at stake. Secondly, they are not such as to make us forget our slavery for a moment and strengthen the hands that tighten our chains. We do realise in our hearts that the Congress is a mere concrete form of the national revolt against foreign domination, and as long as that domination is there, the necessity of the Congress or a similar organisation will ever remain, and we will not be a party to its extinction. It is why we have always demanded and continue to demand its legalisation and unconditional release of its leadership. This we do despite the stern fact that we have never approved the Congress attitude and policy as regards the war and war efforts. We are convinced that such opposition will not in the least accelerate our fight for freedom, nor will it bring that freedom any nearer. We further hold that opposition will only embolden the Axis to attack India and as we can in no way reconcile ourselves to prefer the fresh slavery of the Axis, we have adopted that attitude. But so far as co-operation with these efforts is concerned, the same cannot and must not be expected from us in the absence of the congenial atmosphere, which it is the duty of our rulers to create as an outcome of the National Government deserving a hearty and willing co-operation of the people and masses of India."

#### Fourth Day—Bezwada—15th. March 1944

##### Resolutions

The fourth day session of the All-India Kisan Sabha was resumed at five this afternoon before a record crowd of 60,000. All the resolutions which were earlier passed by the Subjects Committee were again moved and passed unanimously. Resolutions on "grievances of the States' peoples," "defence fund and savings certificates" and "food procurement policy" were also moved and passed.

Mr. Bulusu Sambamurthi, ex-Speaker of the Madras Legislative Assembly, was present do-day. He made a short speech in Telugu. Addressing the conference, Mr. B. Sambamurthi said that the food problem could only be solved by the establishment of a National Government. He added that the formation of a National Government and the transfer of power to India would lead to real freedom in the world. Mr. Sambamurthi said that the present famine and other difficulties were due to the fact that the present India Government was manned by persons who were not the representatives of the people. There was no mutual trust between the people and the Government. He exhorted the people to gather strength and get their leaders released.

Speaking on the resolution on "release of political leaders," Mr. Bankim Mukherjee made a spirited speech lasting an hour and said that the growth of strength of the Kisan Sabha had dismayed its opponents in the country. This growth in its strength was due to its firm stand against Fascism. The people of India were becoming consciously anti-fascist, he added, more and more they had come to realise that the freedom and progress of India lay in aligning itself with the progressive forces of the world, especially Russia and China.

Mr. Mukherjee proceeding said, the Government did not allow the Congress leaders to negotiate with the League to bring about national unity envisaged in the Bombay A. I. C. C. resolution; instead they put them in jail. And the people,

leaderless, in their fury, in their ignorance, in their confusion thought the best course for salvation lay in the way of sabotage. It was on that question that the All-India Kisan Sabha took a firm stand. It showed to the world and went to the masses to declare that the path of salvation did not lie through sabotage which would hamper their progress and efforts towards freedom and liberty.

Concluding, Mr. Mukherjee hoped that the All-India Kisan Sabha would draw to its banner the millions of Kisans of India to work for the freedom of the country.

Dr. *Adhikary* (People's War), who spoke next, refuted the charge that the Communist Party dominated the Kisan Sabha and emphasised the need for complete unity among the various parties.

Many other prominent delegates also spoke stressing the need for national unity and co-operation towards achieving liberty and the release of leaders.

*Swami Sahajanand Saraswati*, winding up the conference, thanked the audience for turning up in large numbers and adjourned the session amidst shouts of Kisan Sabha Zindabad, Hindu-Muslim Unity, etc."

#### COMMUNISTS' ATTITUDE TO GOVT.

Cultural demonstrations were held last night in connection with the All-India Kisan Sabha. These included a Zamin ryot ballet, tea-estate dances, chen-chetha technique of Bombay, burrakatha narration and Stalingrad and Moscow reconquest songs.

Mr. *P. C. Joshi* formally opening the show said that culture was something more vital than mere politics.

He denied the charge that Communists were strong supporters of the British Government. The Communists all over India, specially in Andhra and Bengal, were working for famine-relief and also protesting against hoarders demanding fair price for Kisans. Was this helping the Government, he asked.

Concluding, he appealed to all to join hands and work for people's food, release of National leaders and national freedom.

#### NEXT SESSION IN KERALA

The Central Kisan Council met this morning for an hour *in camera* after which the Subjects Committee resumed general discussion and passed four new resolutions on "Sugarcane problem," "greetings to the Chinese people," "grow more food" and "prevention of famine in Rayalaseema."

The resolution on China expressed confidence that the two peoples of China and India would soon be liberated to take an honourable part in the rebuilding of the world and the regeneration of Asia. Mr. *Kasher Singh Chhina* (Punjab,) who recently returned from a tour of China and moved the resolution gave a vivid picture of conditions in wartime China.

In regard to sugar, the Sabha called upon the U. P. and Bihar Government to set up a committee with representatives of cane-growers, Kisan and millowners to go into the problem of sugarcane cultivation in detail.

For giving relief to the people in Rayalaseema the Sabha urged the speedy execution of the Tungabhadra and other projects.

The fourth resolution on the "Grow More Food" campaign, demanded the removal of obstacles in the way of the Kisans and suggested the supply of tested seeds and cheap manure, greater irrigational facilities and the declaration of a moratorium on all agricultural loans and debts advanced to Kisans by Government during the pendency of the war, the passing of legislation for reducing the burden of rent and taxes of the cultivator and the restoration to Kisans of their lands which were transferred or from which they were evicted owing to famine conditions.

Delegates from Bengal and Kerala invited the Sabha to hold the next session in their respective provinces but after some discussion on the subject it was finally decided to hold the same in Kerala next year.

This morning a cattle show was held. Buffaloes, stud-bulls, etc., of the rarest and finest type were exhibited before a large gathering.

The Reception Committee had made splendid arrangements for boarding and lodging of the delegates. The session was orderly and the huge gathering maintained wonderful discipline. The only incident was the removal of the red flag hoisted on the Mogalrajapuram Hill and the hoisting of a black flag in its stead.

#### Fifth Day—Bezwada—16th. March 1944

The All-India Kisan Committee met this evening and elected the Central Kisan Council for the forthcoming year, which consisted of sixteen members, includi

ing Mr. Muzsifar Ahmed (Bengal), Mr. J Bokhari (Sind), Mr. Harshade Malaviya and Ramesh Chander (U.P.), Keraliyen (Maichar), Mr. P. Sundarayya, and Mr. N Prasad Rao (Andhra), Mr. Karunasindhu Roy (Sarma valley), Mr. Jhahanio (Punjab), Mr. Jamuna Karji (Behar) and Bhairav Bharati (Gwalior State).

Besides these, Mr. Kariananda Sharma (Behar) and Mr. Akshar Singh Chinnah (Punjab) were elected as Vice-Presidents. The Committee also elected the following four Joint Secretaries : Mr. Abdullah Rasool (Bengal), Mr. Jadunandan Sharma (Behar), Mr. Jagit Singh (Punjab) and Mr. E. M. S. Nsmboodripad (Kerala).

Further, it was decided by the Committee that Mr. Khos-hal Khan of the North-West Frontier Province be invited to attend the Central Kisan Council meetings.

## The Non-Party Leaders' Conference

Opening Day—Lucknow—7th. April 1944

Presidential Address

The need for restoring constitutional Government in the provinces and the establishment of a National Government at the Centre was stressed by *Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru* in his presidential address at the Non-Party Leaders' Conference which met at Lucknow on the 7th. April 1944.

He urged the release of Mr. Gandhi and other Congress leaders and the convening of a National Conference for settling the communal problem, and appealed for Government's co-operation in achieving unity in India.

Sir Tej Bahadur appealed to his countrymen to close their ranks to fight Japan and show the enemy that "our best safeguard and shield against foreign interference is that true and genuine spirit of nationalism which will brook no interference on the part of any foreign nation even though it may profess to justify its conduct in the name of liberty and freedom."

Reviewing the political events since the meeting of the Conference in Delhi in February 1942, Sir Tej Bahadur referred to the Cripps Mission and said : "It was to me a matter of supreme regret that the negotiations which at one time held out the promise of solving the constitutional deadlock came to an abrupt end. If each party had adopted a more accommodating attitude, if a less legalistic view had been taken by each party and if all concerned worked in a different spirit, it seemed to me at that time not only possible but also probable that the situation might have been saved and much of the unpleasantness and bitterness that followed the failure of the Cripps Mission might have been spared."

Referring to the Congress resolution of August 1942, he said : So far as I am aware Congressmen deny the interpretation which has been put on their resolution and hold very strongly that the lawlessness and violence which followed cannot fairly and reasonably be attributed to them. How all that came about, has yet to be investigated by an independent tribunal. I have no doubt that not only do leading Congressmen sincerely regret the acts of lawlessness and violence which happened in August 1942, and subsequent months, but that there also is a very large body of opinion outside Congress circles which has always deeply regretted that things should have happened as they did. It has not hesitated to publicly denounce those acts of violence though it has never accepted in its entirety the official view as to the causes which led to the outbreaks nor has it entirely approved of the action taken by the Government in some places on some occasions and in some instances. It is permissible to ask what steps Government took between May 1942 and August 1942 to prevent or stop the growing deterioration of the situation. Was it wholly impossible for Government to establish contacts with leaders which might have led to a betterment of the situation ?

It is to my mind most regrettable that the rebellion of 1942 should have been advertised far and wide as if it meant a rebellion on the part of the bulk of the population. It will not do for any wise Government to dwell upon it day in and day out and to refuse for that reason to make a move on in the political field. Today the internal situation has materially changed but it is more than obvious



that there is a keen desire on the part of a large section of the public that not only the ordinary constitutional form of Government should be restored but that prompt and genuine steps should be taken to accelerate the establishment of fully self-governing institutions and that Government should be active participants in the solution of our internal difficulties. It is a matter of deep regret that HMG and the Government in India have adopted a short-sighted attitude of immobility even though it is abundantly plain that an overwhelmingly large section of the country is and always has been opposed to all ideas of Fascism and Nazism and is anxious for the ultimate vindication of the principles of democracy.

"Even though there may be considerable doubt in the minds of many of us as to whether many of the rhetorical phrases and statements of those in power either in India or in England are going to be implemented in their entirety and in a true spirit of broad-minded statesmanship, there is undoubtedly a very large body of opinion in India which has always favoured the Allies in the hope and belief that their success may lead to the establishment of a true democratic government in the country. It is not that I am overlooking our internal differences, but maintain very strongly that those differences will not be solved until there is a genuine conviction produced in the minds of the people that India can reasonably expect a fair and square deal. That conviction, I am bound to say, is lacking. The key lies in the removal of the spirit of mutual distrust which is the dominant feature of the situation.

"You must have noticed that the Allied Council or the War Cabinet has been established. Technically, India may be said to be represented on such councils, but I ask you whether the representatives who have been sent to such councils or the War Cabinet or the delegations which have been sent abroad would have been sent if a truly national government had been in power.

#### VICEROY'S COUNCIL

"Leaving aside these bigger questions I ask you to consider what exactly is the position at the Centre today. There were some among us who until the other day thought or hoped that the Home and Finance portfolios would be placed in Indian hands. That hope has now been defeated. As a debating point however, it may be urged against us that ten members of the Executive Council of the Governor-General are Indians, but I venture to say that there has not been during the last quarter of a century or more an Executive Council with less hold on the public mind or with less moral prestige in the country than the Council functioning at present at Delhi.

"Howsoever much it may be claimed that the Executive Council works as an autonomous body, I think it will require much hardihood to deny that its strings are pulled from across the seas by a Secretary of State, who is constitutionally responsible to the British electorate which has neither direct or adequate knowledge of India nor sufficiently active interest in our affairs. The whole arrangement is unnatural and in the altered situation of India I feel confident that there is no party howsoever moderate or sober, which is prepared to support a system like the existing one.

"From the Centre let us pass on to the Provinces. In Bengal, Assam, Orissa, N-W Frontier Provinces and Sind you have Ministers functioning under the Government of India Act. But remember, even in some of these provinces Prime Ministers who commanded the confidence of legislatures were turned out not because their followers had deserted them or their legislatures had expressed by any constitutional method their disapproval of their conduct but because they did not fit in with the policy of their Governors. It is possible to support their dismissal on administrative or even political grounds, but I maintain very strongly that it would be putting too much strain on the true constitutional theory to maintain that their resignations or to use the correct phrase, their dismissals were warranted by any one of those circumstances which would warrant the dismissal of Prime Ministers either in England or in the Dominions.

"In other provinces such as Madras, Bombay, the Central Provinces, the U. P. and Bihar you have got the autocratic rule of Governors who raise taxes and spend public money without the support of Ministers or the duly elected representatives of the people and who carry on the day-to-day administration not on the advice of or in consultation with the representatives of the people, but according to their unaided lights. I am aware that the one answer which is usually given to criticism of this character is that it is not the fault of the British Government that the position should be what it is but that it is the fault of Congressmen who unwisely



decided to tender their resignations and refused to bear the burden of their responsibilities.

"I have always regretted this decision of the Congress. It was neither wise nor fair on their part to have resigned their office without reference to their electors, but the question is whether the mistake committed by Congressmen nearly five years ago can be a sufficient justification for penalizing and punishing the electorates from year's end to year's end.

"The question which arises now is whether the present position can be perpetuated indefinitely and people allowed to brood over the situation for a much longer time and whether it is wise or expedient to allow the sense of frustration to dominate men's minds still longer? That there is deep resentment and a keen sense of frustration at large, I have not the least doubt. It is unwise in the abiding interest of India and England to allow the present state of things to continue in provinces any longer. It is absurd to mortgage the future of this country by planning post-war reconstruction and development schemes without giving the duly elected legislature a fair and free chance of expressing themselves on the expediency or desirability or feasibility of these plans, howsoever well meant they may be.

#### PROVINCIAL LEGISLATURES

"The more important question, however, is what should be done now. Frankly I think the time has come when constitutional governments and legislatures should be restored in the provinces. If the legislatures have lost the force of their mandates or have become jaded there is no reason why there should not be a general election in the provinces and at the Centre, when there have been during the war elections in Australia, S. Africa and elsewhere.

"Assuming that the result of the general election is going to be—and I am not making any vain or exaggerated assumption—that the majority of the members returned to the legislature are Congressmen or Muslim Leaguers, why should we shrink from a situation like that? I do very strongly hope that they will be prepared to undertake responsibility and if there is a change in the spirit all round I have no doubt that their attitude towards the war effort will also be quite helpful. But assuming that these expectations are defeated I believe that they will not stand in the way of minorities forming governments as they realize that people will ardently prefer a change from Sec. 93 rule. We can if necessary ourselves provide some safeguards.

"I very strongly believe that the best safeguard that we can provide is the establishment of coalition ministries in the provinces. And once coalition ministries are established the task of breaking them will not by any means be easy. It can further be provided that a mere vote of no-confidence moved on behalf of a party, if carried, shall not have the effect of terminating the life of the party in power unless the party moving and supporting that vote is prepared to form an alternative government. Minority governments are temporary expedients dictated by political necessity, but they are not unknown to constitutional history and practice. They need not be so unstable or so devoid of moral influence as to justify the present holders of power in refusing to make a move forward.

"I should not however, be understood to suggest that I shall be content with changes such as those indicated above in the provinces. It is my firm conviction that democratic and responsible Provincial Governments cannot be yoked without considerable risks of friction to a Central Government which is neither democratic nor responsible. It is for this reason that I suggest that a change at the Centre should also be simultaneously brought about. It must be a national government representing different political parties and communities. What limitations of a temporary character on its powers may be considered necessary or expedient in view of the existing situation is a matter for careful consideration.

#### COMMUNAL QUESTION

"I do not wish to ignore or by-pass communal differences but communal differences can be removed by trying, and not by refusing to try to remove them. The time has come when the well-being of India as a whole should find a first place in our programme, but this does not mean that the interests of minorities or "different nations"—if that phrase must please some of my friends—should be ignored or that perfect freedom of opinion should not be granted to those who differ from the majority community. But these are matters which can be settled by negotiations and mutual discussion and not by ex-cathedra judgments nor by demanding surrender to pre-conceived notions however honestly cherished.

"It is in my opinion the duty of Government not merely to preach to us

from day to day the importance of unity, or communal harmony but to actively help us in achieving that end. I cannot however see how this end can be achieved without the active co-operation of the Congress and the Muslim League and other parties including the Government. So long as the leaders of the Congress or any particular party are denied the freedom to approach other parties for purposes of settlement we need expect no change in the situation.

"It is for this reason in particular that I would urge that Mr. Gandhi and other leaders should be released and then a National Conference convened. The one ground which is now urged against the release is that they have not so far repudiated the Resolution of 1942. I venture to submit that no settlement of big political issues can be brought about in this spirit. It was not brought about in this spirit in the case of S Africa, Ireland or Egypt.

"Speaking for myself I say that however much I may differ from or deplore the Resolution of 1942 the demand that the leaders who have not even been tried by any independent tribunal should from their places of confinement admit their error and repudiate the conduct attributed to them strikes me as being in the nature of a coercive process which is not likely to yield any salutary results. The occasion demand a different spirit all round. It is by no means an extravagant belief or hope that once free they will exercise their judgment freely in the largest interests of the country and try to restore conditions favourable to an abiding settlement of outstanding issues between Hindus and Muslims and England and India.

"Grave as have been the events of the last few days, when the enemy has ventured to tread the soil of our country in a remote part of India, I think the occasion demands that we should close our ranks. This in my opinion is pre-eminently an occasion when not only Indians of different schools of thought but Indians and Englishmen should come together to offer united resistance to the enemy in the firm hope, belief and conviction that the new spirit of co-operation and goodwill for which I plead may furnish a permanent basis of settlement of our mutual differences and release our energies from fruitless activities and enable us to lay the foundation of our future freedom and prosperity by applying our minds to the building up of a Constitution which will be fair and just to all and which may fulfil the cherished ambitions of every community and every party in the common service of the Motherland."

#### The Welcome Address

*Raja Maheswar Dayal Seth*, Chairman of the Reception Committee welcoming the delegates said: "The first step towards settlement in India has to be taken by Britain and that should constitute a different policy from any so far announced. It involves the release of Congress leaders, removal of control by the India Office and a declaration transferring real power to a representative National Government at the Centre and formation of popular and representative governments in the provinces.

"Sec 93 rule must go. India must be made a free country so that she may fight along with other free nations for the liberation of humanity against the onslaughts of Axis Powers not under the censorious or indulgent eyes of a pompous Secretary of State and his brother imperialists thousands of miles away, who seem incapable of making a right approach to the Indian problem. The vaunted British statesmanship is dead so far as India is concerned. All that we can do is to mobilize public opinion against the continuance of the present system and try to put so much pressure that even the present irresponsible Government may not be able to ignore and Britain may be forced to reconcile India in her own interest."

The *Raja Sahib* referred to what he called "the vexed political problems of our unhappy country" and added: "We are living in an age which will be branded as the blackest chapter in Indian history. We are condemned to a 'police government' for the duration of the war at least. Lawless laws in the guise of ordinances are being clamped on the country to such an extent that more than one High Court has cried in despair 'Judiciary is paralysed.' Still the juggernaut of repression moves on with inexorable fury, crushing the life and liberty of our countrymen under its wheels."

Lord Wavell claimed that his first duty was to win the war. In order to gain that objective in the speediest possible time the Raja felt that His Excellency must revise his attitude towards the Congress and make it possible for all political parties to assist him in the formation of a truly National Government. Lord Wavell wanted Congress to repent before he condescended to enlist the organi-

sation's support in his administration on his own terms. What was there for the Congress to repent? He failed to see why the Congress should be penalised for demanding Independence in view of what was offered in the Cripps proposals. The "Quit India" phrase had been deliberately twisted by the bureaucracy to damn the Congress. All that Mahatma Gandhi meant by that phrase was that Britain should transfer real power to Indian hands. A stage had now been reached, when "politically conscious India"—and that included all political parties in the country—wanted the substance of freedom here and now and not at some unspecified future date. To treat India as a dependency was to foster the very evils which Britain seemed so anxious to remove.

Concluding, he said: "Instead of clinging to the discredited and craven policy of *non possumus*, Government should revive the provincial legislatures. The war should not be used as a pretext for withholding general elections. It was imperative that there should be representative Government in the provinces." The Raja hoped the conference would be a prelude to a final settlement of our differences so that all parties and interests might join hands not only to bring honour to India but contribute worthily to the maintenance of peace and making the world safe for freedom and democracy.

After the President's address, messages wishing the conference success were read among others from Mr. M. S. Aney, Sir J. P. Srivastava, Dr. M. R. Jayakar, Maharaj Kumar Sir Vijaya of Vizianagram, Sir Gokul Chand Narang, Rai Bahadur Mehr Chand Khanna, Sir Shantidas, and Sir Raghunath Paranjpye.

#### TRIBUTE TO KASTURBA GANDHI

The first resolution moved by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, on the death of Mrs. Kasturba Gandhi, was passed all standing. It ran thus: "This conference plans on record its sense of profound sorrow at the death of Srimati Kasturba Gandhi, who has set a great example of service to the country and offers its deep sympathy to Mahatma Gandhi."

#### RESTORE PROVINCIAL LEGISLATURES

Sir Jagdish Prasad next moved: Having regard to the extreme and general dissatisfaction which prevails in the country, this conference is firmly of the view that it is necessary in the vital interests of almost 200 million people that the legislatures should be restored in the five provinces of Madras, Bombay, the United Provinces, Bihar and the Central Provinces in which they have been suspended for four and a half years and that, in such provinces, official Advisers should be replaced by Coalitions or as far as possible, other representative Ministries."

Sir Jagdish Prasad said that Section 93 had been so applied as to concentrate all legislative, administrative and financial powers in the hands of the Governors who had assumed functions hitherto exercised by the Ministers. In each of these provinces, added Sir Jagdish Prasad, there were official Advisers appointed by the Governor and chosen from the Indian Civil Service. The latest figures showed that out of 18 Advisers, only three were Indians. Finance, General Administration, Law and Order were all in the hands of Advisers drawn from the British section of the Indian Civil Service, which also provided three of the Governors, the other two being drawn from English public life.

Continuing, Kunwar Sir Jagdish Prasad said that Government in those provinces was an autocracy under a British Governor such as had never been before. We were entitled, added the speaker, to ask whether such a state of affairs, which had now continued for so many years, should be prolonged till the end of the war or even longer. What was the justification for placing the major portion of British India under a dictatorship?

#### "UNWISE TO CONTINUE SUSPENSION OF LEGISLATURES"

If the Congress Party, by virtue of its majority, was unwilling to work parliamentary government in accordance with the present needs, Sir Jagdish Prasad observed, and if fresh elections were not likely to disturb its numerical strength, why had this waywardness of the majority been allowed to stop the working of parliamentary institutions altogether? Why had whole communities and classes been virtually disfranchised by the suspension of the legislatures, thus depriving the elected representatives of non-Congress Hindus, of Muslims, of Indian Christians and of special constituencies of the opportunity of discharging their duties to their electorates?

#### FEELING OF FRUSTRATION IN THE COUNTRY

Seconding the resolution, Sir Maharaj Singh said that, for over four years,

the legislatures had been suspended, with the result that there was a great sense of frustration in the country.

"Is there any country," asked Sir Maharaj Singh, "even among those involved in the war, where there are no legislatures functioning?" It was all very well, said Sir Maharaj Singh, to refer to past mistakes, but they had to think of the future. There was nothing in the Government of India Act 1935 to prevent the restoration of the legislatures even if Ministries not responsible to the legislature—as at the Centre to-day—were set up in the provinces. That would be better than Section 93 Rule. Any change from the present rule would be welcome to Indians.

The present regime, continued Sir Maharaj Singh, was full of danger for the future. "Just think of the possible reaction and bad feelings that would be created between Indians and the British people when, sooner or later, popular Ministries come back." The result would be very deplorable.

The speaker said that millions of the people of India—Congressmen, Muslims, Hindu Mahasabhaites and others—were with them and sympathised with them, when they said that they did not want the present system of Government to continue. Every party in the country would welcome a change in the administration.

Concluding, Sir Maharaj Singh said that much of the trouble could have been solved, if Coalition Ministries had been set up in the provinces four years ago. He appealed to his audience to help the conference to secure for the U. P. and other provinces responsible Ministries.

#### PEOPLE'S REPRESENTATIVES MUST BE IN POWER

Supporting the resolution, Mr. *Mohammad Yunus*, ex-Premier of Bihar, said that he believed that the steps suggested were not only in the best interests of the Indian people; in their wider application, they were as much in the interest of Britain herself. He thought it was the duty of every patriotic Indian to impress on the authorities, with all the force at his command, to take steps to remove the extreme and general dissatisfaction that prevailed in the country due to the present system of government in provinces where Section 93 had been enforced.

Mr. Yunus said that the two majority parties in the country were the Congress and the Muslim League. The Congress did not pretend to represent the whole of India. The Muslim League, whether willingly or unwillingly, would have to admit that though it represented a large population of Muslims, it did not represent the whole population of India. The Hindu Mahasabha would have to admit that it did not represent the entire Hindu population. It, therefore, followed that there were other organisations and parties and individuals, who represented those whom the three parties did not represent. Why did not the authorities, he asked, take steps to put the Government in the hands of such parties, if the major parties were not willing to shoulder the responsibility of office?

*Raja Jagannath Bux Singh*, Mr. *Kalbe Abbas* and *Sardar Sant Singh* of Lucknow also supported the resolution. The resolution was unanimously passed.

### Resolutions—Second Day—Lucknow—8th. April 1944

#### ESTABLISHMENT OF NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

The final session of the Conference was held on the 8th. April 1944 in the Kaisarbagh Baradari, Lucknow, under the presidentship of Sir *Tej Bahadur Sapru*.

Dr. *Hriday Nath Kunzru*, moving the resolution on the 'reconstruction of the Governor-General's Executive Council without delay as a true National Government with a Prime Minister', said that although repeated demands had been made for a change in the character of the Executive Council, no steps had been taken by the Government in that direction. They had appointed ten Indians to the Executive Council, but their demand was quite different. They wanted people who enjoyed the confidence of the country to be at the head of the administration. Dr. Kunzru described the present Executive Council as "a museum of spineless men from all parts of the country", and added that it was regrettable that at the present time the progress of the country was being retarded by the present Executive Councillors who had made a laughing stock of themselves at the hands of the bureaucracy.

#### BRITISH GOVT.'S UNWILLINGNESS TO PART WITH POWER

Continuing, Dr. *Kunzru* said that they were asked by the British Government to settle their differences themselves. The speaker referred to the happenings in Canada and said that Government there had themselves played an indispensable part and assisted in the solution of the people's differences and formulated a constitution

which was acceptable to all. The conditions holding in the Dominions and Colonies did not apply to India. The component parts there, he said, were all free. In the present state of things, it was both an insult and an injury to say that they could achieve their freedom without the assistance of the Central Government. The example of the Colonies showed that if the Government kept apart no progress could be achieved. It only showed the British Government's unwillingness to part with power. The refusal of the British Government to implement any agreement that might be arrived at between the various parties in India, said Dr. Kunzru, was a serious matter. It was still more serious for the Government to refuse to release *Mahatma Gandhi*, who represented the interest of the country, in a manner in which no one else did. The Government justified their action on the ground that the Congress leaders were responsible for the acts of violence in August 1942 and that they had not yet given any indication of a change on their part. There was a time, said Dr. Kunzru, when Government carried on their suggestive propaganda both in India and in the U. S. A. to the effect that *Mahatma Gandhi* was pro-Japanese at heart and hence refused to co-operate in the war effort. Things had changed during the last year and a half and in spite of their past propaganda, Mr. Amery said in the House of Commons recently that Government never accused *Mahatma Gandhi* of being pro-Japanese. It was good, however, that Government, notwithstanding what they did and said in the past, were now willing, though indirectly, not to maintain their charge against *Mahatma Gandhi*. If the *Mahatma* were set free now, there was no doubt that he would approach the present problems in an unbiassed manner which he had always shown in the past.

It was a tragedy, added Dr. Kunzru, that the authorities even at this time wanted to keep the people at arm's length and to govern the country in isolation. They thought that they alone had the wisdom and responsibility to settle the problems of this country.

What had the mighty Government done during the last three or four years to resolve the deadlock, asked Pandit Kunzru. They had isolated themselves from public opinion and refused to budge an inch from the position they obstinately took up some years ago.

#### "GAP BETWEEN PEOPLE AND GOVT."

Referring to Bengal, Dr. Kunzru said that the situation required the adoption of proper administrative measures so that food reached everyone. Had a National Government been at the Centre, it would never have allowed the situation to deteriorate. The failure of the Government of India to obtain loans that they wanted showed that there was a gap between the people and the Government. The prices of articles were going up by leaps and bounds and when Indian economists pointed out that the rise was due to the monetary policy of the Government, the Finance Member refuted that argument. They wanted a Council like a Cabinet, with a Prime Minister at the head of it.

Continuing, Dr. Kunzru said that Indians should be enabled to achieve complete freedom so that they might take part in any conference or council that might be set up after the war. It would do incalculable harm to India, he observed, if she were represented at any peace conferences as she was at the League of Nations. Concluding, *Pandit Hridaya Nath* advanced a plea for a national army and said that their freedom was worth nothing unless they had the power to defend themselves.

Seconding the resolution Dr. *Radha Kumud Mukherjee*, ex-M. L. A., Bengal and Head of the Department of History, Lucknow University, said that the resignation of the Congress Ministers had been made much of by some people. There was a substantial reason which made the Congress make its exit from office and take that drastic step. It was that India was not consulted when war broke out. The Congress thought that India had thus been greatly humiliated by that action of the Government of India. The present situation was only a consequence of the 1945 Act. The immediate purpose of the Conference, said Dr. Mukherjee, was very practical. The present character of the Government must be changed and a Prime Minister appointed who would select his own colleagues.

Mr. H. G. Walford, a leading Advocate of Lucknow and Mrs. *Mohini Das* also supported the resolution, which was unanimously passed.

#### RELEASE GANDHIJI

The hon Mr. P. N. Saprú, Member, Council of State, moving the fourth resolution, demanding the release of *Mahatma Gandhi* and other leaders said that

the British Government had failed to do anything towards resolving the constitutional deadlock. It was no use accusing the Congress leaders, he added, of being pro-Japanese or pro-Axis. They were avowedly anti-Japanese even at the time when Sir *Reginald Maxwell* and others were flirting with and courting Japan. They had a clear record even then. Indians were now demanding the release of Mahatma Gandhi, because he was not a negligible factor in the country's politics.

Mr. Sapru said that the country at the moment was faced with grave dangers and one of them was the danger of India being excluded from any international organisation, that might come into being in the post-war world. It was, therefore, of fundamental importance that the principle of equality of races should be recognised and India be given its rightful place on any such organisation.

The speaker severely criticised the Government for asking Indians to solve their internal differences and at the same time keeping the Congress leaders in jail, and deny them facilities even to make contacts among themselves. He said the British Government insisted on the complete surrender by the Congress. That was not, said Mr. Sapru, the spirit in which statesmanship should approach such a big problem. Without the Mahatma's release it was not possible for Indians to approach the task in a constructive mood. Mahatma Gandhi and other Congress leaders, he added, should be given an opportunity to approach the problem and should not be coerced. Then also could an atmosphere be created to bring about a settlement of outstanding issues between Hindus and Muslims and England and India.

The resolution which was seconded by Mr. *S. N. Jha* of Bihar, was unanimously passed.

#### FRESH ELECTIONS TO LEGISLATIVE BODIES

The Conference passed another resolution demanding fresh elections to all legislative bodies without delay and by the last resolution authorised the President, the Rt. Hon. Sir *Tej Bahadur Sapru*, to forward the terms of the resolutions to H. E. the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India and take such other steps as he thought necessary for the achievement of the desired objects.

#### PRESIDENT'S CONCLUDING REMARKS

Winding up the proceedings of the Conference, Sir *Tej Bahadur Sapru* vehemently attacked Mr. *Churchill*, the British Premier, for his "die-hardism" and said that the proceedings of the Conference would have no effect on the Prime Minister's mind. Even in 1932, said Sir Tej, Mr. Churchill was an uncompromising opponent of India's advancement and progress. "Sometimes I ask myself the question, 'Has the Prime Minister now changed from a die-hard into a Liberal politician?'" added Sir Tej. He had heard his countrymen say, "The Prime Minister has changed". If that was true and if Mr. Churchill had changed, would Mr. *Amery* have stayed on as Secretary of State for India and would Lord *Linlithgow* continued as Viceroy of India during the last two years of his office?

The President strongly felt that the Government by their actions had alienated their best friends. The social relations between Indians and the British, which at one time seemed to be improving, were now a thing of the past.

"They ask us", said Sir Tej, "what following we have in the country. We have no following, and my answer to them is: You shut up people with following behind the bars and ignore the rest. What are we to do?" They have befuddled the Muslim League, observed Sir Tej. They should have at least asked the Muslim League to form a Government, after Congressmen had been interned. But they did not. That sort of policy would not do any longer. India was not in that state of mind in which it was ten years ago.

Referring to those who sympathised with Indian aspirations in England, Sir Tej said that it was not that section that counted in actual life in England. It was the die-hard who counted there. Our fight is against a set of die-hards in England and die-hards in India. There are enough die-hards in India.

#### GIVE WAVELL EVERY CHANCE TO SOLVE DEADLOCK

Continuing, Sir Tej observed that at no time had the British alienated Indian sympathies more than at the present moment. He was glad, he said, when Lord *Wavell* came out to India as Viceroy. He was not prejudiced simply because Lord *Wavell* was a soldier. Some soldiers had better brains than civilians. He would, therefore, advice his countrymen, added Sir Tej, to give Lord *Wavell* every chance to solve the deadlock. But he did not feel happy over the company which the Viceroy was keeping. He hoped that Lord *Wavell* would be able to assert himself and would have the courage to tell Mr. *Amery* that he was the man on

the spot and therefore, the right man to appreciate local conditions and formulate his policy accordingly. He could not think of the biographer of Lord Allenby (Lord Wavell) adopting a different course in India, added Sir Tej, and if he did, it would be his misfortune as well as India's.

Concluding, Sir Tej said that although he himself had never believed in the doctrine of civil disobedience, yet as an Indian he knew that Mahatma Gandhi had a hold on the imagination of the people as no other man has. To keep the Mahatma shut up indefinitely without trial by a Tribunal was nothing short of coercion. There was no doubt, added Sir Tej, that if Mahatma Gandhi was released he would throw all his weight in bringing about a settlement. It was no matter for shame, he said, if non-party leaders had thus far failed to achieve that object. May be Mahatma Gandhi himself might also fail in his attempt. But that was no reason why he should not be allowed a chance to bring about a settlement. He felt that Mahatma Gandhi was the one man who could examine the situation fairly and squarely. The Mahatma had the humility to approach others even though others might not like to approach him.

## The A. I. Newspaper Editors' Conference

Plenary Session—Madras—10th. January 1944

The Plenary Session of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference began on the 10th. January 1944 at Gemini Studios, Madras, Mr. S. A. Brelvi, President of the Conference, presiding. Editors of newspapers from all over India were present besides a large gathering of visitors.

### Mr. G. A. Natesan's Welcome Address

Mr. G. A. Natesan Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcoming the members, said:

I must at the outset express my grateful thanks to my fellow journalists of Madras for the honour they have done me in electing me to this office. I value the honour greatly particularly in view of the fact that I am a comparatively new member of this great organization though I can claim to have followed your discussions and deliberations with great interest and appreciation. *The Indian Review* which I have been editing for forty-three years is a monthly periodical and not exactly a newspaper; but the Press in India, British or Indian-owned, daily or weekly or monthly is one and indivisible, and suffers and rejoices together in its pursuit of freedom and service as is amply evidenced by the struggles and achievements of this Conference since its inception in 1940.

Friends, Madras has played by no means an insignificant part in the history of the Press in India, and you have doubtless come in intimate contact with Madras journalists all over the country. It is now my privilege to welcome you to our beautiful City. We trust you will enjoy your visit to this historic City and carry with you happy recollections of your stay and experiences.

This Conference, as you are aware, came into being to meet an extraordinary situation created by the Government of India's panicky order of October 26, 1940, imposing severe and altogether unwarranted restrictions on the Press of India.

### RESTRICTIONS ON THE PRESS

The action of the Government was all the more puzzling, as it was common knowledge that Press in India, irrespective of party affiliations of politics, veered to the cause of democracy and the Allies, and condemned in no uncertain terms the aims of the Axis powers. There could therefore be no justification for the plea that any section of the Press was consciously or unconsciously hindering war effort. In fact, so far as war effort is concerned, our relations with the Government in India have been characterised by a spirit of unstinted co-operation from almost every responsible newspaper belonging to every shade of political opinion. Apart from this, the Press has been doing war service of no mean value both in its appeal to the people and in its criticism of Government policies and methods. They are not the less helpful because they are critical sometimes. If in the summer of 1940 when an invasion of England seemed imminent after the French collapse, Major Attlee thought fit to declare in the House of Commons that under all circumstances the Press would be free to express its views without official



interference, how much more necessary is that freedom for India where no National Government responsible to a popular legislature functions to defend the rights of the people? We repeat that it is far from our intention to create difficulties for the Government or impede their war effort. But we insist that a free Press, with a full sense of responsibilities, must be allowed to function freely and unhampered by constant pin-pricks which, as in the case of certain newspapers we all know, have led to grievous misunderstanding. Who does not know the injury to the cause of liberty and freedom of the Press sustained by the precipitate action of the Government in regard to the *Aj, Janmabhoomi* and the *Tribune*, the pre-censorship on the *Patrika*, the strange order on the *Hitavada* to disclose the name of its correspondent, the raid on the *Hindustan Times*, and similar action which could certainly have been avoided with a little patience and consideration on the part of the all-powerful executive? Thanks to the efforts of this Conference, not once or twice but many times over has the cause of liberty been served and awkward situations averted by judicious intervention. Mr. Scott of the *Manchester Guardian* used to say that comment is free but facts are sacred. But the suppression of factual reports and expression of opinion based on such reports, is a positive injury to truth, and certainly not helpful to war effort. The suppression of unpalatable news or views either from this country or from abroad is by no means justifiable. Indeed, such suppression has become impracticable and therefore useless. Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee's statement on Food and Louis Fischer's views on the deadlock, in spite of censorship, have not escaped public attention. Government's ban only created a positive thirst in the people to get at the banned articles. Government could have spared themselves this trouble. Their action in regard to some papers has proved to be politically inexpedient, legally invalid and morally wrong. The highest judicial authorities in the country have more than once condemned hasty executive assaults on the Press. It is under such trying conditions that the Press in India is called upon to shoulder its responsibility and function with freedom integrity and dignity. Need I say how onerous and responsible is the task this Conference has imposed on itself?

#### PRESS ADVISORY SYSTEM

The Press advisory system which is now in operation in the Provinces and at the Centre is the result of an agreement between the All-India Editors' Conference and the Government of India and it functions through a Central Press Advisory Committee in consultation with the Home Department of the Government of India and Provincial Committees in each of the Provinces. The Conference, through its Standing Committee, has tried time and again to smoothen difficulties and evolve methods of adjusting differences. Conceived purely as a war-time measure, it has tackled many a ticklish problem to mutual satisfaction. But much remains yet to be done, and we cannot be resting on our oars, if it has done nothing else, the Conference has evolved a system, whereby pressmen of all shades of opinion, irrespective of their politics or creeds, could sit together and plead for the priceless gift of freedom.

It only remains for me to convey to Mr. K. Srinivasan, the retiring President, our grateful thanks for the valuable help he has rendered to this Conference from its very inception, and our appreciation of the patriotism, tact and wisdom he has brought to bear on the exceedingly difficult and delicate task of asserting the rights of the Press and at the same time avoiding needless clashes with the Government. In our new President my old friend, Mr. Brelvi, we have a shining example of one whose staunch nationalism and robust independence have won for him a unique place in Indian journalism. With his rich experiences and wise counsel, this Conference should have as good and successful a future as it has had in the past.

Before resuming my seat I should like to give expression to our deep sorrow at the passing of Mr. Ramanand Chatterjee, the talented Editor of the *Modern Review*, and *Prabhasti*. Not only Bengal, but the whole country is the poorer for the loss of one whose versatile gifts and robust nationalism were as transparent in his writings as in his life.

#### Mr. K. Srinivasan's Speech

Mr. K. Srinivasan, Editor, "The Hindu" and the retiring President, inviting Mr. S. A. Brelvi to take the presidential chair, wished him godspeed in the task ahead. He said: I feel great satisfaction in handing over charge to Mr. Brelvi. I am certain that I am voicing the unanimous feeling of this Conference in affirming that a worthier choice could not have been made. It is unnecessary for



me to detail the many excellent qualities of head and heart with which he is endowed. Gentle and charming in manner, Mr. Brelvi is equipped with a full knowledge of current day problems. His long period of service on the *Bombay Chronicle* has brought him into contact with almost all persons who really matter in the political field. I am personally grateful to him for the immense help he has rendered to me in the discharge of my duties as president during these three years. There have been occasions in the life of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference when, on account of serious differences among the members of the Standing Committee, a split seemed imminent. Mr. Brelvi's co-operation on such occasions proved invaluable in tiding over difficult situations and preventing the breakdown of an organisation which, to the extent it is possible in these days, has been able to afford protection to the Press in India against hasty and ill-considered actions on the part of the executive.

The circumstances under which the Conference was brought into being are well-known, though one fact, namely, that it was to the members of the Indian and Eastern Newspapers Society that the credit of inaugurating this organisation belongs, has not received sufficient publicity. My friend Mr. *Devadas Gandhi*, who was then the officiating Chairman of the Society, will recollect that on the discussions that took place in October 1940 between a deputation of which he was the leader and the Home Member of the Government of India in regard to the relations between Government and the Press, with particular reference to the statements of *Mahatma Gandhi* on the individual civil disobedience movement, that the foundations of this conference were laid.

I do not propose here to take up your time with a narration of the details of the progress which we have made as a corporate body, composed as we are of all important elements in the field of Indian journalism. We represent in this Conference every shade of opinion and we are bound by a spirit of comradeship and earnestness. Our one guiding factor during these three years has been an anxiety to develop and preserve the highest traditions of journalism. For the first time in the history of the Press in India, the principle that editors of newspapers could be depended upon to act in concert for discharging the responsibilities as well as safeguarding the rights of the Press as a whole found a measure of practical recognition at the hands of the Government.

#### LINLITHGOW'S TRIBUTE RECALLED

The establishment of Press Advisory Committees in Delhi and in most of the provincial centres was at our suggestion and, as you all know, they have been functioning on right lines. I am not unmindful of the lukewarm attitude of some provincial administrations and the scarcely veiled hostility of one or two, who have either not set up these committees at all, or who have suffered them only as an unavoidable nuisance. But the Government of India, with Lord Linlithgow at the head, have striven to co-operate with the Conference, though their intentions were often frustrated by a too ready deference to the wishes or whims of the Provincial Administrations. In his farewell address to the Central Legislature, Lord Linlithgow paid a handsome tribute to the integrity and public spirit of the Indian Press, which I recall here with pleasure, since we have been vigorous critics to many of His Lordship's policies and administrative acts. He observed: "Occasions there may have been when there were differences of view on matters connected with the Press; misunderstandings there may have been from ful to this great institution for its fairness; its eager anxiety to serve the public; its concern to observe, and if possible to improve, the best traditions of journalism, and I would not like to leave India without paying this public tribute to it, and to that hard working body of intelligent and able men by whom India is so well served in the Press."

His successor, the present Viceroy, has already given welcome evidence of his interest in the deliberations of this organisation by inviting the members of the Standing Committee to the Viceroy's House in New Delhi after its last meeting. May I express the hope that through such contacts will grow a better understanding of the difficulties of the Press leading to a removal of the restrictions under which we are labouring?

To the members of the general public in India I would express our gratitude for the great interest they have shown in our proceedings and for the helpful criticisms that have been made about our organisation. When we have to our credit the approbation of the Rt. Hon. *Sastri* on the one side and Mr. *C. Rajagopalachari* on the other, and Mr. *B. G. Horniman*, the veteran journalist, there can hardly be room for any misgiving about the value of our Conference.

So far as I am concerned, and I would add without hesitation, on behalf of the entire Conference, I can assure Mr. Brelvi of our hearty co-operation in the discharge of the responsibilities he is undertaking as our new President.

#### Presidential Address

Mr. Syed Abdullah Brelvi then delivered the presidential address. He said :

"I tender to you my heart-felt gratitude for electing me President of this Conference. To any individual no honour can be greater than that conferred on him by his own peers. I am, therefore, overwhelmed by the honour that you have done me. This Conference has, during the very brief period of its existence, secured an important place in the public life of the country and has rendered invaluable service to the cause of the freedom of the Press and, through it, to that of the country and no limit can be placed to the service that it can render to both in future. The responsibility of presiding over the deliberations of this Conference is thus both great and onerous. I cannot discharge that responsibility with any success without your help and co-operation. I give you this assurance, however, that I shall always try my best to deserve them. May I take this opportunity of offering to Mr. K. Srinivasan on your behalf as well as my own our deep gratitude for the invaluable contribution that he has made towards building up this Conference and making it the power that it has become to-day ? As our President for three years he has achieved a remarkable record of success and efficiency. I do not know what has contributed most to his success—his amiable personality, his infectious spirit of accommodation, his uncompromising loyalty to principles or his selfless devotion to duty. I can, however, say this with certainty that he has during this period won the love and esteem of all of us."

Since we met last the Indian Press has lost one of its outstanding figures. The late *Ramanand Chatterjee* was a veteran journalist who waged many a valiant fight on behalf of the Press and contributed much to the growth of its power and influence. *Babu Kali Nath Roy* retired from the editorship of the "Tribune" during the year. Though *Babu Kali Nath Roy* did not take active part in our deliberations the association of a journalist of his eminence and experience was an asset of immense value to us.

We are all proud that three members of our Conference have courageously and at considerable trouble and risk to themselves vindicated the liberty of the Press. Mr. *Devadas Gandhi*, editor of the "Hindustan Times", was acquitted by the Privy Council in the Contempt of Court Case filed against him and others in the Allahabad High Court after he had undergone a term of imprisonment in that connection. Mr. *B. G. Horniman*, editor of the "Bombay Sentinel", added one more to his many and distinguished services to the Press by successfully questioning the validity of the warrant of arrest issued by the Allahabad High Court in the contempt of Court Case against him. He has secured a ruling from the Bombay High Court that no case for Contempt of Court can be filed by a High Court against a journalist who does not reside within its jurisdiction. How far this ruling will bind other High Courts is to be seen. But let us hope the judgments in both these cases will bring home to the judiciary the need for the exercise of the utmost care before hauling up editors for Contempt of Court. The Press is as keen as the judiciary to see that there is no interference with the fair and proper administration of justice. But the Press cannot and will not tolerate interference with the exercise of its own legitimate function merely for satisfying the *amour-propre* or upholding the personal prestige of any judge or judges. The law of Contempt of Court requires drastic revision. We demand that it should have the sole object of ensuring proper administration of justice. We also demand that it should be administered by disinterested judges. Judges, however learned, are human beings and cannot, ordinarily, be expected to dispense justice and nothing but justice in cases in which they are both prosecutors and judges.

Mr. *A. D. Mani*, editor of the "Hitavada," had the rare experience of being asked, on pain of prosecution, to violate the professional code of honour by betraying confidence and disclosing the source of his information in regard to the publication of a news item concerning the resignation of the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal. The Defence of India Rules have been abused in various ways for various purposes. But it was left to the Government of the Central Provinces to use them to coerce an Editor to be guilty of unprofessional conduct. It is however gratifying that the Government, as a result of the protest of the Press and of the Standing Committee of the Conference, subsequently withdrew the Order against Mr. Mani. The Government of India, justifying the Order of the C. P. Government, had issued a Communique in which they recognised the conven-

tion that the relations between an Editor and his correspondents were confidential, but they were prepared to concede it only to this extent that in all ordinary circumstances it should not be disturbed. To the journalistic profession, however, the matter is one of conscience and admits of no exceptional circumstances warranting a breach of the convention.

Mr. *Devadas Gandhi*, Mr. *B. G. Horniman* and Mr. *A. D. Mani* deserve our congratulations on the courage with which they have vindicated the rights and upheld the traditions of the Press.

#### OBJECTS OF THE CONFERENCE

The principal objects of our Conference are (1) to preserve the high traditions and standards of journalism, (2) to safeguard the rights of the Press in general and in particular the freedom of publication of news and comments and (3) to represent the Press in India in its relations with the public and public institutions and particularly in its relations with Government and to set up Committees which would act as liaison bodies between the Government and the Press as a whole. Have our efforts in carrying out these objects attained any success? Speaking for myself, I have no hesitation in saying that the success so far achieved has exceeded my own expectations. This is not to suggest that the success is very satisfying. It only means that my own forebodings about the experiment of representatives of the Press working with officials to preserve as much of the freedom of the Press as possible have not all happily come true. It is idle to pretend that the Press in India is free or can hope to be free so long as our country is not free. To the fetters that have come to us as a legacy of decades of bureaucratic rule have been added more galling and stifling ones in the shape of Defence of India Rules and the Press Instructions issued under these Rules. The Press in India has never been free, but it has always been struggling to be free. The consultative machinery, to the establishing of which Government were compelled to agree in 1940 as a result of the united front presented by the Press, irrespective of political differences, offered an opportunity, such as the Press had never had of carrying on that struggle with greater hope of success than ever before. Whatever success has been, so far, achieved in that struggle has been a negative one. We have not secured positive gains in the shape of enlargement of our freedom, but we have been able to prevent much harm being done to the Press by bureaucrats many of whom are prone to act arbitrarily and ruthlessly and, not seldom, vindictively. Even this negative gain has not been secured to the same extent in all provinces where the advisory system has been given a fair trial. Some provinces, for instance, have not been as fortunate as Bombay and Madras while in others the consultative machinery has not functioned at all or, has functioned most unsatisfactorily.

#### TEAM SPIRIT OF EDITORS

"Mr. *Srinivasan*, in his address to the last session of the Conference, claimed that, in spite of many handicaps, he and his colleagues of the Standing Committee had secured protection against hasty and ill-considered action by the Executive against members of the Press generally. The claim was a bold one, but it was fully justified. In fact, the principal cause of whatever success the Conference has achieved has been the team spirit displayed by the members of the Standing Committee in all their deliberations and especially in resisting all attempts to restrict the liberty of the Press. The same team spirit has characterized the work of the Provincial Press Advisory Committees wherever they have worked satisfactorily. In my opinion the greatest good that the Conference and its various Committees have done is the feeling of comradeship which they have fostered among editors throughout the country. The growth of this feeling is an asset of incalculable value as much to the public life of the country as to the Press. It is thus, no less in the interests of the country than of those of the Press that this Conference should grow in strength. The progress, prosperity and efficiency of the Press largely depend on the success of this Conference. May I appeal to those editors, who have, for some reasons, not yet joined this Conference, to do so and thus help to make it an increasingly potent instrument for securing and enlarging the liberties of the Press and preserving its traditions and standards? I have referred to the feeling of comradeship which this Conference has fostered among its members. It has also engendered a feeling of comparative security among them inasmuch the advisory system has served as a check, not always an effective one, it is true, against hasty, ill-considered and sometimes, vindictive action by the Executive against individual newspapers. I may also claim that the work of this Conference has not been without some effect on officials themselves some of whom,

at any rate, have now a better appreciation than they had before of the difficulties as well as the power of the Press."

#### CONSULTATIVE MACHINERY IN PROVINCES

Thus surveying the work of our Conference since its inception, we may justifiably feel some satisfaction. Much work, however, still remains to be done. First and foremost we have to see that the consultative machinery functions in all provinces effectively. That it does not so function in some provinces is due not to any lack or desire on the part of editors concerned to utilise it to the utmost, but either to the indifference or ill-concealed hostility of the Provincial Governments who continue to regard it as a nuisance to themselves. The Government of India cannot avoid the responsibility for the failure of these Provincial Governments to give a fair trial to the advisory system. They are a party to a gentleman's agreement with this Conference and must carry out their part of the bargain by securing, through the means that are open to them, the desired improvement in the attitude of the Provincial Governments. They cannot, as they often do, make provincial autonomy a convenient excuse for inaction. For, whenever, it is convenient to themselves they find means, effective and expeditious to make the provincial Governments carry out their wishes and instructions. We have seen this being done not only in regard to the present food situation and other matters but even in respect of restrictions on the Press. Thus a series of uncalled for and drastic restrictions were imposed at the dictation of the Central Government on the Press in all parts of the country regarding news and comments about *Gandhiji's* fast. In fact the conduct of the Government of India themselves has not always been in strict accord with the spirit of the gentleman's agreement. The occasions have not been few when, as a result of the measures taken or contemplated by Government, the agreement would have been wrecked but for the firm manner in which the Standing Committee handled the situation. Even more numerous have been the occasions when the powers of censorship have been abused to suppress political news and views unpalatable and inconvenient to the Executive. It is not surprising, therefore, that some Provincial Governments have been encouraged to be recalcitrant in their attitude and have all but destroyed the consultative machinery and that, even where it has functioned, the Provincial Governments, on many occasions, have ignored the Provincial Press Advisory Committees' unanimous recommendations and have not seldom taken action against newspapers without even consulting the Committees.

#### ABUSES OF CENSORSHIP

The most flagrant misuse of censorship is the ban on the publication, without press advice, of the writings and speeches of Mr. *Louis Fischer* which, despite the many explanations put forward is only a clumsy and unworthy attempt to suppress the views of a man who has been a trenchant critic of the policy of the Government regarding the political demands of the people. Censorship was, again, glaringly misused during *Gandhiji's* fast to prevent the public in India and outside from having a true picture of the situation as it developed in the country. Even the resolution of your Standing Committee regarding *Gandhiji's* fast did not escape mutilation when it was submitted for press advice by a news agency. A resolution of the Azad Muslim Board on the political situation and statements issued by Mr. *C. Rajagopalachari* and Sir *Tej Bahadur Sapru* met a similar fate. In all these instances, the action of the Government was indefensible, inspired as it was by a desire to gain political advantage against the people of India. The action taken against the *Hindustan Time* and the order of pre-censorship served on the *Sind Observer* early last year and a similar order recently served on the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* are some of the glaring instances in which the unanimous recommendations of Provincial Advisory Committees were completely ignored. The *Jugantar* and *Star of India* of Calcutta and the *Janmabhumi* of Bombay were suppressed for a few days without consulting the Provincial Advisory Committees concerned. It is evident, therefore, that liberty of writing in India will continue to be in constant jeopardy so long as the Government of India do not radically revise their policy towards the Press and such revision will also remain an idle dream so long as the structure of government remains what it is.

Recognising the limitations arising out of the existing system of government under which the Press in India has to work, this Conference on its part has always displayed a rare spirit of accommodation which however, has seldom evoked the right response from Governments. The outstanding proof of this attitude of the Conference is the resolution passed by it at its last memorable session in Bombay,

You are all familiar with the circumstances which necessitated the passing of the resolution. The Press in India was confronted with a great crisis when the Government sought to control, muzzle and humiliate in a manner familiarized to us by the Nazis and the Fascists. The Conference met the crisis with courage and wisdom. The resolution which it passed embodied, I feel happy to say, a formula which had been previously settled between the Bombay Provincial Press Advisory Committee and the Government of Bombay. The devising of this formula gave proof of the good work that could be done by Government and the Press Advisory Committees working together in a spirit of sincere loyalty to the Delhi Agreement. Through its resolution the Conference declared its uncompromising rejection of pre-censorship of any kind, demanded freedom for newspapers to publish, without previous scrutiny, objective accounts of incidents connected with the 'mass movement' or the disturbances. The Conference, however, considered it necessary that Editors should exercise reasonable restraint in the publication of such accounts and should avoid the publication of anything which might incite the public to subversive activity, convey suggestions or instructions for illegal acts or which was an exaggerated report or unfounded allegation regarding excessive use or misuse of their powers by the Police, the troops and other Government servants or the treatment of and condition of detenus and prisoners or which retarded the restoration of the public sense of security. The Conference also gave proof of its loyalty to the Delhi Agreement by suggesting that the restrictions imposed by Government should be withdrawn and replaced by a ban on the publication unless released to the Press by Government, of reports, as were of military value to the enemy, of interruptions to roads and railway communications, acts of sabotage, strikes or interruptions of work in factories chiefly engaged in producing war materials.

#### THE BOMBAY CONFERENCE

Before the Bombay Conference was held a number of newspapers had been suppressed or had suspended publication as a result of the new restrictions or the manner in which they were applied. The most harmful use made of these restrictions was to deny publicity to statements and reports supporting the Indian demand for freedom and legitimate political activity. The Conference made it plain that even in war time the Press could not abdicate its responsibility as the guardian of public interest and of the rights of citizens. It contended that it could not do so specially at a time when the legislatures did not function in most provinces and owing to penal restrictions public opinion could not express itself. The decision of the Conference was thus actuated by a genuine spirit of compromise. The Conference felt confident, that it would effectively help to remove the bitterness and resentment that executive high-handedness had caused and lead to the republication of the newspapers that had been suppressed or had suspended publication. Unfortunately the response of the Government to the statesmanlike gesture of the Conference was neither prompt nor adequate. Not only did the Government of India take an unconscionable long time in communicating the Bombay resolution to the Provincial Governments but they also failed to give a lead to these Governments by themselves readily accepting it and implementing it in Delhi province. Thus precious time was wasted and several newspapers did not resume publication until the resolution had been accepted by the Provincial Governments concerned. To the credit of the Sind Government, it may be mentioned that they were the first Government to announce their acceptance of the resolution. When Provincial Governments with the exception of the Punjab Government did accept the Bombay resolution the acceptance was not whole-hearted and in some cases, was qualified by restrictions and conditions alien to its spirit. Nor were the subsequent actions of both the Central and Provincial Governments always in accord with the spirit of the new arrangement or of the Delhi Agreement. I need not mention how some Provincial Governments took unfair advantage of the Bombay resolution by depriving newspapers of the little liberty they had before the Bombay session of the Conference of ventilating legitimate grievances regarding the treatment of prisoners or the use of excessive force by the police.

#### THE BHANSALI'S EPISODE

Government, however, were guilty of the most flagrant breach of the Bombay Agreement when they suppressed all news regarding Prof. Bhansali's fast and imposed draconian restrictions on the publication of news and comments about Gandhiji's fast. Prof. Bhansali was neither a detenu nor a prisoner. As a free citizen he was entitled to undertake a fast. Whatever view one might hold about the wisdom or desirability of such a fast, no civilized Government would be justified

in preventing publication of news or comments about it in the Press—especially in a Press with which Government had entered into a solemn agreement and which, in publishing such news or comments, did not violate that agreement. The most obnoxious feature of the executive high-handedness was that the pains and penalties of the Defence of India Rules were requisitioned to prevent the Press even from informing the public that it had been gagged. This double outrage was naturally resented by the Press and the Standing Committee decided that the situation demanded an effective protest. On its recommendation newspapers throughout the country, with very few exceptions, suspended publication for one day and refrained from publishing the New Year's Honours List, all circulars from Government Houses, all speeches of the members of the British Government, the Government of India and of the Provincial Governments except portions thereof which contained decisions and announcements. The demonstration of solidarity was unprecedented in the history of the Indian Press. It had its effect and the Government Orders were soon withdrawn.

#### GANDHIJI'S FAST AND AFTER

The Delhi Agreement and the Bombay resolutions were both, again, unceremoniously jettisoned when on February 10, *Gandhiji* began his twenty-one days' fast. On the eve of the fast drastic restrictions were imposed on the Press, those issued by the Government of Bombay being particularly irritating. The Government of Bombay also imposed precensorship on all statements emanating from *Gandhiji* or reports of or reference to such statement, whether direct or indirect, and all reports of interviews or conversations with him or persons detained with him or having access to him. As a result of discussions at an informal meeting of the Standing Committee, the President addressed a letter to the Government of India asking for the withdrawal of the restrictions. He pointed out that, quite apart from the issues raised by the fast, the fact that *Gandhiji* had undertaken it at an advanced age had raised world-wide interest and in India, among millions of his countrymen, the utmost anxiety let alone sympathy and, that in the circumstances, it was not fair to impose any special restrictions on the liberty of the Editors to handle the subject according to their discretion. Government, however, paid no heed to this representation as well as to the resolution of the Standing Committee urging the release of *Gandhiji* to enable him, as a free man, to help in the restoration of peaceful conditions. Stringent censorship was imposed on news and comments, both internal and foreign, regarding *Gandhiji's* fast. This could only mean that Government did not want that the public in India and outside should know the truth about the situation in this country.

#### RESTRICTIONS MUST GO

The Press as a whole had remained loyal to the Conference and to the agreements with the Government made by it and the Standing Committee. Provincial committees and the Central Advisory Committee had not hesitated to take erring newspapers to task and even to agree to the imposition of drastic penalties in proved cases of default. This is a record of which we may well be proud. Does the other party to the Gentlemen's Agreement present such a record? In fairness to some Provincial Governments, I must admit that they have on the whole, given an honest trial to the advisory system. Nevertheless, it is also true of these and other Provincial Governments and also of the Government of India that agreements have been made by them only to be violated whenever it suited them. Unanimous recommendations of a provincial committee have not seldom been rejected. On the untenable plea of provincial autonomy, the Government of India have permitted certain Provincial Governments to go counter to policies accepted by themselves. Powers of censorship have been issued to suppress legitimate expression of political opinion, in defiance of the Delhi Agreement. However, we are not dispirited by our bitter experience and we shall not be deterred by it from carrying on our struggle for broadening the basis of our freedom. Since we held our last session in Bombay the situation has changed considerably. The Bombay Resolution was passed to meet special circumstances created by the disturbances. The special circumstances having ceased to exist, a revision of our existing arrangements with the Government is essential. The Press has no desire to impede war efforts. That is the basis of the Delhi Agreement. It is also the basis of the Delhi Agreement that the Press will not be a party to the suppression of legitimate political activities. There is nothing in the present political situation in the country to warrant any restrictions on the Press except those necessitated by purely military considerations. On the contrary, the situation demands that the Press should be absolutely unfet-

tered to ventilate legitimate grievances regarding, for instance, the treatment of prisoners and detenus, especially as unfair advantage has been taken of the Bombay Resolution by some Provincial Governments to prevent this being done. Sir *Sultan Ahmed*, Information Member of the Government of India, addressing a meeting of the Standing Committee in July last year, claimed that the restrictions on the Press in the country were not greater than, indeed, in his opinion, were much less, than, in some countries, at any rate, during the time of war. The history of the struggle that this Conference had carried on during the last three years and more with the Government is a sufficient commentary on this claim. That history is the history of reiterated and not seldom unsuccessful demands that the consultative machinery should be given an honest trial in every province, that the spirit of the Delhi Agreement should always be scrupulously adhered to by the Central and Provincial Governments and that the powers under the Defence of India Rules should not be misused to suppress news and views unpalatable to them.

The year that has just ended witnessed a food crisis of unprecedented character in many parts of India, particularly in Bengal. The tragedy of Bengal has had few parallels in the history of human suffering. It is unfortunate that in the beginning, under the convenient plea of war necessity, attempts were made to prevent the Press in India from publishing the whole truth about Bengal and the world outside India from getting true and objective accounts of the situation in this country. The Press, however, did its duty courageously by successfully appealing to the heart and conscience of India and helped to bring home to the people and Government of India the extent of the havoc wrought by starvation and to secure prompt relief and was thus instrumental in saving thousands of human lives.

#### A CHARTER FOR WORKING JOURNALISTS

The first object of our Conference is to preserve the high traditions and standards of journalism. We cannot secure this object without maintaining our freedom and, naturally, in the present condition of our country, our efforts have hitherto chiefly been directed towards removing the obstacles in our path. But there are also other equally important things to be done if we wish to succeed in preserving the high traditions and standards of journalism. These traditions and standards are created and maintained by the men who work to make the Press efficient as well as free. It is these men who have in their power to raise or to lower them. It is clear that if our traditions and standards are to be preserved at the highest levels, the Press must continually attract to its service men who, in their mental and moral equipment, represent the best that our country produces. The Press cannot attract such men to its service unless it makes it worth their while to work for it. At present, with few exceptions, newspapers in India cannot be said to offer such attraction either in salaries or conditions of work. The average working journalist is paid a very meagre salary and this, added to the absence of any scheme of pension or Provident Fund, makes his life one of perpetual anxiety. If, in spite of all this, journalism attracts a number of men whose peers it is difficult to find in any other profession, it is because they consider it not as a career but as a mission in life or find that newspaper work offers them the satisfaction of heart and mind which they cannot find elsewhere. In the interests of journalism the need for the enforcement of minimum standards of payment and conditions of work for journalists, thus, becomes paramount. The question arises as who is to enforce these standards. Primarily the journalists themselves must help themselves and, by organising a powerful trade union of their own as in Britain, effectively protect their rights and interests. Final decisions, naturally, rest with proprietors who hold the purse-strings. The Indian and Eastern Newspapers' Society and the Indian Languages Newspapers' Association can and should give a helpful lead to proprietors in this connection. But Editors, to whom journalists working under them look for guidance and protection, cannot shirk their responsibility. Ours is a powerful and influential organisation of Editors and we are in a happy and advantageous position in so far as we count among ourselves a considerable number of editor-proprietors and managing-editors. Any recommendations that we may make about improving the economic status and working conditions of journalists will have the merit of being constructive and well-balanced and I have no doubt will be treated with respect by the proprietors. These are the days of Charters. Why should not there be a Journalists' Charter? Who can be in a better position to formulate it than a Conference of Editors and what can be a more propitious time than the present when the newspaper industry is financially in a stronger position than ever before to give a new and fair deal to the working journalists who constitute its backbone?



Concluding Mr. Brelvi said :

"There cannot be freedom of the Press under a totalitarian regime. If to-day the Press in India is not free as is the Press in Britain or America, the reason must be found in the totalitarian character of the present Government of India. No organisation could be more vitally interested in the establishment of true democracy in this country, than is this Conference. For we realise that only in the atmosphere of tolerance, fairplay and compromise which democracy creates can a Free Press exist. Free Press means free discussion which is like breath of life to democracy. Thus a Free Press is as essential to true democracy as true democracy is to a Free Press. I submit, therefore, that the ending of the present political deadlock and the establishment of a truly popular Government is as urgent from our point of view as it may be from any other. I may, however, be allowed to add that political freedom in India will not necessarily mean the establishment of true democracy. We have therefore, to guard against the danger of a totalitarian regime taking root in a Free India. Vitally interested as the Press will always be in asserting and preserving its freedom, it will have a great part of play in the shaping of the future constitution of India. And as the representative organisation of the Press, this Conference, I feel confident, will grow from strength to strength and will have increasing opportunities of serving the cause of democracy in this country as well as of the freedom of the Press."

#### PRESIDENT'S TRIBUTE TO LORD LINLITHGOW

I have no desire to be unfair to the Government of India and the Provincial Governments, nor can I let this opportunity pass without referring to the special contribution made by the ex-Viceroy, *Lord Linlithgow*, to the establishment of the consultative machinery and to the tribute, well deserved, which he paid to the Press in one of his speeches before leaving this country. The present Viceroy too, in one of the interviews he gave to the Press in London before arriving in this country, emphasised the important part which the Press plays in the public life of the country. I have also not the slightest hesitation in acknowledging that some officials of the Government of India and certain provincial governments have endeavoured to keep alive the consultative machinery for ordinary purposes. Our grievance, however, is that whenever it has suited them they have shown scant respect to the spirit of the Delhi Agreement. Some of them, again, have contended that there are no statutory restrictions against the Press and that editorial comment has been free. The question, however, is not so much as to how many statutory restrictions there are. The fact is that whenever Government want under the convenient Defence of India Rules, they promulgate restrictions of the Press, which though of a temporary character, are no less indefensible encroachments on our liberty. As regards freedom of comment the order served by the Government of Bombay regarding comments on Gandhiji's fast and the recent action taken against the *Anrita Bazar Patrika* are an eloquent proof of the fact that comment is free only during the pleasure of the Government. If the spirit of the Delhi Agreement is to be kept alive, our right to consultation in regard to any restrictions that may be contemplated must be recognised in practice. In cases of special emergency, it may not always be possible for Government to do so. But in such cases, Government must, at the earliest possible opportunity, place the restrictions imposed for consideration before us and amend or rescind them as may be recommended.

#### FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

The Chairman of the Associated Press of America recently proposed that the peace conference, when it meets, should guarantee freedom of the Press throughout the world, that it should also guarantee freedom of agencies to make international exchange of news, equal accessibility to all official news and transmission facilities and the prohibition of biased propaganda in any news service. These are excellent proposals and made none too soon. Mr. Sumner Welles, former Under-Secretary of State of the U. S. A. Government writing on them in the *New York Herald Tribune*, says :

"When there is born a popular conviction that any nation which refuses its people the right freely to worship, freely to express themselves—within the limits which public security requires—and freedom to obtain accurate knowledge of what transpires both within and without their boundaries, is a cause of danger to all other people, just so soon will these three freedoms be for all time established as a mighty bulwark to the future peace of the human race.

"For that reason," Mr. Welles concludes, "the editors and publishers of the United States are performing an all-important service for their country and for all



what newspapermen in India would do; because, the fame of South Indians in the world of journalism was one which none could question or doubt. Speaking on the occasion, therefore, he felt he was in a very familiar atmosphere, because it was exactly the same atmosphere that he felt every time he entered his sub-Editors' Room in Bombay (cheers). Mr. Srinivasan presided in 1940 over a meeting "the like of which had never been seen before". It was a gathering of journalists, he was almost going to say "outraged journalists," who came to protest against the Ordinances of the Government of India. There was an old saying in the Bible. "If the trumpet give forth an uncertain sound, who can prepare himself for the battle?" There was no uncertain sound about Mr. Srinivasan's trumpet on that occasion (cheers). So great a noise did this gathering make that if the walls of Jericho did not exactly collapse, at least those within thought discretion the better part of valour and instead of telling the bumptious newspaper editors to go back where they had come from, they thought it better to compromise. (Cheers). So, there was the compromise which had gone on from that day to this—one of the most valuable things that had happened in the history of newspapers in India. Mr. Srinivasan had presided over "a heterogeneous collection of people"; but, they had all one interest—and it was here that their success lay—to protect their own rights and interests against encroachments from whatever quarters such encroachments came. They stood by their rights. If one knew something of the differences that cropped up in a body of so many widely divergent interests, one would have some idea of the skill and ability with which the retiring President handled, he would not say a refractory but a pretty mulish team" (laughter). It was difficult indeed to get them all to see alike, but despite divergences, they did find unity—unity in diversity. That he considered to be one of the greatest tributes he could pay to Mr. Srinivasan. That, at any rate, was one of the things which the Conference could show as an example to the rest of India. If the rest of India would get together like the Newspaper Editors, then "we will go a long way towards our goal". He did not wish to embarrass Mr. Srinivasan by further tributes. He felt that what had so ably been said by Mr. Devadas Gandhi was entirely deserved. Somewhat of a late-comer as he was to the Editors' Conference and a convert to the cause, he wished to heartily endorse everything said as to the qualities of Mr. Srinivasan.

In their difficulties with the Government of India, Sir Francis said, the Press had often come up against serious opposition, so that sometimes things looked very black and the prospect of coming to a satisfactory settlement on matters at issue very gloomy indeed. Even at the most critical and depressing times Mr. Srinivasan never lost his sense of humour. His ready smile and the way in which he could laugh at trouble had many a time won over doubting Thomases. As one of Mr. Srinivasan's devoted disciples in the great work of his Conference, he felt the tribute paid by the body to Mr. Srinivasan well deserved. He hoped that as time progressed, the Conference would continue in the path which Mr. Srinivasan so earnestly and successfully put its feet on.

Mr. Amrithal Seth, supporting the resolution, said he belonged to a school different from that Mr. Srinivasan belonged to and he was not himself very confident of results when the Conference started on its work. Mr. Srinivasan revealed a beautiful blend of independence, moderation and diplomatic skill and a capacity to conduct business tactfully and thus help the Conference to tide over difficulties. The nature of the difficult time gave them the man to lead them through and during the three years of his presidency Mr. Srinivasan rose equal to the duties he undertook and the trust reposed in him.

Mr. J. K. Karandikar said that whenever he thought of the outgoing President, he was reminded of G. K. Gokhale whom he resembled, in that he always tried to see his opponent's point of view and while never yielding his fundamental principles, bring the opponent round. So successful was Mr. Srinivasan in effecting compromises that many a paper that had suspended publication before the Conference was started, found it possible and honourable to resume publication.

Mr. Ramanath Goenka said that he had known "our chief, Mr. Srinivasan, and could therefore, speak with authority derived from personal experience both as member of the Cabinet and of the Opposition." Although they had differed on several occasions, he could say without fear of contradiction that Mr. Srinivasan never bore ill-will. Mr. Srinivasan could not hate or dislike anyone; it pained him to do so. Mr. Srinivasan might not seem to possess the quality of a fighter; but when it became inevitable, one could rarely find a fighter of the type of Mr. Srinivasan. (Cheers). But for his great ability and tact, the Conference would not have been there to meet in Madras. Mr. Srinivasan loved harmony and unity. To know

him was to love him. He was human to the core and a gentleman first to last. The outstanding qualities which would strike anyone about Mr. Srinivasan were his civility of temper, sweet affability and innate gentleness. One might accuse him of being right or wrong, but nobody could accuse him of taking sides with wrong. Mr. Srinivasan had been a staunch and consistent nationalist, never compromising on fundamental loyalty to the country. He had successfully steered the Press through "waters infested with several U-boats." Although he might not be President in the coming year the speaker was sure Mr. Srinivasan would be a guiding factor of the organisation which he has built, nourished and brought up to this position. (Cheers).

Mr. Brelvi associated himself whole-heartedly with the previous speakers and said that no tributes could be juster or greater than those paid. In 1940, the Press in India was confronted with a crisis such as had never before faced it, and for it the question was whether it should exist or not. The crisis called for a leader who would take the Press forward and in Mr. Srinivasan they found the leader. "He has led us on a path." Mr. Brelvi said, "which has shown to us that we shall be able to broaden the basis of our freedom as time goes on. I have no doubt that Mr. Srinivasan will be always with us to guide us and help us and we shall always have his co-operation."

The resolution was then adopted by the Conference unanimously.

Mr. Brelvi then garlanded Mr. Srinivasan amidst loud cheers.

Mr. Srinivasan, replying, said he was utterly overwhelmed by the generous tributes paid to him and his work. He felt too embarrassed to express in adequate terms what he felt on the occasion and he would therefore content himself with saying that he would strive his best to deserve them.

The Conference then adjourned for tea.

After an hour's adjournment the Conference met again for the evening session, Mr. Brelvi presiding. It appointed a Subjects Committee, consisting of 23 members to draft resolutions to be placed before the Conference. Nominations for the new Standing Committee were also called for. The Conference then adjourned.

## Resolutions—2nd. Day—Madras—11th. January 1944

### NEW STANDING COMMITTEE FORMED

The Conference resumed its sitting at 9-30 p.m. on the next day, the 11th. January, when the results of the election to the Standing Committee of the A. I. N. E. C. for 1944 were announced.

The following 21 members were declared elected to the Standing Committee; Mr. K. Srinivasan (*The Hindu*). Sir Francis Low (*Times of India*), Mr. Devadas Gandhi (*Hindustan Times*, New Delhi), Mr. J. N. Sahni (*National Call*, New Delhi), Mr. I. M. Stephens (*Statesman*, Calcutta), Mr. A. S. Bharathan (Associated Press of India), Mr. Tushar Kanti Ghosh (*A. B. Patrika*), Mr. Ramanath Goenka (*Indian Express*), Mr. D. Amritlal Sheth (*Janmabhoomi*, Bombay), Mr. Samaldas Gandhi (*Vandemataram*, Bombay), Mr. M. Harris (*Ajmal*, Bombay), Mr. C. R. Srinivasan (*Swadesamitram*), Mr. R. D. Maheswari (*Nav Bharat*, Nagpur), Mr. A. D. Mani (*Hitavada*, Nagpur), Mr. S. S. Vasani (*Ananda Vikatan*, Madras), Mr. H. R. Mohary (*Samyukta Karnataka*, Hubli), Mr. K. Punniiah (*Sind Observer*), Mr. K. Srinivasan (*Free Press Journal*, Bombay), Mr. B. Shiva Rao (*Sunday Hindu*, Madras), Mr. S. V. Swami (*Free Press*, Madras) and Mr. Vidyabaskar (*Aj*, Benares).

### PASSPORT FACILITIES FOR A. I. N. E. C. MEMBERS

The Conference passed two more resolutions before concluding its session.

The first resolution which was moved from the chair and passed read as follows: "This Conference requests the Government to provide passports and transport facilities to such members of the A. I. N. E. C. as may wish to visit England, America and other countries at their own expense at the present juncture with full liberty to meet people of their choice and to express their views freely."

### ECONOMIC CONDITION OF WORKING JOURNALISTS

Mr. J. N. Sahni moved and Mr. K. Srinivasan of Bombay supported the second resolution which ran as follows:

"This Conference directs the Standing Committee to appoint three members to confer with the proprietorial organisations and formulate proposals for the improvement of the economic condition of working journalists."

### MR. BRELVI'S APPEAL

Winding up the proceedings, Mr. S. A. Brelvi, the President, thanked the

delegates for the co-operation and spirit of accommodation they had shown which enabled him to conduct the proceedings smoothly and make the Conference a success. He hoped the same harmonious spirit would continue to mark the proceedings of the Conference in the months ahead, so that the organisation might grow from strength to strength. Referring to a remark by one of the delegates that the Conference was a war-time baby and that it might not survive it, Mr. Brelvi averred that it was not a war-time baby. The Conference was a fully representative gathering of the Press of India. In fact, there was no organisation in India which could claim a greater representative character than the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference. It belonged to no party and it was open to every newspaper in the country, irrespective of its editorial policy, to join the Conference. Mr. Brelvi appealed to such of the newspapers as had not yet joined the Conference to join it and thus make it stronger. The object of the Conference, as he had explained in the course of his presidential address, was to preserve the high traditions and standard of journalism in India. It would be the object of the Conference to secure to its members the right of expression of their views freely and fearlessly.

Mr. Brelvi thanked the Reception Committee for the elaborate arrangements it had made to make the Conference a success and to make the members' stay in Madras very comfortable.

Mr. Brelvi, in conclusion, thanked Mr. K. Srinivasan, the former President, for his help and guidance in conducting the proceedings.

Mr. C. R. Srinivasan, Editor of the *Swadesamitram*, then proposed a vote of thanks to the chair, which was carried unanimously.

Mr. J. N. Sahni (*National Call*) paid a tribute to South India which, he said, was the seat of journalism in this country and said that their visit to Madras was more in the nature of a pilgrimage. Recalling that the previous sessions of the Conference were held first at Delhi, right amidst the smell of melting lead and zinc, and secondly at Bombay in an atmosphere which reminded them of business and advertisements. Mr. Sahni said the third session of the Conference had aptly been held in the artistic Gemini Studios. He thanked Mr. S. S. Vasan on whose shoulders had fallen the brunt of making these elaborate arrangements.

Mr. Nirmal Ghosh and Mr. B. Sen Gupta, on behalf of the Bengal journalists, invited the next session of the Conference to Calcutta. Mr. Brelvi, the President, stated that the Standing Committee would bear in mind their invitation at the time of fixing up the venue for the next session.

The Conference then concluded.

## The All India Women's Conference

17th. Session—Bombay—7th. to 10th. April 1944.

### Proceedings of the Session

For the second time in its short life of 18 years the Annual Session of the All-India Women's Conference was held in Bombay. This Session was held after a gap of 2 years. Unfortunately, owing to the unsettled political condition of the country and the imprisonment of both President and President-elect no Session could be held in 1943. The enthusiasm with which this Session was received and acclaimed all over India proves without a doubt the hold the Women's Conference has on the hearts of women throughout the country and its influence and importance as a lead-giving organisation.

The arrangements made by the Reception Committee, the grandeur of the pandal and the abnormal crowds of visitors that attended all the four days' sessions did full justice to Bombay's reputation as the premier city of India. Not only was the material arrangements for the comfort of the delegates on a good scale but the whole spirit both intellectual and emotional of the Session was on a scale and of character not known hitherto. The delegates were in wonderful form, their arguments cogent. A spirit of go-aheadness pervaded the discussions. There were many new-comers. The younger section of educated women seemed to have woken to the potentialities of the Women's Conference and made a determined bid to utilise it to its fullest extent. The old system of Subjects' Committee and Plenary Session was reverted to as the Group System had been tried and found wanting.

A departure from the usual procedure was made in that, men of repute were invited during the Session to give their specialised views and findings on subjects involved in the resolutions, e.g. Dr. *Anjaria* spoke on "Food and Inflation," and Mr. *Motilal Setalvad*, one of the leaders of the Bombay Bar and an authority on Hindu Law, on "Hindu Women's Position under Hindu Law."

The Seventeenth Session will ever remain a historic one because of the address presented to *Srimati Sarojini Naidu*, the *Bulbul-i-Hind* by the A. I. W. C., the National Council of Women in India, the Bombay Presidency Women's Council, the Reception Committee, the Constituents Branches of the A. I. W. C., in Bombay and its Suburbs, and 75 other social service organisations belonging to the city of Bombay, for her life-long services to the cause of the country in general and women in particular. *Sarojini Devi* was buried twice over in garlands and the surge of emotion rose to an indescribable climax. The anti-climax lay in the fact that *Sarojini Devi* could reply to this overwhelming expression of love and affection only by a *Namaste*, the Government of India having sealed her lips in speech.

A Civic Reception was accorded by the Mayor and the Municipal Corporation of Bombay to welcome the President and the other members of the Standing Committee to the hospitable city of Bombay.

The Delegates who had come to Bombay prepared to rough things, having heard all about the rationing scheme and the food saving, were pleasurably surprised at the lavish arrangements of the Reception Committee. The At Homes and Dinners given by institutions and individuals and Her Highness *Maharani Bhakti Devi of Nepal's* Banquet also came as a welcome surprise, and also her magnificent donation of Rs. 20,000 towards the *Kasturba Memorial Fund*.

The artistic excellence of the Variety Entertainment and the Handicraft and Swadeshi Exhibition which have become customary features of every session, were in keeping with the general scheme of things, and the mammoth crowds of the public meeting of women organised by the *Dadar-Matunga* and *Parel* Constituent Branches filled the hearts of the delegates with envy.

Our sincerest thanks are due to *Lady Premli Thackersey*, the Chairwoman of the Reception Committee and her band of indefatigable Secretaries whose labours resulted in a smooth, successful and happy Session.

## Proceedings of the Session

The 17th Session of the Conference was held in a spacious pandal erected in the grounds of *Vanita Vishram*, *Sandhurst Road*, Bombay, on Friday, the April 7, 1944. The proceedings began with a prayer rendered by pupils of the School of Indian Music, after which *Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit*, the retiring President addressed the Conference.

Speaking in Hindi, *Mrs. Pandit* recalled that the Conference was meeting after two years, the last session having been held at *Cocanada* in 1941. In the period that had intervened between the last session and the present, many notable events had taken place all over the world. In India specially the last year had been tragic one and circumstances beyond the control of the Conference had come the way of its normal work. For many months some of our best workers had been in detention and it had not been possible to give effect to many of the resolutions passed at *Cocanada*. It is to our credit that throughout this difficult period members individually and collectively had kept the spirit of the Conference alive.

*Mrs. Pandit* expressed the opinion that reforms in the political, social and economic sphere were interdependent. While it was true that the main aim of the Conference was to raise Indian womanhood to its rightful place, they could not be blind to the political situation. If the Conference wished to progress rapidly towards its ideal it could not afford to keep out of politics—not the limited party politics of any group but those wider issues which face humanity. We must bring this wider political interest within our purview and attempt to solve our problems in the National interest rather in the limited circle of our own immediate needs. The world is engaged in a War for freedom and we cannot forget that our country consisting of one-fifth of the human race is also a part of the world. For the satisfactory solution of any of the difficulties that face us as a group or which face the country, freedom is the first essential and only then can we help towards the building up of a better world.

The women's movement in India has forged ahead with a rapidity which, if one understands the handicaps we have had to overcome, has been remarkable. The Indian woman reformer has not been the enemy of man—our men have helped

us in our fight for equality and the bitter antagonism which existed in the West between the sexes never found its way into our ranks. Our ancient tradition has been one of comradeship and we look forward in the future to its growth.

She was glad to state that the membership of the Conference was on the increase and that more and more women in the mofussil areas were beginning to realise the advantages of joining the women's movement. She hoped the time would soon come when hundreds of branches of the Conference would spring up all over the country.

The work of the Conference during the two years that had passed since the last session was mainly relief work for the sufferers in the calamities which had overtaken Midnapore and subsequently the whole of Bengal, and Bijapur District in Bombay Province. Workers of the Conference had not only collected funds but had rendered help in the distressed areas in every possible way. In this connection she referred to the All-India Save the Children Committee which had come into existence as a result of conditions of Bengal.

Mrs. Pandit referred to another tragedy which had cast a gloom in every Indian home *viz.* the death of Kasturba Gandhi who was the symbol of ideal Indian womanhood to thousands all over the country. She appealed to women to help in the collections for raising a suitable memorial, which it had been suggested, should take the form of an organisation for advancement of women's education, a subject with which the Conference was very much concerned.

Paying a tribute to Shrimati Kamaladevi, Mrs. Pandit observed that the Conference was fortunate in having her as their President for the year. She was one of the foundation members of the Conference and a valued worker. Her work for women both in India and abroad had done much to raise the prestige of Indian women. Mrs. Pandit was specially happy to hand over charge to a woman who was her comrade in another and bigger sphere. She felt that all she had left undone during her term as President would be more worthily accomplished by Kamaladevi who would guide the Conference with ability and courage.

#### Welcome Address

*Lady Premila Thackersey*, Chairwoman of the Reception Committee, welcoming the President and Delegates said: I wanted to deliver this address in Gujarati which is my mother tongue, but I chose Hindi because it is important I should speak in a language which delegates from other parts of the country can understand. There is no other language except Hindi for that purpose. If we all learn Hindi there will be no need for us to learn any other language.

After a lapse of fourteen years we have met again in Bombay. Bombay has not remained impervious to the many changes that have taken place during this period. Although it is not the capital of India, Bombay is undoubtedly the greatest City in India and it has always given the lead in the matter of helping the rest of India, and relieving distress wherever it occurs. Bombay has played an important part in the organisation of the Women's Conference. Although the Conference came into existence in 1926 its foundations were laid on a firm basis in 1930 at the session held in Bombay. Here I am reminded of late Lady Dorab Tata, the then President of the Reception Committee. Let me hope that the silver jubilee of the Conference will also be celebrated in Bombay. Last year we could not hold the Conference because of the political turmoil and the arrest of our national leaders. Even today we are meeting under the shadow of grief. The passing away of Kasturba, the greatest of our women, is a matter of profound sorrow to us. She was the embodiment of the virtues of Aryan womanhood and we all can draw inspiration from her.

Her death has caused a void in Gandhiji's life which cannot be filled. Even so it has caused a void in the life of our country. Indian women owe a great debt to Gandhiji for the progress and advance they have achieved.

The sad demise of Shri Ranjit Pandit is still fresh in our memory. Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, the President of our last Session and the soul of our Conference has made great sacrifices with Mr. Pandit for the awakening and freedom of our country. We all sympathise with Mrs. Pandit in her very sad bereavement.

We keenly feel the absence of Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, one of our closest friends and very sincere and active worker on account of her detention under the Defence of India Rules.

It is our fortune, Kamaladevi, that you are here to preside over this conference. In what terms shall I introduce you to the gathering? You are the embodiment of world womanhood. You have done the greatest service to your sisters in this country by the most favourable impression you have created abroad.

You have taken the keenest interest in our Conference. You were responsible for the opening of branches in different parts of the country. In recognition of your services the Conference elected you general secretary thrice. Now when vital problems face us you have assumed the presidentship of the Conference. You are clever, cultured, gifted and talented; you are a great organiser and you have great capacity for service. By participating in the International Women's Conferences at Berlin, Geneva, Prague and Elisnor as India's representative and very ably presenting our problems you did a great service to us and won us the esteem of outside world. You also dispelled many wrong notions about India that prevailed in other countries. I am confident that in the present critical juncture you will be able to lead us along the right path.

It is a great pleasure, we have in our midst today Mrs. Sarojini Naidu who has gone through a long period of detention and illness. She is not quite well as yet, and it is her great interest in our Conference that has brought her here today. Srimati Naidu, we welcome you from the core of our hearts. I am sure that the Conference by presenting an address to you will show its gratitude for all that you have done for us and the country. You have raised the status of Indian women as no other person has done, and your contribution to Indian culture is by no means small. Your presence here is a great inspiration to us all. You have brought lustre on Indian womanhood. May you be long spared to us.

There are many grave problems facing us today. The war of the great powers is still raging furiously, and it is exacting greater sacrifices from the people. Although we have no concern with the war we have been dragged into it. India has made great sacrifices both in men, money and material. We are experiencing great hardships in travelling and getting the daily necessities of life. No one appears to worry about the needs of the people; and there appears to be no prospect of any improvement in the situation. All round, we see distress and famine is stalking Bengal and other parts of the country. It is a matter of shame for our rulers that in a vast agricultural country like India there should be such famines. It is imperative that under such circumstances we should know what is our duty. I hope the Conference will give right and proper guidance in this matter.

I am aware that India is a vast country and there are numerous difficulties in our way. We are divided. There are provincial, linguistic and other differences which come in the way of our progress. But if we approach our task in the right spirit I am sure we can accomplish it. We have a great task awaiting us in the villages. Owing to certain difficulties we have not been able to give as much attention to this question as it deserves. The vast masses of village women are illiterate and ignorant. They are like frogs in the well. Their outlook on life needs to be liberalised and broadened. In this task we have a duty to perform. You have set up a committee to deal with this problem. But I think greater emphasis should be laid on this work than hitherto.

The Conference publishes a magazine "Roshni." Many people do not know anything about it, indeed they have not even heard its name, because it is in English. I trust that it will be published in Hindi.

As a result of the war many educated middle class girls and women have secured employment. It is necessary to utter a word of caution that in this going forward there would be no blind imitation, for such imitation would not help the promotion of culture. It is equally important that there is no neglect of the moral side of education. It goes without saying that strong morality and character are essential to success.

There are several women's organisations functioning in this country. I think that there should be a close co-ordination of their efforts. If they all worked in unity and under a single organisation and direction we could achieve better results.

Once again I extend on behalf of the Reception Committee a warm welcome to the Delegates and Visitors to the Conference. I hope you will excuse us for our shortcomings. Let us hope that by the time our next Session is held the war clouds will scatter away, and there will be harmony and peace in the world, and India will acquire its proper place in the world under the guidance of the apostle of peace, Mahatma Gandhi.

#### Visitors' Speeches

Mrs. Urmila Mehta, Hon. General Secretary, then read the report of the activities of the Conference for 1942-43, after which in accordance with the announcement of Shrimati Kamaladevi, visitors' speeches were delivered.

Mr. M. R. Masani, the Mayor : I would like at the outset to say that while

two days ago I had the pleasure of welcoming your President-elect and members of the Standing Committee to this city on behalf of the Municipal Corporation, now that I understand a large number of delegates has come in. I would like to convey to them as well the warm welcome which the citizens of Bombay would desire me to give them on this occasion. It is all the more pleasant to welcome you all because in a way this is the first time since August 1942 that we are having a gathering of this nature in the city. One cannot help looking back and being reminded of occasions of this sort in the past which are no longer permissible in these days in our country or in our city. You have brought added life to the city and raised the level of its consciousness, and in that sense your Conference has contributed to our civic life.

Having said that, I confess to an amount of bewilderment as to the capacity in which I and my distinguished fellow-citizens who are invited here today are before you. I can only surmise that our capacity is something approximating to that of fraternal delegates from a fortunately non-existent All-India Men's Conference. (Laughter). At the same time, the fact that the majority of the speakers on the opening day of the All-India Women's Conference should be men is one which cannot but appeal to the vanity of the mere male. I do hope it means an admission that even when you foregather, you cannot really do without us.

There are just one or two points made by the retiring President and the Annual Report of the General Secretary to which I would like to draw attention. The first point, which was made by Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, was that this is non-partisan organisation. That is a point which is well worth stressing, because I think that is the secret of the successful growth and development of the Conference. I think this Conference is bound to grow and become more and more powerful as a factor in our national life only to the extent that you can manage to retain that non-partisan character. We have seen unfortunately in the case of certain other organisations of this nature, whether they were of the workers, peasants or students, that they have all come to grief because of attempts in a certain quarter to permeate and capture those organisations for partisan ends. I do hope that your Conference will be able to survive any such attempts and repel them firmly and will keep its broad-based national character.

The other point is with reference to the Secretary's Report pertaining to the Abrama Training Camp. That Camp has set a very fine example of what your Conference can do to meet the growing demand for trained women workers of various kinds in our countryside. There is a growing need for doctors, teachers, nurses and technicians of every kind, including those in social services, as well as engineers, chemists and others. And that want has to be met. When one reads of a plan like the Fifteen Years Plan, what one is worried about is not where the money is going to come from, but where the men and women are to come from, because such a plan requires lakhs of trained technicians, both men and women, of various kinds. Today, those men and women simply do not exist in sufficient numbers in our country. For every doctor we have today, if we are to reach the United Kingdom's standards, we need at least 16 doctors. And for every nurse we have in this country, we need 320 nurses if we are to get anywhere near the British standard. There is such a terrific leeway to make up, and I do hope that you will follow the example you have set at Abrama and have camps throughout the country, in every province, and turn out a large number of women, trained in social and other sciences, so that when our country is free to embark on big plans of development, women will be there, to take up the work. I wish your session every success, and, apart from being useful, I hope you will find your stay in Bombay pleasant. (Cheers).

*Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai:* Madame President, Delegates to the All-India Women's Conference and Friends, I myself wonder as the last speaker has done as to the actual place I occupy when I am invited to attend the Conference. If I was asked to do so as a survival of those who used to hold what were euphemistically called social conferences at the end of every session of the Indian National Congress, then I wish to repel the suggestion. For I am one of those who feel that the progress of the nation, and particularly our own, no longer depends on the vicissitudes through which other countries passed in the experiments of halting nature which were their fate. We stand today in a very different world in every sense of the term. While there is the shadow of a world war, there is also the inspiration of a great example of the greatest experiment of a stupendous character in the application of freedom and equality to the relations of men and women and men and men in the world's history. It is that experiment which is the outstanding event of this

war, and of this world. And it is that experiment which is going now to be fore-runner of the work of reconstruction of society in the human world. For it is not by means of halting, individual measures that we are going to rejuvenate and revitalise this land, where no doubt in theory, in times gone by as was pointed out sometimes ago by the retiring President, there was an acceptance of the equality of men and women; then there was period of intervening darkness when women fell back, fell behind and fell into a state when the world began to look upon them with a certain amount of asfance. It is not therefore by retracing this step, but by entirely reorganising our life that the women of this country are going to lead the world. I feel if you look at the way in which the problem of women in India has during the last 25 years been tackled, I think it deserves a considerable amount of congratulation. For there never was what may be called a militant movement which speaks for the fact that there was never any resistance to the claim which they made. An equality in the sphere of life, an equality for the purpose of doing their duty, and service to mankind, an equality claimed as the result of works, is an equality which could in modern times be never resisted. It is not a mere matter of historical anachronism, but it is a case in which we felt that in this country we escaped the vicissitudes of militant womanhood in other lands, and for the simple reason that it proceeded in a manner which evoked not merely the enthusiasm, but the assistance of men whom you have invited here to address you. They feel that it is not by assisting you that they have done anything, but they realise that you have made your own progress unimpeded by men so far as this country is concerned. It is a silent and tacit recognition of a principle which the world learned after a great deal of time and trouble.

For that reason, I feel, standing before you today and looking back to your work for the last 17 years, it is a great pleasure to find that we stand where we stand today where no question can be raised. If you look at the history of the last three or four years in the matter of franchise, the other day counting it over I found that while in every country, even in the European world, there was the question whether franchise should be granted or not, we had a franchise of one in every ten women throughout the country. I do not see any reason why there should not be the adult franchise applicable to women as well as men. How they won the last elections is a matter of history and a matter of great satisfaction to me; it is a matter for great pride in the way in which they acquitted themselves so far as the organisation of the national life of this country is concerned.

I also wish to add a word about what was stated in regard to one of the matters in which the Conference holds a strong opinion. That is, with reference to the pending legislation, as regards the rights of women as they are called, I would prefer to call them the restitution of their actual position. Whether it is the matter of intestate succession, or whether it is the matter of marriage, the application of correct principles of life is an obligation and it is not a matter to be begged for. There are before the Assembly two bills, the Bill of Intestate Succession where ungrudgingly they have recognised the right of inheritance of the sisters along with their brothers in almost every sphere and every grade. There is also before the Assembly a Bill codifying the Hindu Law on the question of marriage. It deals with two types of marriages, the sacramental and the civil, but even in sacramental marriage, the principle of monogamy is sought to be obligatorily enforced. The principle, while it appears revolutionary, will restore that self-respect and dignity to man and woman which alone will place us in the position in which we wish to be placed before the world today.

There are other matters which will arise before the Conference, but so far as I am concerned, I feel that there should no more be any argument about principles. The world has seen, as I said, stupendous experimental success of the application of equality and freedom in all spheres of life and how it has vindicated itself in the vindication of freedom and democracy today. Let us now under the inspiring guidance of the application of this principle proceed so that our sisters will have no cause to say that Indian men did not assist in the restitution of their society, in the rehabilitation of their own life and in the reconstruction of the future which belongs to this land as much as any other. I thank you for the invitation.

*Mr. Justice M. C. Chagla* : Madam President, Ladies and Gentlemen, I have ceased to be a politician and I no longer understand politics. But without understanding politics I do realise that our country is at present passing through a period of frustration and disillusionment and I congratulate the All-India Women's Conference for not falling a victim to the prevailing atmosphere.



One has only to look at this gathering to realise how full of life and enthusiasm the All-India Women's Conference is. The one great appeal that this conference has for me is that it has created a platform where united womanhood can stand. Women of all communities, of all castes, and if I may say so of all races, from different parts of the country have come and sat on this platform, and as the previous speakers have pointed out the main feature of this conference is that it is a nationalist, non-partisan institution. If Indian men have failed to create such a platform, all the greater glory to Indian women. (Applause).

Ladies and gentlemen, I am sure that women of India do not claim any rights as women. The rights they claim are as human beings; they want to have the same rights as men have. The rights they claim are legal rights, civic rights and economic rights. They claim that they should have the same legal status in society as men have; they claim that they should have the same rights of citizenship as the men have; they claim that economically they should not be dependent upon the father or the husband, but should be independent economic units. I feel certain that there is no danger of the Indian Women's Conference constituting itself into a separatist body. For Heaven's sake, we do not want any more differences in our country and we do not want a sex war between men and women.

It is my profound conviction that social reform can only be achieved by women. Men are not sufficiently interested in social reform. They may be interested in the political freedom of the country; they may be interested in economic or industrial advancement; but so far as social reform is concerned it leaves them cold, because our present society is a man-made society; men have made the laws and have administered them and even if this world is in a mess it is a masculine mess. (Laughter). But it is time, ladies and gentlemen, that women redressed the balance of the old world. All that they claim is that the society of the future should be a society which must be made jointly by men and women. The laws which should govern society must be laws unitedly made by men and women and I do not think that claim is too highly placed.

Ladies and gentlemen, the previous speakers wondered what role exactly we speakers were supposed to play on this platform. I can offer an explanation. When Madam President instead of first delivering her presidential address asked us to speak I realised that we were to play, to use the language of the theatre, the part of curtain raisers and that we were to precede the going-up of the curtain for the presidential address. I shall be the last person to stand between the audience and the raising of the curtain. I am sure that during the term of office of your new President the conference will reach greater success.

*Mr. B. J. Wadia* : Madam President, Ladies and Gentlemen, on behalf of the University of Bombay I welcome the Women's Conference to the City of Bombay, and wish it every success.

I have a grievance; but it is not against the President for having changed the programme. My grievance is against the organisers of the programme, because when I asked what I was to speak on, I was told—'Nothing in particular; you can speak generally and say a few words.' (Laughter).

I shall therefore, say only a few words, and will stand aside for Madam President to go on with her speech. In this world, and at this particular moment, we are going through enormous changes. We take new views of the past, we entertain new views and ideas of the present, and we are making any number of plans for the future. So that we are entirely in a state of flux. In the West, especially in England, women had to fight long to attain the position which they have attained. They got the right to vote after many years. Having got the right to vote they also wanted a change in the rights to membership of property. The old adage of the law was 'husband and wife are one'; but the wife retorted: 'The husband is the one and not I.' They gradually got many changes made in their favour.

In India things have not yet attained that stage. In England women have attained the stage of absolute independence; but I do not comment it as ideal, that men should be independent of women and women should be independent of men. I would rather that there was interdependence between the two. Without the two combining, no progress will be possible.

I am sometimes told that education is making enormous progress in India. Judged from the larger number of students attending schools and colleges, that may be so, but the statement is not borne out by the figures of literacy in the country. In a country in which only 12 per cent of the population is literate the

progress of education cannot be said to be satisfactory. In cities like Bombay the number of girls attending colleges is on the increase, but in the villages, which is the real India, the progress of literacy is very slow indeed. I am looking forward to the time when this progress will become more rapid, and I am sure that you are all also looking forward to the same end. I am sure that with the removal of the dead hand of the past, and when the tyranny of custom, tradition, and superstition, is no more, our women will make greater progress in education, which will ultimately lead to their emancipation.

Some of you may have heard, if not studied, what is known as the Sargent scheme of education. It is a colossal scheme involving a colossal sum of money, and I for one am not so very optimistic as not to care where the money comes from. Undoubtedly, an army of men and women teachers will be required, and I am sure that amongst our educated men and women we shall find many able and willing to teach. The right to vote is important, but it is not everything. In countries like France, Switzerland, Syria and Egypt women have not got the vote. Everything does not depend on the vote. Much depends on the social position of the women. In China they say the wife rules the husband. I do not know how far it is true, but I read somewhere that there is no country where there are more henpecked husbands than in China. (Laughter). What is really required is that the position of women should be equalised, and for that purpose we welcome the different reforms relating to position of inheritance, divorce and various other matters. I especially look forward to the amelioration of the position of widows because I cannot forget the words of Swami Vivekanand when he said : 'I shall have no respect for any religion in the world, which does not wipe a widow's tears nor bring a morsel of food to an orphan's mouth'. This was his great ideal. That is the ideal which we in India must look forward to.

Food has become a great problem in India, and when we think of the work done by women in the Bengal and Bijapur crisis, we men will never grudge the extent done to the women for the great part they have played in this humanitarian work. I am sure we shall soon have many more workers amongst us and when we shall have the real emancipation of women, men and women will become inter-dependent. It is a truism that no country can advance unless its women, the mothers of future generations, advance. We are all looking forward to a large increase in educational activity. I do not believe in, what they used to call in former times blue-stockings, nor do I believe in what they now call the highbrows ; but there is a tendency amongst our women graduates nowadays to ride the high horse, specially when they get higher honours in the University examinations than some of our boys do. I have no respect for highbrows, but I look forward to women who will not only give us the educators of the future, but above all who will produce the servants who will serve in millions upon millions of Indian homes in the village where their work is most necessary. Madam President, I wish your conference great success, and I thank you for the great honour you have done me by asking me to address it this evening.

*Sir Sitaram Patkar :* Shrimati Kamaladevi, Mrs. Pandit, Lady Thackersey, Delegates, ladies and gentlemen, I have no complaint to make why I have been asked to speak on this occasion, nor why I have been asked to speak before the President has delivered her address. I am only anxious that I should not detain you and delay your hearing the Presidential address. I shall, therefore, try to make my observations as brief as possible.

During the last quarter of a century the Women's Conference has done great service to the country. They have brought to bear considerable influence upon the consideration of many political and social questions affecting the country. They have also been a source, a spring of popular imagination and popular ideas. Women's associations have done great service for the political rejuvenation of the country.

The only question to which I shall now address myself is in regard to the social and legal status of Hindu women. Their rights and liberties have been curtailed on account of archaic rules of Hindu Law which were framed centuries ago. They are inelastic, wooden, and antediluvian. They have no relation to and are not in consonance with the present environments of society.

There are two forces which militate against the progress of Indian womanhood. The first is the pursuit of out-of-date customs and the tendency to maintain inherited traditions, and the second is the preservation of archaic laws by judicial decisions. The remedy against the first is education of public opinion by means of the press, the public platform, and by meetings like this. But with regard to

the laws of inheritance or laws of marriage they have become quite fixed and static as the result of rulings given by final judicial decisions, and these rulings are now in force throughout the whole country. The only remedy against the mischief caused by the preservation of archaic laws by judicial decisions is through legislation. I will give one instance of how the ancient texts were framed and how the Vedic texts were misapplied. There was a Vedic text which related to the prohibition of participation of *Soma* juice by women on account of their weaknesses and it was misapplied by Bodhayana who laid down on the strength of the text that women were not entitled to any portion of the inheritance. Manu, another lawgiver, came to the conclusion that women were incompetent and, therefore, not entitled to get any share in the inheritance. I have reason to believe that if Manu and Bodhayana were present at this gathering they would have modified their opinions as regards weakness and incompetence of women, I am quite sure that the force of public opinion generated by women's associations will be instrumental in withstanding the opposition which is prevalent in some parts of the country. Already the efforts of women's associations have borne fruit. In the past they have been responsible for shaping legislation, and I have no doubt that in the near future they will succeed in attaining the ideals which they have in view.

It is a matter of satisfaction that the Rau Committee was appointed. Its re-appointment was the direct result of the agitation carried on by the Women's Conference. Another instance in which women successfully carried on agitation in the Bombay Legislative Assembly was Mr. Desai's Bill of Adoption which had to be given up on account of their opposition. The Women's Conference and the associations affiliated to it have been doing immense service to Indian womanhood.

The Rau Committee has fortunately now submitted their well-considered views in the two Bills, one relating to intestate succession and the other to marriage. The criterion of the civilization and culture of any society is to be judged from the position accorded to the woman by that society, and I think the Rau Committee has done a great service to Indian womanhood by providing rules of inheritance and marriage which are in consonance with justice and equity. In the civil form and also in the case of the sacramental form of marriage it has been provided that monogamy shall be the rule. In the case of inheritance the Rau Committee has recommended that the daughter should get a share simultaneously with the son.

In the past women's organisations have done great service in the cause of education, but this work is more urgently needed in the rural areas than in the urban areas. I should like, therefore, to suggest to members of this conference that they should extend their activities to rural areas, where much work remains to be done. They should also consider Mr. Sargent's scheme of education so far as it affects women.

In conclusion, I would appeal to the members of the conference to go on agitating till they secure equality of status and equality of opportunity in the competition of life, and equality of rights and obligations, which are the guiding principles in determining the status of woman which in its turn is the true index of the civilization and culture of any society.

*Shrimati Kamaladevi* then read her Presidential address.

#### Presidential Address

Friends, I should like at the outset to offer our sincerest sympathies to *Shrimati Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit*, our retiring President, in the irreparable loss she has sustained, and send our greetings to *Mrs. Margaret Cousins*, who may be justly called the founder of this Conference, now lying on her sick bed, to wish her a speedy recovery.

Although the women's movement has fairly advanced and matured, I feel the need today more than ever to restate its case, because of the continued misunderstanding of its nature and growth by a large number of men and quite a few women alike. The women's movement is essentially a social movement and part of the process of enabling a constituent part of society to adjust itself to the constantly changing social and economic conditions, and trying to influence those changes and conditions with a view to minimising irritations and conflicts and making for the largest measure of harmony. Thus it operates as an integral part of the progressive social structure in the broadest sense, and is not a sex war as so many mechanically believe or are led to believe. For the issues round which it revolves, such as right of votes, inheritance, entry into professions and the like, are an intrinsic part of the bigger issues striving to overcome the prevailing undemocratic practices that

deny common rights to certain sections of society. It is therefore a comrade to the struggle of the backward castes and the long oppressed classes seeking alike to regain the lost inheritance of man's inalienable rights. To give it any other interpretation or shear it off to isolate it from the main current, is socially injurious. It is equally erroneous to hold the "nature of man" responsible for women's disabilities and give the women's movement an anti-man twist. It is the nature of our society which is at fault and our drive has to be directed against faulty social institutions.

The women's movement, therefore, does not seek to make women either fight men or imitate them. It rather seeks to instil into them a consciousness of their own faculties and functions and create a respect for those of the other sex. Thus alone can society be conditioned to accept the two as equals. To fit women theoretically and practically into this scheme, women have to be encouraged to develop their gifts and talents. This has, therefore to be one of the main planks of the movement.

Closely allied to false conception of the women's movement is also the false value allotted to the women's economic worth. The correct premise to start from is the recognition of the social division of labour between the sexes, which gives the lie direct to the middle and upper class conception of women as domestic and social parasites, living off their husbands and contributing nothing. Woman power is basic and the woman must be recognised as a social and economic factor on her own, not as an assistant to man. Little recognised are the tremendous labours of the housewife and even in the most highly industrialised countries, house-keeping still remains the major industry, and the housewives still form the majority. To state blandly that woman produces children and rears them, cooks food, cleans, washes, is not enough. According to industrial economy she produces labour power, and labour power is basic, for, without it none of the other kinds of power can be made to operate. But that too is not good enough. The housewife is as much of a working woman as a factory worker. She expends more energy and time and skill in the production of commodities than the unionised, legally protected worker, for her hours are unlimited and her tools countless. Tradition has always tended to place a lower value on the home production and services. One reason may be because such goods and services do not come on the market but only cater to the family group as consumers. Yet, really speaking, this very fact should make them as one writer says "Priceless." For, since society depends upon the family not only for biological perpetuation but cultural as well, woman as the guardian of the home and one of its stabilising factors, will also continue to remain "Priceless." The tragedy is that its very non-pecuniary and noncompetitive character has lowered the prestige of the woman's role. Husbands who claim they "support" their wives simply because the latter do not bring home a pay cheque, are being anti-social, upsetting the harmonious social equilibrium and breaking social solidarity. For it is time society recognised that every housewife supports herself though she may not scratch at a desk or run a machine, by the social labour she performs and the contribution she makes towards the maintenance of the home and its happiness.

The entrance of women into extra-domestic activities has to be welcomed, for it provides a wider field for the women's talents, breaks the relative segregation of the women as a sex, relaxes the restrictions that otherwise narrow women's functions. What is strange is that as long as woman confines herself to her domestic duties, she is censured as a burden on man, whereas if she tries to earn a livelihood outside the home, she is equally condemned as a competitor of man, trying to take his livelihood away from him. Truly did Robert Ingersoll say that a fact will fit all other facts, but a lie will fit nothing except another lie made expressly for that purpose. Correctly viewed and rightly interpreted, the women's movement is found resting on a scientific basis, shaped by a rational ideology and indispensable in the social scheme of things.

The field of operations that lie before the Conference is ever-widening. Many varied activities beckon and the temptation to rush in all directions is great. But like an autumnal matron who has developed a high sense of discrimination but not lost her youthful vigour and enthusiasm, the Conference would do well to concentrate on a few items and do them well. First in importance I would place the training of social services, so eminently needed yet so grievously neglected. It had been my privilege to have my modest little experiment in this field accepted by the Conference. The ready response and co-operation it received from other organisations, workers and the public heartens me once again to appeal to the

provincial branches of the Conference to make this one of the chief programmes of work for the year, with any necessary modifications in the original scheme. Closely allied to this is the necessity for training women in handicrafts and fostering hand industries. Those of our branches who are already working in this direction, one of them even turning out paper, will testify to the utility of such ventures. They will provide a means of livelihood to many helpless women. Incidentally, they will add to the industrial production of our country at a time when it is not able to meet our needs. Every Branch should initiate whatever industries can run best. In such undertakings, I am sure, we can always count on the help and co-operation of other experienced bodies who are already in the field but who do not attempt, specially, to train and employ women, a task this Conference is best fitted for.

As essential and as scarce are the health-services, particularly nursing. A rough set of figures say, there is one Nurse for every 56,000 people or to 256 square miles. The Health visitors are about one per 3,50,000. The maternity and child welfare movement is mostly a week-end show and the entire country can boast of only 800 centres to cater to such a vast area and population. All this makes an appalling picture. While admitting that the Women's Conference is not the body which can build up a complete health service to meet the country's requirements, I feel sure it can make a small but appreciable contribution. It can recruit women to the nursing profession, encourage many more girls to take courses in public health, nursing, first aid, industrial hygiene, etc., and also get more of such courses introduced into our educational and social institutions. It can help to organise shorter courses in the general principles of nursing to meet the present emergency in the country. At the same time it should agitate to raise the standard of housing allowance, training and pay of the nursing staff, with a view to popularise and secure social recognition to this long despised but most noble of professions. The Conference can also organise relief units out of the available material and co-operate with such bodies as the Women's Reserve Medical Unit formed by the medical women in Delhi, which did such excellent service in Bengal. Such work deserves our warmest commendation and I can only hope that this worthy example will be followed by other provinces in distress. The Branches and Sub-Branches can certainly dot the country with numerous maternity and child welfare centres, creches, etc.

Although the food problem is the most frightening at the moment and tends to overshadow most others, its causes are beyond the Conference's power to remedy. As long as India's economy continues to be throttled and perverted by foreign interests, hunger and starvation must stalk this land of plenty. Only a careful development of its vast untapped wealth based on an economy designed to meet the needs of the people by a free Indian people's government, can aspire to overcome this dreadful scourge of perpetual famines. But that cannot by any means be our final word on it. As women happen to be the regulators of food in the home they should be more sensitive now than ever to the care and preservation of food, avoid waste in daily consumption as also in lavish hospitality which in the present setting strikes one as painfully incongruous. Working out of balanced diets with the limited things available would also help. The worst sufferers in this tragic drama are the children. In very responsible society they have the first claim on the available resources, particularly milk. But today in our country the man who pays the price gets the milk. So, while adults who are not wholly dependent on this article are able to get large supplies and sometimes even thoughtlessly waste it, children who solely subsist on it are forced to go without it if they do not have sufficient means. Ways and methods must be sought by us to alter this and see that our children, which in reality means several future generations to come, are not hopelessly undermined. We shall be guilty of a grave crime if we do not get this righted immediately.

In catering to the daily needs of the mere man we too often grossly neglect the cultural side, the delicate creations in word, song and colour in which the dreams of mankind find expression. The Conference must realise its responsibility in fostering creative work. It can encourage women artists and introduce them to the public. It can place their writings with publishers, articles with editors, it can organise concerts and exhibitions and help playwrights produce their plays. This would help release floods of creative streams and direct them into useful channels, thereby enriching the cultural wealth of our country, a wealth which can only be measured by the happiness it brings to them that give and them that receive.

Two happenings affecting women have considerably agitated the public

mind :—the re-employment of women in mines and the Bills emerging from the deliberations of the Rau Committee, now before the Central Assembly. The former, an act perpetrated in violation of an International agreement and intense national feeling, has raised such a storm of protest both in India and abroad as to bear ample testimony to its unpopularity. The Government arguments that no compulsion is applied and that wages have been increased, have no reality. Poverty drives people to any risks. The very fact that three annas a day is paid for surface work as against eight annas underground is explanation enough. The wage even after this grand increase is about Rs. 15, while the average in other industries in the neighbourhood is around Rs. 25 to 30. In addition, the general conditions are very bad, housing deplorable and inadequate. Although the agitation against this measure has been considerable, it has not been effective, and none of us can rest while it continues. The Women's Conference, if it is to prove an effective instrument for safeguarding women's interests, must get women out of the mines as speedily as possible.

All progressive elements in India have long dreamed of the establishment of a common national legal Code, operating irrespective of caste or creed. It is as a step towards this that we welcome the codification of the Hindu Law undertaken by the Rau Committee, and not as an end in itself. I hope this attempt will fructify in the near future and give us the entire codification as a complete picture instead of in bits and pieces which so easily lend themselves to distortion when isolated from the whole. The Conference has supported the Intestate Succession Bill in spite of its inadequate nature, because it seeks to give recognition to the principle of women's right. It is regrettable that in the Marriage Bill the barriers of caste and *gotra* which have lost most of their significance in modern society, have not been overcome. The clause on monogamy is welcome though it would not serve the purpose without certain other changes which are envisaged. The Women's Conference, along with other liberal sections of society has always stood for the institution of marriage. The strong allegiance of women to this institution hardly needs reiteration, for it is proverbial. Instinctively in their own interest and in the interest of social stability so deeply ingrained in them, they will always strive to keep this intact. But all societies including the Hindu, have recognised the need for modification, in its legal attitudes. Laws have had to change from time to time under changing conditions. Those who seek a relaxation in a rigid marriage law or a law that makes differences between the sexes in dispensing justice, do not do so on flimsy grounds but on a deep respect for and understanding of the function of law which is to enable harmonious living. Where it becomes a social injustice, the need for an adjustment has to be recognised by society as imperative.

Some mental and verbal agitation has been afoot over the political nature of the Women's Conference. To a subject people politics is its very lifebreath. To deny that urge is to deny life. Weighed down though we may be by chains, we continue to live on dreams and thoughts of freedom and a striving towards it. To formulate political sensitiveness into an accusation, is to charge the organisation for being alive. The Women's Conference cannot remain impervious to natural inner urges and cataclysmic outer events. The members of the Conference may have different political affiliations, but I have no doubt they represent an effort to reach the same cherished goal of national freedom by varied paths. To lose sight of that goal would mean the negation of the very objective this great organisation stands for : self-respect and social solidarity. But it is in the very nature of its role and function that it should remain non-partisan, unattached to any political school or party. It has been our pride in the past to maintain that and it shall be our duty in the future to preserve it. Those who think and act otherwise, I have no hesitation in saying most emphatically, are no friends of the Conference.

Our peninsular outline has widened into the global, with an increasing awareness that we and the rest of the world are but part of a single sphere, that our destinies are inevitably linked, our paths interlooked. Therefore, world policies and events are as much our concern as our affairs, their responsibilities. War as much as peace reveals that the world cannot be divided into islands of freedom and slavery, that the present system of one people holding another down by armed might, no matter with what smooth explanations, leads ultimately to world enslavement by fear and violence, and to colossal human, material and moral destruction. Just as national freedom is but an extension of the social freedom, the Conference is fighting for, the establishment of the same principle all the world over is of equal interest to us. Until this present system is not only outlawed in principle

but abolished in practice, all talk of peace and freedom becomes transitory and meaningless. For peace is not to be achieved by armed victories or by refusing to bear arms, but by the removal of the root causes: imperialism and colonial exploitation that menace peace. Today we witness the fantastic spectacle of big world powers claiming to fight for the larger freedom and greater happiness of mankind feeling no sense of shame or humiliation in denying those very principles to millions of the people they still continue to exploit and dominate. It is not idle curiosity or cheap sentiment which shapes the question that haunts and harasses every diplomat like a family ghost: "What about India?" We may well say "Everything," for while England continues to hold India in political and economic bondage, the United Nations do nothing short of perpetrating a colossal lie on humanity. India is more than a test, it is a symbol. It is the mirror in which the world sees the shape of things to be. Today we are witnessing the fantastic spectacle of two warring groups, each assiduously claiming to fight for the larger freedom and greater happiness of mankind. It is towards a world which recognises the right of every nation to determine and rule its own destiny but in a co-operative world order, that the women of India and of the world have to strive for, if humanity is ever to enjoy decency, peace and happiness, and world wars banished from amongst our seasonal pests.

Before closing, I should like to send my thoughts to those millions all over the world whose homes have been gripped by the plight of death and destruction, and whose spirits lacerated by untold suffering, and offer them sincerest sympathies. In particular, my thoughts turn to the distressed areas within our own homeland and I take this opportunity to pay my humble tribute to the various organisations, volunteer corps and individuals who are so selflessly serving to alleviate suffering. I should like particularly to congratulate our Bengal Branch for its splendid work in this terrible distress.

The air is heavy with gloom, the sky rent with cries of pain. Civil liberties, one of the main planks of the Conference, are under perpetual assault. Shadows of suspicion and insincerity deepen and lengthen blacking out those neon lights mankind had succeeded in lighting through the ages, a growing disregard for the common Courtesies and human decencies and a ruthless flouting of popular feeling make a mockery of life. The continued detention of our valued and irreplaceable leaders and comrades who alone at the helm could transform the scene from despair to hope and weave order out of chaos, often dulls our spirit and stays our hand. But this very tragedy should in truth, galvanize us into greater and mightier action, for our responsibility becomes doubly great. There are some who turn to post-war reconstruction as an escape from the terrors of the present. Others believe that in large scale industrialisation lies the cure. Those who have faith in these patent pills have only to glance at some of the highly industrialised countries to note the havoc wrought out of priceless natural resources and marvellous technical opportunities. Hunger, unemployment, slums, human degradation, all bear eloquent testimony to this tragedy. It is not enough to produce more. It is more important to determine its basis, and the principles that will guide the distribution, in short, who controls and directs the economy. We cannot surely subscribe to a system in which many produce but few enjoy the benefit, in which artificial scarcity is created by arbitrarily denying men the right to produce, and destroying natural wealth. Women can have real freedom only in a society which will uphold the sanctity of life and the dignity of labour, a society which will give every child the fullest opportunities for development, enforce and practise those fundamental economic and social rights that entitle every individual to a decent life, the fruits of his or her labour, and the benefits of science and culture. To achieve this the Women's Conference should ally itself with all the progressive forces in the country and develop a vital identity with other oppressed sections of the society to pull its full weight on the side of progress in order to overcome reaction. Thus alone can it meet the present challenge and play an accredited role in the national regeneration of the country.

### Resolutions Passed at the 17th. Session

#### Condolence Resolutions:

1. This meeting of the All-India Women's Conference records its deep sense of sorrow at the untimely death of Mr. R. S. Pandit and offers its heartfelt condolences to Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit in her sad bereavement.
2. This meeting of the A.-I. W. C. puts on record its deep sense of sorrow at the tragic death of Kasturba Gandhi while in detention and expresses its



sympathy with Mahatma Gandhi and other members of the family in their sad bereavement.

3. This Conference deeply mourns the death of Begum Azad and conveys its heartfelt sympathy to Moulana Abul Kalam Azad.

4. This Conference mourns the untimely death of Shriman Mahadeo Desai and conveys its sympathy to his family.

5. This Conference places on record its deep sorrow at the death of Shrimati Shyamalabai Belgaumkar, the Branch Representative of Karnatak.

6. This Conference is deeply grieved at the death of Mr. V. M. Joshi, Principal of the Women's College of the Indian Women's University at Poona.

7. This Conference deeply regrets the death of Sjt. Ramanand Chatterjee, Editor of *Modern Review* and *Pravasi* and conveys its sympathy to his family.

#### Children's Homes

This Conference congratulates the Bengal Branches of the A.-I.W.C. on the excellent relief work they have undertaken in opening milk centres for starving children and homes for destitute children. This Conference records its very great appreciation of Shrimati Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit and Mrs. Urmila Mehta's admirable work in personally visiting villages affected by famine, the result of which has been the formation of the All-India Save the Children Committee.

#### Recommendations of the Central Advisory Board of Education

This Conference welcomes the Report of the Central Advisory Board of Education on Post-war Educational Development as an effort towards universal and compulsory education, and authorises the appointment of a Representative Committee to submit within a specified time, the considered views and recommendations for presentation before the next meeting of the Standing Committee.

#### Social Science and Adult Education

This Conference recommends that the study of social sciences be introduced in all stages of Education, with particular emphasis of practical work.

Bearing in mind the need for spread of adult education and literacy and other social service activities this Conference calls upon the higher educational institutions to define a scheme, whereby it will be incumbent on students to serve a period in one of the recognised social activities before they are qualified to receive a certificate, Diploma or a degree.

#### Hindustan Scouts

This conference is of the opinion that the Hindustan Scout Movement should be encouraged and special attempts be made to popularise its women's section.

#### Traffic in Women and Children

The grave economic distress in famine areas has raised a special problem with regard to traffic in women and children. Advantage is being taken of the helplessness of women destitutes, who are being enticed away for immoral purposes. This Conference emphatically condemns such exploitation and urges

(a) that exemplary punishment be meted out to the culprits by official authorities, and

(b) that recognised organisations take immediate steps for the protection and re-habilitation of such women, and Government by legislative and executive action safeguard their interests.

#### Baroda Marriage

This Conference strongly condemns the action of the Maharaja of Baroda in violating the law of monogamy in force in his State and deplores the action as definitely detrimental to the progress of Society in India.

#### Shariat Bill

This meeting of the All-India Women's Conference supports the Shariat Bill introduced by Baji Rashida Latiff in the Punjab Legislative Assembly.

#### Women in Labour Organisations

This Meeting of the All-India Women's Conference is of opinion that all efforts should be made to co-operate with other organisation, including Trade Unions, to help women workers to obtain their maternity benefits without fear of dismissal.

It further resolves that the Indian Factories Act may be amended to include the following provisions :

(a) Proper house equipped with separate water taps and bathing taps and latrines for women.



(b) High stools in those departments of factories in which women are made to labour for long hours in a standing position.

#### Health Insurance

In view of the extremely inadequate provision which exists for medical aid in India, this Conference urges upon the Government to take effective steps that medical help is made available for every citizen of this country by a scheme of compulsory health insurance.

#### Women in Mines

The All-India Women's Conference condemns the action of the Government of India in withdrawing by a notification the prohibition on women to work underground in the coal mines in India, as a retrograde and reprehensible step, infringing a convention of the International Labour Organisation. No circumstances justify the employment of women underground, and hence the Conference urges upon the Government to restore the same immediately.

#### Hindu Law

(a) This Conference welcomes the re-appointment of the Hindu Law Committee and hopes that, as soon as the entire Code has been completed, it will be enacted into law. The Conference, however, regrets the exclusion of Diwan Bahadur V. V. Joshi from the Committee, who is a well-known champion of women's rights.

(b) This Conference notes with satisfaction that the Marriage Bill was referred to a Joint Select Committee without a division. But it feels that there should be some provision for the dissolution of marriage under specific conditions. They therefore, draw the attention of the Hindu Law Committee to the urgent need of incorporating such provision in the final draft of the Code as a whole.

(c) While re-affirming the claim for equal rights for both men and women, this Conference supports the Intestate Succession Bill as originally introduced into the legislature and deplores the changes suggested by the Select Committee in regard to the addition of simultaneous heirs, as this has resulted in the dilatory tactics of re-circulating the Bill.

#### Civil Liberties

This Conference reiterates the resolution on Civil Liberties passed at the 16th Session of the All-India Women's Conference at Cocanada, and records its emphatic protest against the continued attempt to curtail the fundamental rights of the Indian people, in particular those of personal security and free speech. The Conference demands :

(a) The immediate and unconditional release of all citizens who have been detained in jail without charge or trial, and

(b) The cancellation of the arbitrary and high-handed order on Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and others forbidding them to make any public speech or statement.

#### Franchise in Municipalities in Punjab

This Conference reaffirms the principle of equality as between men and women in the right of exercising the vote and, therefore, strongly condemns the action of the Punjab Government in depriving women of the franchise in the coming Municipal Corporation elections. It urges the immediate withdrawal of this retrogressive step.

#### Atrocities on Women

This Conference records its deep resentment at Government's attitude to the atrocities committed on women at Chimur, Midnapore and elsewhere, and, believing that such atrocities still occur in various parts of the country, hopes that information of specific cases will be supplied by public spirited citizens to the Conference authorities.

#### Medical Relief

The All-India Women's Conference welcomes Dr. B. C. Roy's efforts to unite all Medical Relief Work in Bengal under the banner of the Medical Relief Co-ordination Committee and extends its whole-hearted support to this patriotic endeavour.

#### Representative Government

This Conference, realising that the gravity of the present crisis in the country is the result largely of the political impasse and the lack of public confidence in the present administration, is firmly of the opinion that the only effective solution of the problem is the formation of representative government responsible to the people.

#### Food Resolution

This Conference views with the utmost alarm the food situation in Bengal, Orissa and elsewhere and emphatically condemns the wholly unsatisfactory handling

of the situation by the authorities concerned. It firmly believes that continued lack of planning by the Central and Provincial Governments, their failure to prevent inflation and hoarding by large stockists, and to tap India's vast resources, and their inability to secure and distribute stocks are contributory factors.

Whilst affirming that the only adequate solution lies in the hands of a representative Government responsible to the people, it is of opinion that the present distress can to some extent be mitigated in co-operation with popular food committees by the following measures :—

(a) The stoppage of depletion of rural areas to feed cities.

(b) The feeding of cities directly by Government through imports and surpluses.

(c) Uniform policy of control and rationing of the necessities of life at prices commensurate with the economic conditions of the people.

(d) Drastic steps to stop the prevailing wide-spread corruption and unscrupulous handling whether by Government or officials, particularly in rural areas.

(e) A more developed and practical form of the 'Grow More Food' campaign, with subsidies to cultivators to grow more food grains in preference to more paying commercial products.

(f) Arrangements and priority for the supply of adequate milk for children and invalids.

(g) The prevention of export of food-grains in the period of the food crisis.

(h) The discontinuation of the denial policy which is prevalent in Bihar and elsewhere.

## The All India Jat Mahasabha

Annual Session—Lyallpur—8th. April 1944

### Presidential Address

A reply to the criticism levelled against the Jat Mahasabha by Mr. *Jinnah* in his recent speeches at Lahore, was given by *Sir Chhotu Ram*, Revenue Minister, Punjab, addressing the annual session of the All-India Jat Mahasabha at Lyallpur on the 8th. April 1944.

*Sir Chhotu Ram* said that the primary object of the Jat Mahasabha was to work for the economic, educational and social uplift of the Jats and its members had complete freedom to join any political organisation in their individual capacity. They would not interfere in the communal organisation of any community, but the Jat Mahasabha platform could not be utilised either to support or oppose any of the different political ideals. The Jats could not agree to be the slaves of Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs or Christians nor could they be used as a mere herd of cattle.

*Sir Chhotu Ram* went on to explain that they would be concerned with politics only to the extent of securing a suitable share for the Jats in the political rights granted under the constitution to various religious communities. Concluding, *Sir Chhotu Ram* said that ninety per cent of their programme related to the economic, social and educational welfare of the arts, and if, in spite of all this, some one unnecessarily gave them trouble, they would be forced to take up the challenge. They understood very well the score of religion and had full respect for it but they would not allow anybody to misuse the religion.

*Khan Bahadur Mohd Hussain* (M.L.A.), in the course of his presidential address, referred to the war effort of the Jat community and appealed to them to accelerate their recruitment to the army for the defence of their country.

### Resolutions—2nd. Day—Lyallpur—9th. April 1944

A resolution expressing implicit confidence in the leadership of *Choudhri Sir Chhoturam*, Revenue Minister, Punjab, and approving of his political and economic policy and programme, was unanimously passed at the Conference, which concluded its two-day session in Lyallpur on the next day, the 9th. April 1944.

*Khan Bahadur Pir Mohammad*, who claimed to be a staunch Muslim Leaguer, paid tributes to *Choudhri Sir Chhoturam* who, he said, had created a great awakening among the Jats. He condemned the agitation launched by a section of the Muslims against the Jat movement. Mr. *Jinnah* had been misled by some

persons, and had been persuaded to launch his tirade against Sir Chhoturam and the Jat movement. He was sure that when Mr. Jinnah came to the Punjab next time he would realise his mistake.

The Conference by another resolution greatly appreciated the Government of India's "good sense in meeting the cultivators' point of view, to a substantial extent, in fixing the control prices of food grains" and fixing simultaneously a minimum price also.

The Conference passed resolutions urging the Jats to accelerate their recruitment in the army and urged the Government of India to set aside at least 150 crores of rupees and distribute the amount among various provinces in proportion to their contribution to the ranks of the country's fighting forces to be spent for the benefit of Indian soldiers on the termination of the war. The Conference demanded the reservation of a reasonable share in the services for martial and agricultural classes.

Sir Chhoturam, in his concluding address, said that he had learnt that "fatwas" had been obtained from *Maulvis* enjoining upon Muslims not to join the Conference as it was being held to harm their community and declared that the Conference had not been convened to injure the interests of any community.

## The Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce

Annual Session—New Delhi—4th. March 1944

### Presidential Address

The Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce began its annual meeting at New Delhi on the 4th. March 1944 with *Kumararaja Sir Muthiah Chettiar* in the chair.

Before delivering the presidential address, the Kumararaja made a reference to the death of Mrs. *Gandhi*. Paying a tribute to her, he said she was the embodiment of Indian womanhood and that her memory would always be held in respect for generations to come. He moved a resolution of condolence which was passed, the audience standing.

Delivering the Presidential address Sir Muthiah Chettiar referred at the outset to the favourable turn the war was taking on the different theatres and said with regard to the political situation in India that "the Indian Commercial community has always held the view, that the political advancement of the country has much to do with its economic prosperity. Our commercial organisations, although they may eschew active politics cannot afford to remain absolutely impervious to the march of events connected with Indian freedom. We have as patriotic Indians to assist in all legitimate and constitutional efforts that aim at the political progress of the country. No one can deny that a calm political atmosphere is an indispensable condition for a totalitarian war. That our country should have been denied this atmosphere is indeed a tragedy. Opinions may differ as to who or what may be responsible for the position. A discussion of the blame to be apportioned does not at this stage serve any useful purpose, and I need but stress here, that it is the duty of everyone to do all that lies in his power to end the present state of affairs."

"Almost every political party and leader has demanded the release of the political leaders who are now kept in detention. Whatever might have been the justification for detaining these leaders, I feel the time has come for the Government to release them. They should not be kept in such detention for a moment longer than is necessary. Personally, I do not think that their release would embarrass war efforts, and I am afraid it must have come as a great disappointment to many in the country when *Lord Wavell* declared in the Assembly the Government's decision not to release political leaders. There is however, hope in his assurance that the conclusions he has now come to may not be regarded as final. Everyone hopes that with the release of these political leaders it may be possible to form a more representative and National Government in India, both at the Centre and in the Provinces."

### NATIONAL GOVERNMENT ESSENTIAL

"When I say a representative and National Government, I mean a Government composed of representative leaders of all important political groups and

interests, and not of any one political party, however influential it may be for the time being. A truly National Government must embrace all the divergent sections of the country. What is needed now is a completely representative Government in which all important political groups and interests are included, and which will aim mainly at the effective prosecution of the war, the defence of the country, and its future development. The Government must be one sworn to serve the country and must eschew party politics at least till the war ends. The magnitude of the issues involved in this war has made every belligerent country accept the rule of a Government constituted of all parties thinking and acting as one authoritative and supreme body representing all sections of the people. In such work of harmonious blending the Indian business community has a useful and important part to play. We are on the threshold of the most momentous period in history when the call comes to every nation to play its part to achieve a great destiny not only for itself but for the entire human race. India too must respond to this call. Whatever may be the reaction in the political world to the Assembly speech of the Viceroy, it must be recognised by all that His Excellency was very sincere when he declared from his military experience that no objective could ever be gained without the fullest co-operation of all concerned. There is no use denying the differences and weaknesses that at present divide and separate us. If we have to gain our objective, we must compose our differences, close our ranks and stand together. The *Cripps* offer is still open and it is my strong conviction that with goodwill all-round, the offer may not only help to unite us but also bring about real transfer of power to Indians."

#### THE FOOD SITUATION

*Sir Muthiah Chettiar* then turned to the food problem facing the country and deplored the fact that political capital was sought to be made out of the tragic and harrowing miseries of the people by different factions within India itself and by British reactionaries whose undemocratic faith still stood firmly rooted in spite of the lessons of the war and the unmistakable aspirations of the people of this country. He traced the policy followed by Government since 1930 with regard to agriculture and said that they were throughout the period negligent of the interests of the peasant and the agriculturist. He pleaded for a radical change in policy and said that the Government of the day should always think of the real interests of the people of the country.

It was a matter of considerable gratification that the Viceroy had recognised that "the food problem must be our first concern." What was required was a proper control of the prices of foodstuffs at a level which would give to the agriculturist a fair price, and to the consumer, foodstuffs at a price which he could afford. Rationing in all urban areas irrespective of whether they were deficit or surplus areas was also necessary, if equality of sacrifice at a time of stress was to be imposed on the whole population of the country. There was no incompatibility between a system of rationing and harnessing it to the usual trade channels. It was to be hoped that the policy of using the existing links of wholesalers and retailers for the procurement and distribution of foodgrains, subject to any safeguards by way of supervisory control would be fully restored without any more hazardous amateur handling of this vital matter of food supply by Revenue officials.

With regard to the Government's drive against profiteering, the President said that the Federation had been wholeheartedly with the Government in any well-thought out schemes to control prices or to prevent profiteering but they would not agree to ill-conceived and ill-digested proposals which far from achieving the objects in view merely tended to annoy and harass the general trading population.

#### PROBLEM OF INFLATION

But this problem was closely linked with that of inflation and it was only during the last twelve months that Government spokesmen had expressed themselves in panicky terms of inflation. "Their measures to counter it have been equally panicky and not the result of mature deliberation. Our currency has undoubtedly expanded but it would be wrong to measure the evils of inflation merely on the basis of currency expansion. The evils of inflation lie in the mounting prices and in the scarcity of the ordinary articles of consumption which are the necessities of life for the common man. To the fullest possible extent the evils of such inflation should be met by making available to the public large quantities of gold which could be obtained from the Allied Nations. As regards anti-inflationary measures in general a control of the price of foodstuffs and other necessities of life on reasonable levels and a proper rationing of these articles appear logically to

be the first step that should be taken by the Government to counteract inflation. The next step should be to provide the working classes with those necessities of life which will help them to expend their increased incomes with profit and use to themselves.

"Apparently the Government of India had come to the same conclusion but in actual practice they seem to have entirely missed the point when they decided to import certain consumer goods as a measure of anti-inflation. Without consulting any of the interests concerned the Government of India have framed a list of articles which ought to be imported as consumer-goods for anti-inflationary purposes and in that list of articles Johnny Walker leads all the rest. It is not by the importation of such luxury goods which the rich want to purchase that the evils of inflation can be tackled. It is really by affording to the common man what he needs most and on which he can utilise his newly obtained purchasing power that a check can be put to the evils of inflation."

#### IMPORT OF CONSUMER GOODS HARMFUL TO INDUSTRIALISATION

The consumer goods which it is stated the Government had decided to import, not only were not calculated to check the inflationary evil but may prove positively harmful to the growing industrialisation of the country. It may be remembered that Government at the beginning of the war promised to safeguard industries which were developed during the war and it was categorically stated that the nascent industries would not be left high and dry to fend for themselves and probably to be wiped out of existence by competition. "Now that the shipping situation is a little easier and the possibilities of import better, the authorities already seem to be tending towards the old practice of preferring imported articles to indigenously manufactured articles. It is imperative that the Government should at once declare their clear and unambiguous policy in this matter. The industries that have been started virtually at the instance of the Government, and have come to their rescue under dire circumstances must be assured that they will be kept alive during the continuance of the war period, and that they will be adequately safeguarded against unfair competition at the end of the war."

#### EXPORT TRADE MONOPOLISED BY FOREIGN CONCERNS

As regards the policy regarding exports from the country, the President observed that after the fall of France, the Government decided, without fairness to existing export and import interests, that only those who were doing business for three years before the war should be permitted to continue business on the basis of their average during that period. This involved a certain amount of injustice to those who had come newly into the field and also involved, owing to the methods adopted by the Government the substitution in many cases of banking houses and a few shippers whose names appeared in the register of the Custom House, for the real businessmen who canvassed orders, took the risks and were responsible for the export and import trade of the country. Notwithstanding this injustice, the Indian business community reconciled itself to this new order as a short-term arrangement. They were now in the fifth year of the war and to-day were faced with the fact that a virtual monopoly had been created for a few big importing and exporting houses, mainly foreign and that Indian businessmen were gradually being squeezed out altogether from India's foreign trade. It was an intolerable position requiring early revision at the hands of the Government. It was time that a system of licensing was introduced which would give a fair share of the business to Indian commercial houses.

#### "AVATAR OF EAST INDIA COMPANY"

In this connection Sir *Muthiah Chettiar* referred to the activities of the United Kingdom Commercial Corporation in this country. In spite of repeated demands, His Majesty's Government have been unable to give a guarantee that its activities would be ended immediately after armistice was declared. No wonder there is grave apprehension among commercial interests that the U. K. C. C. may prove to be another *Avatar* of the East India Company and corner all the external trade of this country through its own organisation. The Federation had therefore asked that the Government should remove this grave injustice and restore freedom of trade wherever it was possible for Indians to make direct contacts. "The least that the Government can do is to promote an Indian Commercial Corporation which will be solely responsible for the purchase of goods in this country, and which would, if necessary, hand those commodities at port to the U. K. C. C. at reasonable prices, the U. K. C. C. then taking charge of those commodities and delivering them to the Government or the people of the other countries concerned.

This is what has been done in other countries like Australia, where the U. K. C. C. is not allowed to operate internally but is allowed to take the goods at port and transport and sell them at reasonable prices to foreign countries."

#### UTILISATION OF STERLING BALANCES

Sir *Muthiah Chettiar* then turned to the question of the accumulation of sterling balances in England and to their possible utilisation after the war. These balances are now in the region of about £700 million and may amount to £1,000 million before the end of the war. Certain articles in the newspapers and even in economic journals tend to give the impression that somehow or other this accumulation of sterling balances in favour of India reflects a gross profiteering on the part of India and that it is virtually tantamount to India not having played its proper part and taken its share of burden in the prosecution of the war. It should be remembered that a good portion of these sterling balances represents the value of goods sold by this country to Great Britain, countries of the Middle East, America and even Australia. For these, we have had hardly any return at all by way of the importation of goods. All these materials and services have practically not been paid for except by the I. O. U. which His Majesty's Government have given us and which represents the so-called sterling balances. Our troops serving overseas have according to the financial arrangement between the Government of India and His Majesty's Government, to be paid for by Great Britain, but we have been issuing rupee notes towards their pay for which Great Britain has again given us only I. O. Us. All these factors have gone to make up the sterling balances. Verily it can be stated that these sterling balances represent the toil and sweat of the people and the blood and tears of millions of our countrymen. To turn round now for the *economist* or any other paper or individuals and speak of these sterling balances as an unfair advantage which India has gained over England is to put it mildly to show rankest ingratitude possible."

#### CHARGE OF PROFITEERING UNFAIR

"When they talk of profiteering by India in the accumulation of these sterling balances, I wonder," said Sir *Muthiah Chettiar*, "whether they realise what a boomerang they are forging for themselves. Every article supplied to the British Government has been at controlled prices—controlled by the Government of India. It is well-known that from the very start of the War, the Supply Department through its contracts and otherwise has controlled these prices for the benefit of every nation except our own. I wonder whether there is any other country among the Allied nations which has charged less for its overseas customers and more for the citizens of its own country. It is in these circumstances that the charge is lightly and glibly made that India has exploited the needs of the Allied nations and by profiteering has built up these huge sterling balances."

#### NEED FOR BUILDING UP DOLLAR RESOURCES

"In dealing with sterling balances," continued the President, "one naturally comes across the problem of dollar balances. During the war, India has had a favourable balance of trade with the United States and could have built up fairly large dollar balances. In the interest of the war effort, the Government of India decided that all the dollar resources should enter into a common Empire Pool. The time has now come when this arrangement should be reviewed and radically revised. The Empire Pool has played its part; Lease-Lend arrangements and reverse Lease-Lend arrangements enable Great Britain to get its requirements without having recourse to dollars to any large extent. The Government of India should therefore build its own dollar resources on at least current balances with the United States and should not allow these balances to be merged in any Empire Pool. We should like to have the assurance of the Finance Member that this will be done."

The President then referred briefly to the international monetary schemes and said: We are quite willing to enter into any international arrangement if proposals are considered, not with a view to stabilise the prosperity and the financial strength of any one country or group of countries, but with a view to raising the standard of living all over the world. It is indeed gratifying that the Finance Member gave the assurance that in any international monetary arrangements, India's participation would be entirely determined by the interests of India alone.

The President also stressed the need for an early and radical revision of the entire transport system of the country, its railways, shipping, both internal and coastal, and the air-ways.

## POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION PLANS

Sir Muthiah Chettiar proceeded to discuss at length the problem of post-war reconstruction of India and said that the various problems that would face us during the period of reconstruction would require the greatest care and attention in their solution and call for his advice and recommendations of non-official opinion to help the Government to come to a decision. He hoped that the reconstruction would be planned on an all-India basis and that the various schemes of reconstruction would be characterised by thoroughness, bold planning and a proper appreciation of the needs of the country.

Let us have no more of the blind leading the blind, observed Sir Muthiah Chettiar in conclusion. Let us have a bold and determined effort to put the economy of this country on a sound basis. I shall be told that all this needs money. It is common knowledge that money is always found for war but never for a fight against the more remorseless enemies of ignorance, disease and starvation. To-day in many countries bold adventurous methods of raising money for purposes of war as well as for national welfare have become a common thing. We in India are willing to make all possible sacrifice in our economy, if only well considered plans for vitalising our national life and bettering the lot of the common man are placed before the people of this country so as to capture their imagination and inspire their faith. Such a plan for the building up of the India of to-morrow is the long term plan of economic development for India which was recently published over the signatures of Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas and others. On behalf of the Federation and on my own, I wish to say how deeply they have laid the country in debt to them by their masterly plan of economic re-construction. It is noteworthy that in his speech to the Indian Legislature the other day, H. E. the Viceroy said that the Government were examining the plan with interest. To think that the plan contains a fully-hatched practical scheme complete in every detail, is to miss the point of its importance. It gives rather a vision, an inspiration. It is a mine of suggestions based on a mass of facts carefully marshalled and weighed. It is a scheme which contains within its flexible basic principles of re-construction, which if wisely followed and firmly put into practice, will, I have no doubt, assure the happiness and welfare of the India of to-morrow. It is in this light therefore, that I welcome the publication of this plan and congratulate the authors on the great and timely service they have rendered to the country.

## Resolutions

## DETENTION OF NATIONAL LEADERS

After the presidential address the Federation passed a number of resolutions. *Kumararaja Sir Muthia Chettiar* was in the chair.

The Federation "viewed with serious concern" the detention of national leaders and expressed the feeling that their continued detention is not justifiable and therefore the Federation demanded their immediate release particularly in view of the fact that problems of very grave import are facing the country the solution of which hangs to a large extent on Government securing the general goodwill of the public. The Federation also strongly expressed the opinion that, with the war nearing its end in Europe, India can only find a proper place and play an effective part in the settlement of post-war problems in an atmosphere which the release of these national leaders and the establishment of a National Government at the Centre would create.

## INDIA'S BALANCES ABROAD

In a resolution on India's balance abroad the Federation reiterated its opinion that India's accumulated sterling credits should in the first instance be utilised to repatriate British commercial investment in India and with regard to the balance of sterling credits the Government of India should secure an undertaking from the British Government that in case the value of the sterling during or after the war depreciates in terms of gold, the British Government shall compensate the Reserve Bank of India for all its sterling holdings to the extent of such depreciation.

While noting with satisfaction the Finance Member's announcement that a part of the dollars accruing to India on trade balance will be credited to her, the Federation put on record the fact that India has so far been deprived of gold and dollar credits as a result of the rupee being linked to sterling and of the dollar requisition order. The Federation demanded that at least at this late stage, all dollars accruing to India, whether on trade balance or otherwise, should be credited to India's account and that the Reserve Bank of India Act be amended to make it possible for the Bank to hold dollar balances.

# EXPENDITURE ON SOUTH-EAST ASIA COMMAND

In a resolution moved from the Chair, the Federation expressed the opinion that as the operations connected with the South-East Asia Command were part of the inter-Allied plans based on a global strategy, no liability in respect of this expenditure should be accepted by the Government of India without the approval of the Central Legislature. Having regard to the acute shortage of food-stuffs in the country and the growing anxiety felt about the recurrence in other parts of the country of the tragedy recently experienced in Bengal, the Federation is of opinion that arrangements for securing foodstuffs from outside sources for the furtherance of the operations connected with the Command should be made to avoid further deterioration in the food situation in the country."

## CIVIL AVIATION

On civil aviation, the Federation noted with satisfaction that the preparation of a blue-print of air transport developments in India was under the Government's active consideration, but it trusted that these schemes would be evolved without delay in close collaboration with Indian commercial interests and that the right of developing, operating and maintaining air services within the country would be completely and exclusively vested in Indian Companies, which were owned and controlled by Indian nationals. In return for grant by India to foreign air lines of right of free passage across India and the use of Indian air bases, India must be unequivocally assured of similar rights on a fully reciprocal basis in respect of any external air lines which India at any time might chose to operate. The Federation also felt that any foreign air line operating through India should not have the right to pick up any of the internal traffic in India.

## WAR RISKS INSURANCE SCHEME

Regarding War Risks (Goods) and (Factories) Insurance Schemes, the Federation urged upon the Government of India that in view of the improved situation of the war in favour of the Allies and in view of the substantial accretions to the War Risks Fund, estimated to amount to Rs. 16 crores on March 31, 1944, and in view of the comparatively insignificant claims on the Fund, no further payment of premium under the War Risks Factories Insurance Scheme should be realised from those insured who had already paid eight instalments of the full premium and that the risk in respect of such insured should be extended for a further period of one year ending March 31, 1945. While appreciating the Government's action in further reducing the rate of premium under the War Risks Insurance Scheme to annas two per cent per month, the Federation, in view of the improved situation was further of opinion that as substantial amounts had accrued to the scheme and as the claims against the Fund so far paid by the Government were comparatively insignificant, the Government should reduce forthwith the rate to half anna per cent per month.

## U. K. C. C.

On the United Kingdom Commercial Corporation, the Federation put on record that the apprehensions entertained and given expression to at its last annual session regarding the operation and the extention of trade activities of the U. K. C. C. were borne out by the findings of the recently published report from the Committee of Public Accounts submitted to the British Parliament, which were based on confidential particulars relating to the working of the Corporation. The Federation, in view of these findings, pressed the Government of India to take all possible steps in their power to safeguard the interests of Indian trade and commerce, particularly in her export markets in the post-war period.

## FIFTEEN-YEAR PLAN

Mr. Nalini Ranjam Sarker moved: The Federation welcomes the plan of economic development for India, as sponsored by Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas and others as a constructive contribution towards the solution of India's economic problems. The Federation accords its whole-hearted support to the fundamental objectives underlying the scheme, namely, a speedy improvement in the condition of the masses through raising their standards of living and by achieving a more balanced economy between agriculture and industry. The Federation, therefore, welcomes the broad proposals for providing the elementary needs of the people in regard to food, clothing, housing, sanitation, health and education, by development and expansion of agriculture as well as industries—basic, large-scale, small-scale and cottage. The Federation endorses the view embodied in the scheme that the essential conditions of the effective execution of any planning in India shall be (1) the maintenance of the economic unity of India, (2) the establishment of a National



Government at the Centre, based on popular support and enjoying full authority in matters economic and (3) the willing co-operation of the people. The Federation awaits with interest further reports in regard to the role of the State in future, as well as proposals for more equitable distribution. It also notes with satisfaction that acceptance of foreign capital, if necessary, is to be free from political influence and interference of foreign vested interests. The Federation urges upon the Government of India to recognise that the post-war economic planning of India must be based on the objectives, broad principles and essential conditions outlined above. The Federation expresses its keen sense of disappointment with the machinery set up by the Government for considering schemes of post-war reconstruction and the progress so far made. The Federation is definitely of the opinion that un-co-ordinated departmental schemes in the absence of a well-conceived and comprehensive plan, cannot result in achieving the desired objective of a broad-based economic development of the country."

Mr. Sarker referred to the country-wide enthusiasm and interest aroused by the plan, which, he said, had the object of ensuring a minimum standard of life to the common man, certainly not to make the rich richer or the poor poorer, but to improve the lot of the have-nots. After describing the broad outlines of the scheme Mr. Sarker said that they had the Federation's fullest support but the Federation had not had time to examine the details of the scheme, such as the priorities to be attached to the various component elements in the plan, the ways and means of financing the plan, etc. The Federation was, therefore, unable as yet to express any definite opinion on such details. Moreover, the plan was not complete without an indication of the future role of the State in economic matters as well as schemes of distribution. Without some equitable methods of distribution, individual income might not be sufficient to achieve the minimum standard, while a minimum income without correlating it to prices might be meaningless.

"Our problem", concluded Mr. Sarker, "is not merely one of reconstruction. It is essentially one of construction from the very beginning. That is why we speak of our task as one of economic development of India and not of post-war reconstruction."

#### MR. BIRLA'S REPLY TO CRITICS OF PLAN

Mr. G. D. Birla, one of the authors of the plan, seconding the resolution, supporting the fifteen-year plan, moved by Mr. N. R. Sarker, suggested that there was nothing frightening about the huge investment proposed for the plan. After all, he said, the so-called economics of a country were no more than the economics of a family in a magnified form. Here was a family of 40 crores that wanted to produce more and consume more. It found that if it was to consume more, it must produce 200 per cent more by the end of fifteen years. It also calculated that, if it could produce that much, the family members would be able to double the consumption of their goods as compared with their present position after making full provision for the demands of the children that would be born into the family during the next fifteen years. The question was how to produce 200 per cent more. The family discovered that it needed new equipment and a larger amount of work from its members in order to touch the mark of the proposed production. For equipment they found they had some money partly in cash and partly in sterling. They planned to spend that money and also borrow some in the country where they proposed to purchase equipment. But that was not enough. So they decided to put up more work with the labour of the family members to complete the work on equipment. They had not had enough to do so far and thus had plenty of leisure. They did not therefore find any difficulty in sparing extra time for this new work. Let us forget the words 'savings' and created money and favourable balances. Let us find out what extra labour we are called upon to contribute to achieve our object. The answer in a nut-shell is that we do not need to employ more than  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent extra members of the population during the planning period to complete the new job. This  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent of the population would be more productive than the rest and thus might represent 15 per cent of the earning capacity of the whole population, he added.

Referring to the Finance Member's argument that, if the 1,000 crores of our sterling resources now with the Reserve Bank of India were used for the plan, the backing to the currency might be affected, Mr. Birla said that the total note issue in England amounted to £ 1,075 million, against which gold held by the Bank of England was only one million that is only 0.1 per cent. Would anyone on that account say that the currency of England just now was not in a solvent position? If sterling had no solvency about it—and this was the conclusion which

one would arrive at if one was to accept the Finance Member's logic—then to keep sterling as a backing for rupee, surely, was a dangerous proposition? But Mr. Birla did not believe that the position of sterling was as bad as that, nor did he think that the sterling backing made the position of the rupee in any way stronger. Our note circulation just now amounted to about Rs. 870 crores against which the gold reserve, if valued at the present price amounted to about 92 crores or a backing of more than ten per cent. Surely in respect of its gold backing the rupee was in a much stronger position than sterling. And if people had not lost faith in the solvency of sterling there was nothing to fear about the faith in the solvency of the rupee. If we were to accept the Finance Member's logic, then, as long as there was the present size of our note issue we must continue to hold our large sterling assets as the backing of the rupee. We should not for a moment touch them. For all practical purposes, that would mean that our assets in sterling were permanently frozen in England's favour. Could any one contemplate such a position with equanimity?

Mr. Birla concluded with a call for unity of purpose and the cultivation of a constructive psychology in India in order to make a success of the plan.

Mr. C. M. Kothari (Madras) said that it was for public opinion now to strengthen the hands of the leaders and resolve that, however staggering the figures, the plan must be brought to fruition.

Mr. H. P. Bagaria (Calcutta) thought that it would be a good idea to encourage intelligent criticism of the plan by translating it into the various languages of the country.

Dr. Hamid (Bombay) felt that the authors of the plan were putting the cart before the horse, inasmuch as the formation of a National Government was a condition precedent to the working of the scheme. He personally did not see any chance of a hundred per cent free India to carry out the scheme.

Mr. A. D. Shroff (Bombay), one of the authors of the plan, sounding a note of warning to the country at large and the commercial community in particular, stated that everybody must "prepare himself or herself to face the hardships, privations and sacrifices which the execution of a plan of this magnitude would call will entail for every body. Referring to the criticism that the plan aimed at strengthening capitalists, he said that such uncharitable and unfounded criticism must obviously be inspired from interested quarters. While he would leave the actual working of the scheme to a future National Government he would urge the Government to show one or two small mercies. If the Government in terms of the Viceroy's speech believed that their objectives were the same as that of the authors of the plan, they should do nothing which would make it more difficult to carry this plan into fruition in the future and secondly, they should strengthen their statistical organisation so that when the time came for the establishment of a Planning Commission they would have sufficient and up-to-date data to work upon.

The resolution was passed.

#### FOOD SITUATION

The meeting adopted a lengthy resolution on the food situation in the country, which was moved by Sir Purushothamdas Thakurdas. The resolution recorded its profound sorrow at the heavy loss of lives and the impairment of the health of a large section of people in the country as a result of the famine, and while deploring the lack of foresight and of a co-ordinated policy on the part of Government, which might have prevented the calamity, welcomed the efforts recently being made in them for improving the situation.

With a view to preventing a recurrence of famine conditions, the resolution suggested that the Government of India should (1) evolve and implement an all-India policy for the production, procurement and distribution of food grains and exercise sufficient vigilance over Provincial Governments and, if necessary, direct the latter to carry out effectively and efficiently the all-India policy that might be laid down, (2) utilise under Government control normal trade channels as far as possible both in the procurement and distribution of food grains, (3) stop exports and increase imports of food-grains from abroad with a view to building up and maintaining an adequate quantity of reserves and (4) evolve a practical policy for the effective prosecution of the Grow More Good Campaign, by rendering all possible assistance, financial and otherwise, to Provincial Governments. Government should also consider measures for ensuring that prices of food-grains did not fall below a reasonable level, so that the grower could always have a sufficient incentive for stimulating production.

The resolution urged the Government to institute immediate measures for the rehabilitation of famine-stricken areas.

**"THE PRESS IN BENGAL GAGGED"**

*Sir Abdul Halim Ghaznavi*, supporting the resolution, conveyed on behalf of Bengal, her grateful thanks for the generous donations which the rest of India and Indians abroad had given to her. He complained that the Press in Bengal was gagged, so that full details of the disaster could not be made public. The real difficulty was lack of transport. There were no wagons, no bullocks and no boats available for carrying food. There was apprehension in the mind of everyone that unless Government decided to give the people boats, bullocks, and wagons the situation would not improve.

*Sir Abdul Halim* compared the methods of rationing in India with those in Great Britain and said that in the latter case basic items, such as, wheat and flour were not rationed. Strangely enough, they had started with rationing basic food such as rice. *Sir Abdul Halim* asserted that more food could never be grown unless the Government furnished the ryot with agricultural machinery, fertilisers, seeds and financial assistance.

*Mr. D. N. Sen* (Calcutta), *Mr. M. A. Srinivasan* (President, Mysore Chamber of Commerce), *Mr. Ishverdas Mallik* (Karachi) and *Mr. D. R. Naik* (Bombay), supported the resolution, which was passed.

**COAL SHORTAGE**

The Federation passed a resolution on coal and fuel, in the course of which it expressed the opinion that the recent scarcity of coal in the country was mainly due to labour shortage intensified by Government's policy of exporting coal abroad and as such, special endeavours should be made by the Government to help collieries to increase raisings by making more labour available at the collieries, by stopping the drift of coal miners to military works in other areas and also by arranging to procure necessary stores, plant and machinery for use in coal mines. The Federation further suggested that steps should be taken to encourage the opening of new mines and that an embargo be placed on the export of coal from India, and expressed the opinion that the shortage of labour would be very much reduced by making working conditions more attractive and requested the Government to give the necessary facilities to the colliery owners. The Federation asked for the constitution of an independent Coal Research Board to study the prevailing conditions and to recommend steps to secure plant and machinery to recover smokeless domestic fuel and other by-products, particularly, tar, disinfectants, naphthalene and benzene by low temperature process. It also urged the establishment of a fuel research station at Dhanbad.

The resolution was moved by *Mr. A. L. Ojha*, Calcutta, and was seconded by *Sir Shri Ram* (Delhi).

The meeting next discussed the annual report of the Federation and adopted it.

**Resolutions—2nd. day—New Delhi—5th. March 1944**

**POST-WAR INDUSTRIES**

The post-war position of industries established during the war was among the subjects on which the Federation at its second day's sitting put forward its demands.

In a resolution moved by *Mr. G. L. Mehta*, Calcutta, the Federation expressed "grave apprehension" regarding the post-war position of a number of new industries and particularly those which had been brought into existence in this country during the war to meet the war necessities of the Allied nations as well as the essential civil needs of the public in India. The Federation further points out that the establishment of some of these industries was definitely encouraged by the Government, with an assurance that such industries would be given such adequate measure of protection against unfair competition from outside India as may be found necessary for the continuance of their existence in the post-war period. "While appreciating such an assurance from the Government, the Federation is of opinion that suitable machinery on the lines of the Ad Hoc Committee under the Safeguarding of Industries Act in the United Kingdom should immediately be evolved to consider the claims of such industries for adequate protection—when necessary—without recourse to a reference to the Tariff Board.

"The Federation emphatically protests against the policy recently adopted by the Government in encouraging increased imports of manufactured goods which are at present being manufactured and supplied to the public by the newly established

indigenous industries in India. It is of opinion that these industries are in a position to meet the increasing demands in the country for such manufactured articles only if the Government extend to them the necessary assistance in the shape of further imports of plant and machinery and of materials, stores and the requisite component parts for such increased output."

Mr. Mehta went on to refer to the fact that the war had disclosed the existence among the people of organising capacity, technical ability and skilled craftsmanship necessary to build up an efficient industrial structure. What was required from the Government, he said, was a categorical declaration of policy that industries established or expanded during the war and having a definite assignable place in the peace economy would be given a due measure of protection for a reasonable period of time, so that they might have a minimum period of nurture and growth before being exposed to the full rigours of competition from established industries in foreign countries. The assurance given by Sir *Ramaswami Mudaliar*, the then Commerce Member, in the Central Assembly on March 12, 1940, did not go far enough. A comprehensive and detailed programme of post-war utilisation of war plants would have to be worked out.

Referring to the proposals to import specialised kinds of goods, among which he remarked, were spirituous liquors for the use of a spiritual nation (laughter), Mr. Mehta said if bicycles and fans could be imported regardless of the bottle-neck of shipping, it was difficult to understand why their component parts or capital goods and machinery could not be imported for expanding domestic production. The decision to import textiles from the United Kingdom was in direct contravention of the Government's assurances that only commodities which were either not produced in India at all or produced in extremely small quantities would be imported. The United Kingdom Government turned down the Canadian Government's offer of one lakh tons of wheat for Bengal's famine-stricken people on the plea of shortage of shipping space, but shipping space was found for importing whisky and toilet goods and textiles. Mr. Mehta declared it was necessary to insist that the rapidly accumulating sterling balances should not be utilised in such a way as to assist and encourage British manufactures and exports after the war at the expense of Indian Industrial development or to restrict India's capacity and power to make purchases of plant and machinery in the world's best and cheapest markets (cheers).

#### "SABOTAGE" OF INDIAN INDUSTRIES

Mr. L. C. Jariwala (Bombay) said that what had been achieved in the industrial field in the war years was far short of what she could achieve with her resources in men and material. There was already in progress what he termed a "sabotage" of Indian industries: he learned that a British company for the production of storage batteries and accumulators had been encouraged to establish itself in India, while there were already in existence six Indian companies for the manufacture of these goods and their full production capacity had not yet been fully utilised.

Mr. B. C. Ghosh (Calcutta) urged that Indian industries need not be apologetic in asking for protection. He drew attention to the fact that in Australia a proposal had been made for the union of countries similarly placed as regards industrial development so that they could present a united front and press for protection of national industries.

Mr. A. R. Bhatt (Poona) asked that the *ad hoc* committee proposed in the resolution should include representatives from the Federation which was the exponent of the feelings of the Indian commercial community.

Mr. Lakshminarasu (Hyderabad) pleaded for protection not only to war industries but to all industries in the country.

Mr. Cunnan (Madras) and Mr. Begraj Gupta (Bombay) also supported the resolution which was passed.

#### GOVT.'S TAXATION POLICY CRITICISED

Sir Badridas Goenka moved a resolution relating to industrial development and taxation. The resolution stated that the present taxation policy of the Government if not revised and placed on a scientific basis, would prove injurious to the industrial development of the country in the post-war period, and regretted that the Government of India had not allowed Indian industries to build up any appreciable reserves to meet deferred renewals and repairs which would be necessary as a result of the undue strain to which plant and machinery had been put by continuous working to meet war requirements. The resolution, therefore, recommended that industries should be allowed to build up substantial reserves for the

purposes indicated above and urged the Government to institute a comprehensive investigation of all issues relating to their policy of taxation in consultation with and with the co-operation of Indian industries.

Sir Badridas criticised the taxation policy in the country which, he said, was 'built on a twentieth century pattern, but upon a 19th century economic structure' and was based on a scheme of public and social expenditure which was anti-diluvian. The present high rate of income and excess profits taxes had taken away all incentive to production and the new tax proposals, which would take away practically all the profits, were bound to injure many businesses. One of the ways to combat inflation was to increase production, and in this connection, he would urge the Government to extend to other industries the same concessions which they had granted to the coal industry to accelerate production. Referring to the Finance Member's hints about taxation for post-war reconstruction, Sir Badridas declared that any such taxation would be vehemently opposed by the commercial community till they saw and approved of a comprehensive reconstruction plan.

Supporting the resolution moved by Sir Badridas Goenka, Mr. M. A. Master (Bombay) pointed out that in any policy of taxation, the important consideration should not be lost sight of that what was got for a highly industrialised country like England might have serious consequences when applied to India which was not highly developed industrially. He criticised the policy of levying heavy import duties on raw materials or spare parts imported into this country, and said that these duties tended to hamper the industrial growth of this country by putting the indigenous articles at a disadvantage with articles imported from abroad. He pointed out that, on certain spare parts required for textile industry, the import duty was 30 per cent, while the duty on the finished product was only 10 per cent. He deprecated the tax policy of the Government which took away not only 100 per cent of the excess profits of an industry, but made an inroad into the standard profits also. The result of this policy was that industries were left without adequate funds for expansion and development. He said that relief and allowances granted by Government for renewals and repairs, depreciation, reserve and rehabilitation programme and future expansion were not adequate and asserted that the whole policy seemed to be aimed at preventing stabilisation or expansion of industries after the war.

Mr. J. J. Kapadia quoted figures from the balance sheets of certain companies to substantiate Mr. Master's statement that the taxes took away not only all the excess profits, but also made an inroad into standard profit. For instance, a company whose excess profits amounted to Rs. 152 lakhs had to pay Rs. 101 lakhs as E. P. T., Rs. 21 lakhs under the old scale as deposit and Rs. 26 lakhs as the normal income and super taxes, totalling Rs. 148 lakhs. But under the new proposals, the taxes would make an inroad into the standard profit. The result of this heavy taxation, he concluded, quoting various authorities, would be lack of supervision, inefficiency and waste. Industries were not philanthropic institutions, he said, and unless there was the incentive of profit, the industries would not thrive. He pointed out that there were many industries like electrical undertakings which were not making any war profits. But they had also to pay away all their profits as taxes. The history of the British connection with India, particularly in the sphere of commerce and industry, he said, had been one of lost opportunities. He hoped that the Government would grasp at least this opportunity to do their duty by this country.

Khan Bahadur G. A. Dossani (Calcutta) and Mr. Bachittar Singh also supported the resolution, which was adopted.

#### INDIANS' RIGHTS IN POST-WAR BURMA

The Federation passed a resolution on the question of Indians in Post-War Burma which urged (1) that there should be no control of the immigration of Indians into Burma after the cessation of the present hostilities. (2) that Indians should have the same right of free entry and the same status in that country in all respects as were enjoyed by persons domiciled in the United Kingdom. (3) that it was essential, in the common interests of India and Burma, particularly in view of recent developments, that there should be closer association between the two countries and that Indians should, at all stages, be fully associated with the preparation of reconstruction and rehabilitation plans for Burma; the evolution and determination of the necessary arrangements for the return of people to Burma during the period of military occupation; the formulation of plans for the re-establishment of the economic life of Burma, the safe-guarding of the interests of labour and the raising of the standard of the life and promotion of the general welfare of people

in Burma; and with negotiations for the enactment of a trade agreement between the two countries, and in respect of all vital matters which might affect the status, position, rights or well-being of Indians in Burma.

The resolution urged the Government of India to use all their influence and good offices with the Government of Burma to arrive at an agreement which would not conflict with the fundamental objectives mentioned above so as to enable Indians to exercise and enjoy the status and rights in the future Burma.

Mr. S. N. Haji (Bombay), moving the resolution, replied to the contention that Indian labour in Burma had led to a lowering of the wage standard. To meet this difficulty, he said, minimum wages should be fixed both for Indians and Burmans. Merely by keeping Indians out, the wages problem would not be solved. If the presence of Indians would create bitterness, how was it, he asked, that they had lived in amity and good-will for many years before the separation of Burma? He hoped that after the war the Governments of India and Burma would evolve some form of closer association between the two countries which while maintaining the separate identity of Burma would bring about enough common interest between the two countries to justify and fulfil the hope of the governor of Burma himself. Mr. Haji thought it unfortunate that the Governor should have complicated the situation by suggesting that "Indians with genuine roots" should be helped to return to Burma. There should be no question, Mr. Haji declared, about Indians' right of re-entry into Burma, when it was reconquered. Mr. Haji urged the Government of India to associate non-official public opinion in the country with the Civil Affairs Committee of the Burma Government and said that this was necessary to keep a watch on the things happening about the military occupation of Burma and to prevent the establishment of "another United Kingdom Commercial Corporation" which would oust Indian trade connections there.

Mr. Mohammed Hoosein Hassan Premji (Bombay), supporting the resolution, asked that Indians should be associated with the post-war development of Burma.

#### INDIANS OVERSEAS

In a further resolution moved from the Chair on Indians abroad, the Federation demanded that the Government of India should secure for Indians in the United States rights of citizenship, and negotiate a treaty of commerce and navigation with the U. S. A. Government so that Indian nationals might enjoy a status that would enable them to carry on trade uninterrupted in that country. The resolution also registered its emphatic protest against the anti-Indian Pegging legislation of the Union of South Africa, as it was inconsistent with India's partnership in the British Commonwealth and repugnant to the basic ideals for which the war is being fought. The resolution urged the Government to take energetic steps to give effect to the provisions of the Reciprocity Amendment Act.

Dr. N. B. Khare, Member for Indians Overseas, Government of India was present at the meeting during the discussion on these two resolutions.

#### CONSTITUTION OF OILSEEDS COMMITTEE URGED

The Federation also adopted a resolution moved by Mr. Ramdas Kilachand urging the Government of India to establish immediately a Central Oilseeds Committee on lines similar to those on which the Indian Central Cotton and Jute Committees are constituted, so that it might be helpful in safeguarding the interests of the producer and in giving proper guidance to the oilseeds interests in the post-War Reconstruction period. The resolution also recommended that Government should give priorities for the import of oilseeds crushing machinery to enable the farmers to get better value for his oilseeds and for retaining oil cake in the country.

Mr. Devji Ratansi (Bombay) and Mr. K. L. Narasimha Rao (Madras) supported the resolution.

#### BASIC CHEMICAL INDUSTRY

Moved by Dr. H. Ghosh (Calcutta) and seconded by Dr. Hamid (Bombay), the Federation passed a resolution deploring the indifferent attitude and the failure of the Government of India to formulate a co-ordinated plan for starting and developing the basic chemical industry in the country both for defence purposes and for the healthy progress of the chemical, pharmaceutical and allied industries. The resolution urged the Government to constitute an advisory panel of manufacturers to find out ways and means of removing the grievances of the industry and initiate measures for a healthy and well-planned development of this essential industry.

## TAX ON INSURANCE COMPANIES

The Federation concluded after adopting two more resolutions, one on taxation of life and general insurance companies and the other on slaughter of cattle.

The former resolution, which was moved by Mr. K. S. Dasai (Bombay), protested against the fixation of 63 pies in the rupee as being the tax applicable to the profits of life insurance companies as announced in the recent Budget speech by the Finance Member and urged the Government that in view of the peculiar business of life insurance and for the benefit of policy-holder in general the maximum rate of income-tax should be lowered down to 45½ pies in the rupee, which was the ruling rate in 1940-41. The resolution also protested against the attitude of income-tax authorities in disallowing general insurance companies from transferring amounts to additional reserves as an expenditure laid out or expended wholly and exclusively for the purpose of their business and which reserves were absolutely necessary with a view to covering the extraordinary risks undertaken by non-life insurance companies. The Federation urged that income-tax authorities should for purposes of computing the profits of non-life companies allow them amounts transferred to additional reserves as expenditure solely incurred for the purpose of earning the profits of business.

## SLAUGHTER OF CATTLE

Mr. Prantal Devkaran Nanjee's resolution invited the pointed attention of the Government of India to the indiscriminate slaughter of cattle in India for army requirements which could not but have very undesirable and ruinous consequences on agriculture and rural economy in particular, and the health and nutrition of the nation in general. The resolution urged that there should be a total ban on the slaughter of useful cattle and the restrictions imposed so far should also be strictly enforced, and requested the Government to take steps for the improvement of cattle particularly milch cattle in India.

## THE EMPIRE DOLLAR POOL

Sir Muthiah Chettiar, the President in his address to the session, referring to the Empire Dollar Pool, said that since he wrote his speech the Finance Member had announced that His Majesty's Government had agreed to set aside each year, from now onwards, a part of the dollars accruing from India's exports to the U. S. A. apart from and in addition to our current dollar requirements which were met from the Empire Dollar Pool under the Sterling Area arrangements. "While appreciating the Finance Member's efforts in this matter, I would like to observe that India's current dollar requirements have, so far, been fully covered from our own exports to the U.S.A. which, in fact, have even provided a favourable trade balance in our trade with the U.S.A. and, as such, the Finance Member's statement provides only a partial assurance and would not fully and adequately meet India's legitimate claims."

## TRIBUTES TO OUTGOING PRESIDENT

The Federation also adopted a warm vote of thanks recording the services rendered by the outgoing President, Sir Muthiah Chettiar. Moving the vote of thanks, Mr. J. S. Setalvad paid glowing tributes to the work of Sir Muthiah, both as President of the Federation and in other spheres, in the cause of the country and of Commerce and Industry in particular.

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# The Indian Science Congress

Annual Session—New Delhi—3rd. to 6th. January 1944

The annual session of the Indian Science Congress was opened on the 3rd. January 1944 in New Delhi by *H. E. the Viceroy*.

The opening proceedings were preceded by a unique function in which the Congress converted itself into a special meeting of the Royal Society—the first meeting of that body ever to be held outside England. Prof. *A. V. Hill*, Secretary of the Society, who had been elected Vice-President for the occasion, conveyed greetings and goodwill from the Society to scientific men and women in India and read messages from the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, Field Marshal Smuts, Sir Henry Dale, President of the Society, and Sir Richard Gregory, President of the British Association.

On Prof. Hill's invitation, Dr. Homi Babha and Sir Shanti Swarup Bhatnagar, two Fellows of the Society who had not yet been formally admitted, signed the obligation on parchments which will be incorporated in the Society's Charter Book. The special meeting of the Society then terminated.

## H. E. The Viceroy's Speech

In opening the Science Congress, *H. E. the Viceroy* said :

It is a great privilege to have been present to-day to witness the unique ceremony of a meeting of the Royal Society outside England, to hear the greetings of the President and other eminent Fellows to their Indian colleagues and to witness the admission of new Fellows to the Society. It may interest you to know that it is just over one hundred years ago since the first representative of eastern science, an Indian gentleman of great engineering ability, was admitted to be a Fellow of the Royal Society. This occasion is also made memorable by the presence of Professor Hill himself, the Secretary of the Royal Society, a physiologist of international repute, who has come to India to establish a closer touch between scientists in the United Kingdom and in India, with special reference to India's problems of post-war development. Science-knowledge should mean peace and progress, but in these days of turmoil, even men of science have had to take a hand in the dealing of destruction and Professor Hill is closely connected with war effort. That he has been allowed at our request to leave England and come to India at this time is a measure of the importance attached to the improvement of the contacts between scientists in the United Kingdom and India.

Nothing in my career has fitted me to address so distinguished a gathering of scientists. I certainly have no scientific qualifications to do so; though I have an ancestral connection with the Royal Society as Prof. Hill has told you. My great-grandfather and grandfather were both Fellows; and I was lately privileged by the kindness of Prof. Hill to see facsimiles of their signatures to the obligation to which we have just listened. My great-grandfather was, I believe, quite a distinguished scientist who discovered a mineral called wavellite: that is to say, he discovered it, and the famous chemist Sir Humphrey Davy called it wavellite. I was always a little dubious about my grandfather's Fellowship. He was a roving soldier of fortune who fought in India, in Spain during the Peninsular War and for Chile and Mexico in their wars of liberation. He was a man of wide knowledge and experience, but I always wondered how he found time to acquire the deep scientific learning associated to-day with Fellowship of the Royal Society. Prof. Hill, when I enquired of him in London whether the records of the Society showed in what particular branch of science my grandfather was so distinguished, broke it to me gently that in those far-off days it sometimes happened that members got their sons elected without any very special scientific qualification (laughter) other than a kindly presumption that they had inherited their parents' scientific turn of mind (more laughter). That exception might have been fulfilled in my grandfather who had an enquiring mind, some considerable knowledge of geology and much literary ability, but I am afraid he transmitted to his sons and grandsons his roving and military genius rather than any scientific ones (laughter).

Though I have never regretted that I had a classical education, I have always regretted that I had not at least a good grounding in science; and I have always had a profound admiration for men of science. It is a little curious to mark the attitude of the bulk of ignorant mankind such as myself, towards men of science. In the earliest days of civilisation, they were revered as magicians and



given pride of place and power as in ancient Egypt. I think they have always continued to hold a high place in the east; but in the west at one period there was great suspicion of the man of science who was classed as a sorcerer, a wizard or a warlock, had to practice in secret and was liable to be burnt at the stake. Since those dark days the man of science has had a freer hand and our general complaint against him now might be that he has gone too fast for us; and has poured out inventions quicker than we can assimilate them. A famous English poet wrote nearly one hundred years ago that "science moves, but slowly, slowly creeping on from point to point." Had he written now, I feel that his line would have run more like this: "Science shoves on quickly, quickly, pushing us from post to post." There is much to be said for the old leisurely days and the old leisurely ways before the scientist began his assault on space and time. Worse still, his inventions have sometimes got into wrong hands. A domineering bully like the Prussian should never have been entrusted with an aeroplane, nor an ambitious barbarian like the Jap with a battleship.

"Still there is nothing more unprofitable than to try to turn back the wheels of time. We cannot trick the imp. back into the bottle as did the sailor of the Arabian Nights. We must go on now and must enlist the help of the scientists to control the genie they have raised, and to bring order into this new world for which they are so largely responsible. They have put before us possibilities to a wider, fuller, healthier and more prosperous life, if we can only use their gifts aright.

"India, one of the oldest civilisations, has perhaps felt the impact of modern science later and less than any other great people. A large proportion of her population still lives the old life untouched by the vast changes of this century. Her realm has been of the spirit rather than of the earth. It may be said of the West hereafter that we took too much from India materially and too little spiritually.

"But if India is to play the part in the world to which her size, her population, her history and her position entitle her, she too must make every possible use of scientific advancement. She has already produced many great scientists, she bears many more in her fertile womb. Her contributions to science have always been on the side of peace and progress. She has everything to gain by combining modern science with her old culture; her traditional outlook should enable her to make an increasingly fine and characteristic contribution to natural knowledge. Indian science has in fact made a very remarkable stride forward during the last 25 years, as is shown by the foundation of many new societies, new journals and new departments of science in universities and under the Government.

"In this war, science has played a great role in India as elsewhere. It has made a splendid contribution to maintaining the health of the fighting men, through the activities of such bodies as the Malaria Institute, the Indian Research Fund Association, the Nutrition Laboratories at Coonoor, and others. It has also played an important part in munitions production and in solving problems of supply. As an ex-Commander-in-Chief, I should like to thank Indian science for the invaluable assistance it has given to the armies in the field. It must play a great part also in post-war development. The coming years will be vital to India. She must learn to make use of her abundant resources with the aid of science, which is the most international of all human interests. Professor Hill has himself said in an address elsewhere I believe that the pursuit of knowledge for the welfare of mankind is one of the greatest agents for goodwill between men in every land. It is in that belief that he is here to-day.

This session of the Indian Science Congress has a momentous task to perform: to discover how best to bring the aid of science to the development of India's great resources in agriculture and industry to the improvement of health and to social advancement and prosperity. The Science Congress is a body of high repute with a great and growing membership and influence. Gentlemen, I wish all success to your deliberations. I declare the Congress to be open and ask Professor Bose to give his presidential address. (applause).

#### Presidential Address

Professor S. N. Bose, delivering the Presidential address on Classical Determinism and the Quantum Theory said:—

Many of us expected that a deliberate programme of the future scientific activities of the country would probably be a feature of the opening speech of this Congress. Pandit Jawaharlal had studied the needs of the country, many of our

front-rank scientists and industrialists had met under his leadership not long ago and given to questions of future reconstruction much time and anxious thought. The results of this deliberation would have been invaluable at the present moment. My regret is keen that chance has deprived us of the benefits of a sustained and careful study of the problems of the day. I would have liked to present here the results, if they were available. Unfortunately they are not as most of the reports are inaccessible to me.

I would like to present before you certain aspects of modern physics and draw your attention to the profound changes in the principle of scientific explanation of natural phenomena brought about by the quantum theory. The last fifty years record remarkable discoveries. I need only mention the electron, X-rays and Radioactivity to remind you of the increase of our knowledge. Our equipment has gained in power, range and accuracy. We possess powerful telescopes to scan the furthest corners of the universe; also precise and delicate instruments to probe into the interior of the atoms and molecules. The alchemists' dream of transmutation has become a reality. Atoms are now disintegrated and synthesised. X-ray reveals invisible worlds and wireless links up the furthest ends of the earth with possibility of immediate inter-communication. These discoveries have their repercussions in the realm of ideas. Fifty years ago the belief in causality and determination was absolute. To-day physicists have gained knowledge but lost their faith.

#### THE NEW THEORIES

After describing the modification of classical physics by the discoveries of Einstein and others, Prof. Bose continued:

The new ideas have found application in different branches of physics. Discontinuous quantum processes furnished solutions to many puzzles. Suitably modified, the theory furnished a reasonable explanation of the periodic classification of elements and thermal behaviour of substances at low temperature. There was however one striking feature. It was apparently impossible to characterise the details of the actual transition processes from one stationary state to another, that is, to visualise it as a continuous sequence of changes determined by any law as yet undiscovered. It became clear that the dynamical laws as well as the laws of electromagnetism failed to account for atomic processes. New laws had to be sought out compatible with the quantum theory capable at the same time of explaining the rich experimental materials of classical physics. Bohr and his pupils utilised for a time a correspondence principle, guessing correct laws for atomic processes from analogy with the results of the classical theory. In every case these appeared as statistical laws concerned with the probabilities of transition between the various atomic states. Einstein tackled the problem of the equilibrium of matter and radiation of the basis of certain hypotheses regarding the probabilities of transition between the various states by absorption and emission. A derivation of the Planck Law was obtained by Bose by a suitable modification of the methods of classical statistics. Heisenberg finally arrived at a satisfactory solution and discovered his matrix-mechanics and a general method for all atomic problems. Dirac and Schrodinger also published simultaneously their independent solutions. Though clothed in apparently dissimilar mathematical symbols the three theories gave identical results and have now come to be looked upon as different formalisms expressing the same statistical laws.

"I have mentioned that the photon gave a simple explanation of many of the properties of radiation and thereby presented its corpuscular aspect while the well-known properties of interference and superposibility brought out its wave character. That the same dual nature may exist in all material corpuscles was first imagined by De Broglie. His phase-waves found quick experimental verification, and raised a similar problem of the real nature of the corpuscle. The formulation of wave-mechanics by Schrodinger, one raised a hope that by a radical modification of our usual ideas about the corpuscle it might be possible to re-establish the law of causality and classical determinism. Subsequent developments have shown such hopes to be illusory. His waves are mathematical fictions utilising the multidimensional representation of a phase-space and are just as incapable of explaining the individuality of the electron, as the photon is incapable of explaining the superposibility of the field. The true meaning of his equations appears in their statistical interpretation.

#### STATISTICAL DETERMINISM

"The adherents of the quantum theory interpret the equations in a peculiar way. They maintain that these equations make statements about the behaviour of

a simple atom and nothing more than a calculation of the probabilities of transition between its different States is ever possible. There, is nothing incomprehensible about such a statistical law even if it relates to the behaviour of a single particle. But a follower of determinism will interpret such statements as betraying imperfect knowledge, either of the attendant circumstances or of the elementary laws. We may record the throws when a certain die is cast a large number of times and arrive at a statistical law which will tell us how many times out of a thousand it will fall on a certain side. But if we can take into account the exact location of its centre of gravity, all the circumstances of the throw, the initial velocity, the resistance of the table and the air and every other peculiarity that may affect it, there can be no question of chance, because each time we can reckon where the die will stop and know in what position it will rest. It is the assertion of the impossibility of even conceiving such elementary determining laws for the atomic system that is disconcerting to the classical physicist.

"It is clear that a complete acceptance of all the recent conclusions of the physicists would mean a complete break with the ancient accepted principles of scientific explanation. Causality and the universal laws are to be thrown simultaneously overboard. These assertions are so revolutionary that no wonder, they have forced physicists to opposing camps. There are some who look upon causality as an indispensable postulate for all scientific activities. The inability to apply it consistently because of the limitations of the present state of human knowledge would not justify a total denial of its existence. Granted that physics has outgrown the stage of a mechanistic formulation of the principle they assert that it is now the task of scientists to seek for a better formulation. Others of the opposing camp look upon old determinism as an inhuman conception, not only because it sets up an impossible ideal, but also as it forces man to a fatalistic attitude which rewards humanity as inanimate automata in the hands of an iron law of causation. For them the new theory has humanised physics. The quantum statistical conception of determinism nestles closer to reality and substitutes a graspable truth for an inaccessible ideal. The theory has brought hope and inspired activity. It constitutes a tremendous step towards the understanding of nature. The features of the present theory may not all be familiar but use will remove the initial prejudice. We are not to impose our reason and philosophy on nature. Our philosophy and our logic evolve and adjust themselves more and more to reality.

#### Sir Maurice Gwyer's tribute

Sir Maurice Gwyer, Vice-Chancellor, Delhi University, requesting the Viceroy to open the Indian Science Congress, said: "Indian science has already achieved a position second to none in the world, and Indian men of science have it in their power to make a contribution to the future welfare of India almost beyond human computation. They can transform the face of India, they can multiply its wealth, they can solve the problems of ignorance and poverty: and who knows whether they may not even be able to solve the most intractable of all, India's constitutional problems? It is the earnest prayer of all who have the happiness and welfare of this country at heart that these problems surveyed in the calm and serene atmosphere of science by men consecrated to the search for truth and nothing but the truth with minds free from prejudice and bias, may find a solution, or at least the beginnings of a solution at the meetings this week in Delhi."

Lieut-General Sir Clarence Bird, Master General of Ordnance, gave a brief outline of the work of the M. G. O's branch in its scientific aspects and emphasised that the Ordnance Services had contributed their quota to the development of technique in Indian industries to their permanent benefit. He gave the example of the development of the silk parachute and said, his department felt that in this it had made a real contribution to the future of the Indian silk industry. The Department had also helped many of the smaller metal industries to develop stores which formerly were imported.

#### Prof. A. V. Hill's Speech

Professor A. V. Hill, Secretary of the Royal Society, in his speech, said:

This is a very special, indeed a unique, occasion and I am deeply grateful to the Indian Science Congress Association and the authorities in Delhi for providing it. With your permission, Sir, I now declare this great meeting to be, for a few minutes, a meeting of the Royal Society.

Before I left London in November, the President and Council of the Royal Society desired me to convey to the scientific men and women of India their greetings and goodwill: and the President asked me, on his behalf and with the

authority, to convene, if possible, a special meeting of the Royal Society for the purpose. That possibility has become a reality by the courtesy of the Indian Science Congress, which has allowed its inaugural ceremony to be deferred, for a short time, for the purpose. At this meeting of the Royal Society the vast majority of those present are, for the moment, guests; but there are in fact several Fellows of the Society here to-day, and His Majesty the King, the Patron of the Society, is represented by H. E. the Viceroy—who is not unconnected by inheritance with the Society. Moreover, many Fellows and foreign members of the Society, scattered over most of the earth although more concentrated in the United Kingdom, will be present with us in spirit at this meeting, and will warmly approve the purpose of goodwill and comradeship in the scientific endeavour for which it is called: and I am sure that there are a good many future Fellows of the Royal Society here present, for the moment as guests.

This occasion is unique in the fact that for the first time in its 281 years the Royal Society is holding a meeting outside England. At the beginning of the present war, the Society held a few meetings in Cambridge, and a few years ago a very special meeting was held in his home in London to admit to foreign membership a very distinguished refugee from Nazi persecution, Dr. *Sigmund Freud*, whose health did not allow him to present himself at the Society's headquarters for the ceremony. Apart, however, from those few occasions, our meetings have never been held outside our own apartments.

I mentioned the special admission of Dr. Freud. The Society, which has a pious care for its records and traditions, has been rather concerned of late for the fact that too many of the great men who have been members of its Fellowship, have been unable to attend a meeting to be admitted and to sign the historic Charter Book, which contains the signature of the vast majority of its Fellows for the last 281 years. The great Louis Pasteur was among those and also the first Indian to be elected (in 1841) *Ardeshr Cursetjee*. With the expansion of science more and more of the Fellows tend to be elected in parts of the British commonwealth far distant from London, and at the present time there are four Indian F. R. S.'s who have as yet been unable to attend a meeting for admission and to sign the Charter Book and Obligation. The President has asked me, on his behalf, to admit such of this four Fellows as are able to be present to-day and to obtain their signatures on a special sheet of parchment to be included later in the Charter Book. This I propose to do at the close of my remarks. He has appointed me formally a Vice-President to act for him in this.

Prof. Hill then read the letter Sir *Henry Dale*, the president of the Royal Society, to the President of the Indian Science Congress in which he had expressed his earnest hope that Prof. Hill's visit to India would strengthen the bonds of understanding and true comradeship between Indian and British men of science. He also read other letters from Fellows of the Royal Society which expressed the same hope including those of Sir *Richard Gregory*, the President of the British Association for the advancement of science and formerly Editor of *Nature*, Field Marshal *Smuts* and Mr. *Churchill*.

Mr. Churchill's message, sending greetings and good wishes to Indian men of science and especially to the six Indian fellows of the Royal Society, said: "Science has given to this generation the means of unlimited disaster or of unlimited progress. When this war is won, we shall have averted disaster. There will remain the greater task of directing knowledge lastingly towards the purposes of peace and human good. In this task, the scientists of the world, united by the bond of a single purpose which overrides all bounds of race and language can play a leading and inspiring part."

Prof. Hill said: There is no qualification at all, nor any limit, to the desire of their British colleagues for intimate co-operation with the scientific people of India, in the common tasks, first of improving natural knowledge (which is the age-long function of the Royal Society) and second of applying the knowledge so won to human betterment. And—if I may dare to say so—in collaborating, as we can so easily do, in these ways, we may learn perhaps to collaborate more effectively in others.

Prof. Hill then read the Obligation to be signed by Fellows of the Royal Society which stated:

"We who have hereunto subscribed, do hereby promise, each for himself, that we will endeavour to promote the Good of the Royal Society of London for improving Natural Knowledge; and to pursue the Ends for which the same was founded: That we will be present at the meetings of the Society, as often as conveniently we

can, especially at the anniversary elections, and upon extraordinary occasions ; and that we will observe the Statutes and Orders of the said Society. Provided that whensoever any one of us, shall signify to the President, under his hand that he desireth to withdraw from the Society, he shall be free from this Obligation for the future."

Prof. Hill, in conclusion, said that the number of those who had signified to the President, under their hand that they desire to withdraw from the Society is, to use a mathematical term, vanishingly small.

#### Engineering & Metallurgy Section

"It is research, and nothing else, that can develop our industries and improve our agriculture. To-day, research is progress, research is life," said Mr. J. J. Ghandy, in his presidential address to the section of Engineering and Metallurgy at the Indian Science Congress on the 5th. January 1944.

Dealing with the question of industrial research in India, Mr. Ghandy said that apart from the inadequately staffed, official scientific services and a mere handful of research institutes and committees and engineering colleges, India had had few facilities for research in the past. The Department of Scientific and Industrial Research was only a creation of this war and suffered from many handicaps. The hour had come when we must plan national research on national lines or abandon all hopes for the future.

In every advanced industrial country of the West, industrial research was fostered by State bodies, observed Mr. Ghandy. There was always the closest liaison between Government, the university and the factory in the furtherance of scientific and industrial research. For furthering research in India, he suggested that the existing Department of Scientific and Industrial Research, consisting of a Research Council and a Board and a Research Utilisation Committee should be de-politicised, and its membership enlarged so as to include representatives of all branches of science. The Council should only lay down policy and co-ordinate the work of the technically subservient bodies, corresponding in its functions to the Committee of the Privy Council for Scientific and Industrial Research in England. The Board and the Committee, both aided by chains of Committees, should plan national research in close collaboration, under the general direction of the parent Council. The Board should concern itself with the scientific aspect and the Committee with the industrial aspect, of the planning of a national programme and its direction and execution.

For children, said Mr. Ghandy, 'Pioneer Palaces' on the Russian model, equipped with science laboratories, should be set up ; and for adults, facilities for scientific research at the universities and for technological training should be extended. The vocational, practical training of science students in the workshop of private companies and the railways should be arranged, to make the science students shop-minded. Industries should set up their own research laboratories, if they can afford them, or combine together and foster co-operative research like the Iron and Steel Industrial Research Council in England ; arrange part-time technical instruction for the average factory worker, who is the eventual agent for the application of research to industry ; and stimulate the growth of an industrial fellowship plan on the American model. The daily, non-technical press in addition to the technical press, exhibitions, the film and the radio should be fully exploited for the general dissemination of scientific intelligence.

#### Agricultural Sciences Section

In his presidential address to the Section of Agricultural Sciences on the 5th. January, Rao Bahadur Dr. D. V. Bal dealt with some aspects of the present and post-war food production in India.

Dr. Bal said that various problems connected with the present and future food production in India had been broadly surveyed. It had been shown that on the basis of 1939-40 figures regarding the area under cereal crops in British India, the quantity of cereal food grains available for human consumption came to 53.2 million tons. Average requirements in respect of cereal food grains per head per day came to about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  lb, on the assumption that out of the minimum requirement of 2,600 calories, about 275 calories were derived from oils, pulses and vegetables and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  lb, if the total calorific requirements as shown by different diet surveys were to be derived chiefly from cereals only. According to the recent census figures the total quantity of cereal food grains required, would thus come to 57.8 to 67.5 million tons which was higher by 4.6 or 14.3 million tons respectively than what the land could normally be expected to produce under existing systems of crop

production ; in other words, the present production would have to be raised by 8.6 to 26.8 per cent in order to meet the minimum food requirements of the existing population. It was thus evident that leaving aside questions like birth control and other measures for checking the growth of population, our immediate need was to increase food production to the maximum extent possible apart from the economic factors governing crop production.

Dr. Bal made the following suggestions for increasing food production. Comprehensive schemes should be drawn up for the purpose of construction of wells in areas possessing shallow water table as well as construction of bunds and drains and the State should make sufficient funds available at low rates of interest, together with a provision for adequate subsidies and easy instalments for the repayment of loans. Preparation of composts from farm wastes by the cultivators and preparation of composts from town refuse and nightsoil in urban areas should be encouraged and the latter should in the first instance, be issued free to the cultivators and in addition small cash payments might also be made to partially cover the expenditure incurred in carting the manure from urban areas to the field. Extensive cultivation of leguminous crops was also of urgent and vital importance both from the point of recuperation of soil fertility and improvement of the existing ill-balanced diet of the people. Efforts should be made to increase seed multiplication centres in order to meet the demands of the cultivators for improved seeds of various crops. Suitable agencies on a regional basis should be established to deal with the diseases of crops and adequate storage facilities should be provided for, to protect the produce from the attack of insects, rats etc. Since the existing supplies of fodder and the area under pastures were inadequate the practice of breaking up fallow land should be adopted with very great caution as it was likely to increase the competition between the cultivators and their cattle. Fortunately for us, if better methods of cultivation and manuring were adopted, it was possible to increase the food production by 25 to 33 per cent so as to adequately meet the food requirements of the population of the country. In view of the fact that it was obligatory on the part of the State to ensure minimum requirements in respect of food and clothing to every individual citizen, there was no reason why a portion of the increasing industrial and commercial income should not be utilised in giving relief in the form of subsidies to the cultivators should the business of crop production *vis-a-vis* industrial manufacture of finished articles become uneconomic or unremunerative.

Referring to the question of long range problems relating to food production, Dr. Bal stressed the necessity for conducting properly planned experiments to determine maximum crop production capacity of soils for training a large number of young persons for stabilising incomes of agricultural labourers and cultivators and for prevention of fragmentation of holdings. He also suggested colonisation of new areas and utilisation of demobilised soldiers and various motor vehicles and tanks at present employed for war work.

In conclusion, Dr. Bal urged that all the forces at our disposal must be harnessed together in order to increase the production of food in India, not only to meet her present requirements but to banish the problem of food deficiency for all time to come.

#### Psychology & Educational Science Section

Presiding over the Section of the Psychology and Educational Science of the Indian Science Congress on the 6th. January, Mr. John Sargent, Educational Commissioner with the Government of India surveyed the position of education in India and set forth a plan of national education.

Discussing the nature of the changes that are called for and what is the minimum programme of development which will place India on an approximate educational level with other countries Mr. Sargent stated that the following were the essential requirements :—

(1) Universal compulsory and free education for all boys and girls from the age of five or six until 14, in order to ensure literacy and the minimum preparation for citizenship.

(2) A reasonable provision of education before the compulsory age for school attendance in the form of nursery schools and classes. This is important mainly in the interest of health particularly in areas where housing conditions are unsatisfactory.

(3) Secondary or high school education for those children who show the capacity for benefiting by it. Probably to satisfy this requirement provision should be made ultimately in high schools of various types for not less than 20 per cent

of the boys and girls in each age-group. Variety both in types of school and in the curricula of individual schools is essential to suit the varying tastes and aptitudes of the individual pupils on the one hand and the requirements of their future occupations on the other. In addition, so that no boy or girl of outstanding ability may be debarred by poverty from further education, liberal financial assistance in the form of free places, scholarships and stipends must be forthcoming.

(4) University education, including postgraduate and research facilities for picked students. It is difficult to fix a quantitative standard here but probably when a High School system as contemplated above has been fully established, about one pupil in every 15 should be found fit to proceed to a University.

(5) Technical, commercial and art education. The amount, type and location of this will necessarily be determined to a large extent by the requirements of industry and commerce.

(6) Adult education, both vocational and non-vocational of all kinds and standards to meet the needs of those who were denied adequate opportunities in their earlier years or recognise the importance of supplementing what they then received.

(7) Arrangements for training the vast army of teachers which a system of this kind will require.

(8) An efficient school medical service which will see that children are made healthy and kept healthy. This means treatment as well as inspection and the provision of proper nourishment in necessitous cases. It is a waste of time and money to try to teach a child who is underfed or conscious in other ways of serious physical discomfort. Health also postulates the provision of hygienic buildings in suitable surroundings, the right kind of furniture and equipment and ample facilities for physical training and games.

(9) Special schools for children suffering from mental or physical handicaps.

(10) Recreational facilities of all kinds to satisfy the craving for corporate activity and to counteract the drabness of the conditions in which so large a part of the Indian people otherwise spend their lives.

(11) Employment Bureaux, to guide school and college leavers into profitable employment and so far as possible to adjust the output of the schools to the capacity of the labour market.

(12) An administrative system which will place initiative and authority in the hands of those who understand and care about education.

#### DEFECTS IN THE SYSTEM

Mr. *Sargent*, proceeding to examine the defect of the present system, pointed out that in the lower ranges, in the absence of compulsion, 80 per cent of the students lapsed back into illiteracy. In regard to high school education, admission was determined by ability to pay fees rather than by intellectual promise of the student. The curriculum was determined by the requirement of university matriculation and offered hardly any facilities for pupils, who sought employment in industrial or commercial occupations. Indian universities did not make any serious attempt to relate their output to the needs of the community. Their examination system did not encourage original thinking and real scholarship and their organisation failed to secure personal contact between students and teachers. There were few openings in industry and commerce and to the technically trained Indians opportunities were still more limited by the practice of filling better openings by imported technicians. School medical service was defective, in that there was provision only for inspection, not treatment and that children were not supplied with the requisite nourishment.

Regarding equipment, the less said the better, observed Mr. *Sargent*; at any rate, in the lower stages of Indian education, buildings, equipment, playgrounds and so on regarded as essential to any proper school. Scouting flourished in certain areas, but there was no co-ordination of extramural corporate activities. The Indian education system, moreover, made no attempt whatever to market the articles it produced. In the sphere of administration, if a national system was to be introduced within a reasonable period it would have to be not merely subsidised but also stimulated and co-ordinated from the centre through a strong Education Department in the Central Government.

Passing on to the question of educational finance, Mr. *Sargent* pointed out that whereas in England and Wales, the educational expenditure, per head was Rs. 32-2-0, in India it was but 8 as. and 9 ps. Allowing for a scale of salary in primary schools for assistants of Rs. 30 to Rs. 50 with free houses or rent allowance and of Rs. 40 to Rs. 80 in respect of vernacular middle or senior basic schools and of Rs. 75 to Rs. 150 for graduates, Mr. *Sargent* calculated that the total salary bill for



British India would amount to Rs. 195.71 crores, including expenditures on medical service, employment bureaus, books, youth movement, adult education, training of teachers, the expenditure would come to Rs. 313 crores for British India and 417 crores for the whole of India. In respect of British India estimating for an income from fees and similar sources of Rs. 35.56 crores the deficit to be met from public-funds in British India amounted to Rs. 277½ crores. Mr. Sargent stated that it might be possible to finance this by savings that may be expected in expenditure on defence by diverting the surplus of religious bodies to education and by other means.

#### "ALL OR NOTHING"

Concluding, Mr. Sargent said, "Most of the main lines of development have already been laid down by the Central Advisory Board but even so, given the will and given the funds it would in my opinion take at least 35 to 40 years to establish the sort of educational system which has been outlined in this paper. The work might be spread over 8 five-year programmes. The first would be devoted mainly to working out plans in details, reorganising the administrative system and setting up the Training Schools and Colleges necessary to provide the teachers required. During each of the seven subsequent periods an area roughly equivalent to one-seventh of the area of each Province would be taken in hand. It will be about 10 years after the end of this period before the full incidence of the cost of educational reconstruction will be felt. By that time, it is possible that the industrial development to which many look for raising the standard of living in India to a level which will enable her to finance essential services out of her own resources, may have become an accomplished fact. Moreover, as education spreads among the rural population, there is reason to hope that it may lead to the abandoning of those superstitions and prejudices which for centuries have hung like millstones round the neck of the Indian peasant. A competent observer has estimated that with the removal of these the standard of living among agriculturists might be raised by as much as 100 per cent. Others are even more optimistic. If there are any such prospects, they would more than justify an immediate loan of such a size as would enable a start to be made at once with educational reconstruction on the scale which I have advocated. It is in the world's interest as much as India's that this should be done and done quickly. People like myself who believe that given the chance the human race, not excluding Indians, is capable of progress, find it difficult to understand why if money in any quantity can be raised in war time the same cannot be done in peace-time for what may be a still more world-saving purpose. The object of this paper is to throw down a challenge to all those who have the real welfare of India at heart. The question it propounds is as simple as it is urgent. What is not less important, it would appear in my humble opinion to transcend all political controversies. Federation will not answer it, nor Dominion Status nor Non-violence, nor Pakistan. But the right answer to it may provide the right answer to all these. If my premises are accepted there can be no half-way houses between what is and what ought to be. It is all or nothing. All means expenditure on a scale which may frighten those who have defended inertia on the ground that India is too poor to have what other countries enjoy. Anything less than all means—and there is no evading this conclusion—that India accepts a position of permanent inferiority in the society of civilised nations."

#### Botany Section

In his presidential address to the Section of Botany of the Indian Science Congress on the 6th. January, Mr. T. S. Sabnis dealt with the recent progress in the various fields of botany with special reference to economic plants. During the last three or four generations, he said, the progress made in improving the numerous plants and animals which provide us with food, clothing and ornament had been astounding. The progress achieved by the non-scientific methods in earlier centuries was no doubt good, but it could hardly have stood the strain of the modern political problems and helped to satisfy the industrial and commercial requirements of to-day.

The lecturer said that one development of botany had been plant ecology, that is, that branch of botany which dealt with the effects which the various environmental factors produced upon plants. In dealing with the problem of controlling vegetation, either for agriculture, forestry or for the improvement of grassland, plant ecology, by investigating the fundamental laws concerning growth of plants in relation to the environmental factors, would be of much help.

Much attention had lately been paid to one of these factors, namely, light. By subjecting plants to controlled illumination, and sometimes, when necessary, by artificially giving them additional illumination, the growth periods of crops had been



markedly changed, thus making possible certain breeding experiments. The information secured was, besides, useful to the agriculturist and the horticulturist in their attempts to grow plants in new environments, different from those to which the plants belonged.

The study of response of plants to different temperatures had led to the process originated by Russian scientists and now known as vernalization, which consisted of giving to the seeds certain temperature treatments. Vernalization had enabled Russia to grow luxuriant crops of winter wheat in areas in which it was formerly impossible to grow it successfully. Thus the process had enabled agriculturists to triumph over Nature's climatic barriers. A great deal of work in this direction was now being done in the different countries.

Another factor which stimulated plant growth resided in the plant itself but it was discovered only recently, said Mr. Sabnis. It was known as the growth regulator and was something like the growth hormones of the animals in nature. Preparations of plant growth regulators were now being used for stimulating the rooting of plant cuttings or seedlings which were normally found difficult to be propagated. Researches on the nutrition of plants had led to the discovery of the important role which some of the elements played in the life of most plants. These elements were required only in traces, yet they were essential. Their deficiency was at times responsible for failure of vast crops, but with the knowledge gained the crops could now be saved by supplying the deficiency.

#### Medical & Veterinary Section

In his presidential address to the Section of Medical and Veterinary Sciences at the Indian Science Congress on the 6th. January, Dr. K. V. Krishnan dealt with the subject of medical education in India and made suggestions for improvement in certain directions. On the standard of medical education reached in any country, he said, largely depended the soundness of the medical men, the efficiency of medical service provided by Government and its usefulness to the community.

In India, said Dr. Krishnan, they had a dual standard of medical education, medical schools turning out licentiates who are men of a lower standard and medical colleges producing university graduates who are men of a higher standard. With the exception of India and Russia, there was no other country in the world which retained this dual standard. Russia was fast trying to abolish the lower standard and he hoped in the very near future India, too, would be having only medical colleges and no schools.

In considering the needs of medical education of a country, almost the first question that arose was "are there a sufficient number of medical institutions producing the requisite number of medical men?" The standard aimed at in western countries was to have enough medical colleges so that there would at least be one qualified doctor for every 1,000 of the population. According to this standard, India should have at least 400,000 doctors or ten times the present number. The ten medical colleges and 27 medical schools in existence in India were jointly producing every year about 1,700 new doctors. Unless some practicable plan was put forward to hasten production (without lowering the standard and without considerable extra cost) there seemed to be no hope of solving the question of inadequacy of doctors in the near future.

Proceeding Dr. Krishnan said that India was predominantly a rural country; 95 per cent of her vast population lived in rural areas. The majority of these received little or no medical aid. The majority of the doctors produced in our colleges were averse to settling down in rural areas for one reason or another. "The few that do are unable to cater to the special requirements of the rural people and to adapt themselves to the conditions of the villages for long. This unfortunate situation is due to a number of factors one of which is that our colleges do not produce the right type of rural medical practitioners. Only if and when they produce this special type they would be considered as having catered to the country's needs. What is needed is a band of doctors with true missionary zeal, with genuine rural bias, with proper understanding of the diverse rural problems, medical and non-medical, and with high humanitarian ideals, who will be content to devote their lives and knowledge at least for a set period to the service of the people for a small reward. The country needs and demands such a band of selfless workers and it is not difficult to constitute that band if one goes about in the right way. It is the duty of our medical colleges to select the right type of men, train them suitably and make them available to the rural people who badly need them. It can be done even under the present economic conditions and available resources."

## POST-GRADUATE COURSES

Making suggestions for the improvement of medical education in the country, Dr. Krishnan stressed the need for organising proper postgraduate courses for our men, particularly for the general practitioner. Where our educational institutions failed, there it was the duty of our medical associations to step in. Advancement of science could only be achieved through men with a scientific bent of mind. It was the responsibility of the medical colleges to produce such men through inclusion of research programmes in education. The library was a vital part of a medical college. A well selected collection of books, monographs and periodicals covering as completely as possible the entire field of medicine was a necessity both for the student and the staff. "Here mention may be made about the need for text books containing Indian data and reference to Indian problems" said the lecturer. "At the country while being highly valuable in certain respects lack information on local problems that the Indian medical student will be particularly interested in. If the professors of our medical colleges would only take the trouble to write suitable text books and incorporate in them all available Indian data and their own personal experience a long-felt genuine demand will be soon satisfied."

Dr. Krishnan also laid emphasis on the importance of providing adequate clinical facilities for teaching purposes. "Here it will not be irrelevant for me to draw your attention to one of the criticisms that is being levelled at our recent graduates by the senior members of the profession namely, that the graduates nowadays are too much dependent on laboratory, X-ray and other findings and too little on the results of their own clinical observations", he observed. "From personal knowledge of several of our recent products I feel that this is a very true and just criticism which our medical colleges would do well to note. Although in our educational programme we should and do rightly stress the importance of the scientific method of approach to medicine, it does not mean that we would be justified in neglecting or in even laying less emphasis on the clinical methods of examination. One of the causes of unpopularity of western medicine among the Indian masses is that it is too expensive; apart from the cost of medicines, there is not only the doctors' fees to pay but also the fees to the bacteriologist, the biochemist and the radiologist. I do not say for a moment that we should in our practice of medicine altogether omit resorting to laboratory aids, on the ground that they are costly. But I do say at the same time that it is our duty to consider our patients' purse and to suggest these aids only when they are absolutely essential."

Dr. Krishnan suggested two reforms relating to the instructional staff of Indian medical colleges which need to be immediately introduced in the interest of medical education. The first was to debar the entire teaching staff from engaging in private practice in order that they might be able to give their undivided attention to teaching research and hospital patients, if any in their charge. A serious damage that had been done through allowing private practice to paid doctors in Government employ in general and to the paid teaching staff of medical colleges in particular, was that it had kept down the standard of the independent medical profession through unfair competition. The second reform that was needed is to constitute a separate cadre for the teaching staff of medical colleges. At present the college staff formed part of the provincial medical cadre and as such were liable to be transferred to non-teaching post. These changes apart from depriving the colleges of competent teachers might bring in men who had no aptitude for teaching and who could not appreciatively co-operate in the educational programme of the college. The creation of a separate cadre would overcome this difficulty and help the colleges to achieve their objectives more rapidly.

## UNIVERSITY TYPE OF COLLEGE

After discussing the various aspects of medical training, Dr. Krishnan said: "A study of the various medical educational institutions in existence in different countries of the world shows that they may broadly be classified into two types—ordinary type and university type. The first type is organised chiefly to produce the ordinary general practitioner through provision of facilities for undergraduate training of a vocational type; and the second is organised not only to produce the general practitioner with a scientific bias but also the specialist in various branches through provision of facilities for postgraduate training and research. The objective aimed at and the functions of the various departments are also different. The modern tendency is to have wherever possible medical college of the University type which in the words of Abraham Flexner would address itself wholeheartedly and unreservedly to the advancement of knowledge the study of problems from

whatever source they come and the training of men all at the highest level of possible effort. India needs a few of these. Almost all her colleges are of the ordinary type and a few are struggling towards the university type. These few can readily be remodelled into the university type and let us hope we will be able to do it in the near future. The colleges in Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta are advantageously placed and have already facilities developed to an extent that it would not cost much to reorganise them into the university type. The three together would require about Rs. 60 lakhs for capital expenditure and about Rs. 10 lakhs for additional recurring expenditure. This sum is nothing compared to the benefits that are likely to accrue from such reorganisation and expansion.

The lecturer suggested the following scheme of reorganisation. The control of the 'University Medical College' should rest with a board constituted for the purpose. It should be composed of two representatives each from government, university, legislature, postgraduate and research institutes and the medical college itself. The duties of the board should be administrative, financial and technical control. Appointment of staff; finance; building; equipment; creation of new departments; expansion of existing departments; formulation of policy and programme; organisation of new courses of study; formulation of regulations and rules; determination of fees and scholarships; acceptance and utilisation of gifts, bequests and trusts should all come under its purview. The university concerned should help by (a) providing regular grants towards the cost of research and postgraduate educational programmes, (b) creating endowment fund by attracting public support, (c) enabling the college to utilise some of the facilities of the university for their educational activities, (d) broadening the objectives and procedures of medical education and (e) encouraging the publication of books on medical subjects containing Indian data and information. The government will continue to give financial aid as at present but will delegate some of its powers to the board of control.

#### POSITION OF AYURVEDA

Concluding Dr. Krishnan said : 'If one goes into any rural area in this country (this is also true of many urban areas) one finds four classes of practitioners—the witch doctor, the quack doctor, the *ayurvedic* or *unani* doctor and the allopath. As regards the first two all are unanimously agreed that quackery wherever and in whatever form it exists must be relentlessly put down. Yet we have so far done nothing substantial to root it out nor even to make it difficult. It is being practised openly and it still remains a challenge to scientific medicine and a blot on human intelligence. We must make up our minds what to do about it. As regards the *ayurvedic* and *unani* systems the opinion is rather divided. If we want the indigenous system to remain, we must encourage it as best we can, get the qualified men compulsorily registered so that quackery may not masquerade under its name and spoil its reputation as it is doing at present and also make the services of these men readily available to the people wherever they are required. All this is possible, but if it is done, it will, in my opinion, be a false and retrogressive move, a move in the wrong direction. If really India wishes to keep pace with modern developments in science and come into line with all advanced countries, she must, however unpalatable it may be to some people, be prepared to abolish this antiquated empirical system of medicine. Any sympathy or attachment to it will only retard scientific progress. The plea that the indigenous system is better suited to Indian constitutions is a myth. The plea that it is cheap and within the means of poor people is no criterion of its value or usefulness. The plea that it is readily available even in remote areas is a hope to ease the conscience of the sick for whom we are unable to provide the scientific medical aid that we ought to. Under these circumstances we must make up our minds as to what to do with these systems of medicine.

The position at present with regard to the allopathic system is that all people resort to it when they can obtain it and if it is within their means. The majority of that people are thoroughly convinced of its greater value and usefulness and its wider application in many fields. It has the advantages of possessing a preventive side of having methods for developing positive health and of being built on rational and scientific basis.

The type of medical service that is best suited to the country has to be decided. We must study beforehand the situation in the country thoroughly with the help of an expert committee and find out the type of medical service that will really and truly take the benefits of modern scientific medicine within the reach of every individual in the country, urban and rural. I believe even with the existing resources in men and money we can reorganise our medical services in a

way such that they will be of greater help to a larger group of people than at present. As I stated previously, through the utilisation of the services of honorary men in place of paid men in all urban areas and through the employment of paid staff in all rural areas where they are badly needed we can greatly improve matters. The type of organisation I have in view consists of five classes of officers : (1) administrative officers in each district for direction, supervision and control. (2) medical college staff for teaching research and technical advice. (3) rural health officers for doing mainly public health work and a little of medical work. (4) honorary doctors in all urban hospitals for medical work and (5) health officers of municipalities and towns. Once it is agreed that a particular scheme is suitable, then medical education can be immediately modified to supply the type or types of doctors required for the scheme. We must make up our minds as to the type of medical service that would suit the country best."

#### Anthropology & Archaeology Section

In the course of his Presidential address to the section of Anthropology and Archaeology, Mr. Verrier Elwin, said :

"I have taken 'Truth in Anthropology' as my subject for this seems of great importance at a time when our science has been debased in the interest of false racial theories. Truth is specially important also at a time when a young science is passing the age of puberty and entering maturity. I propose to speak to you very simply as a field-worker. I have no theories to advance and no axe to grind. I am concerned in my own work simply in recording the facts, and in this speech I want to speak to you of some of my experiences in that task and to stress the very great need of a high standard of Truth in all our field-work in order that the science of anthropology may be established in India, both as a means of recording the history of her people and as an instrument which may be of value to Governments in caring for and preserving her aboriginals.

"It is necessary to stress this, for anthropology is regarded with some suspicion in India. There are several reasons for this. The attempt of certain scholars and politicians to divide the aboriginal tribes from the Hindu community at the time of the Census created the impression that science could be diverted to political and communal ends. In earlier years the Census authorities tried to distinguish animism and Hinduism. Later the expression, 'Followers of Tribal Religions', was used. The test proposed was to ask a person whether he worshipped Hindu or tribal gods. This test was meaningless. The religion of the aboriginals in Peninsular India at least is obviously of the Hindu family. Hinduism itself having many elements which a theologian would call animistic. In the religious columns, therefore, the aboriginals should have been returned from the beginning as Hindus. Any other classification was worse than useless. It is very difficult even for a trained theologian to decide the exact description of the religion of the various tribes. It is obviously impossible for an illiterate and ignorant enumerator to do so. What we want to know is how many aboriginals there are in India so that we can insist that they have a square deal in the counsels of the country. But now we know accurately neither the religious nor the racial situation, and the unfortunate fact that a number of anthropologists interested themselves in the complicated business of deciding the exact way in which aboriginals should be distinguished from the Hindu religion has done our science harm in public estimation.

"But perhaps the chief thing that has disturbed nationalist opinion in India has been the creation of Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas. It is an open secret that this move was largely the work of a distinguished anthropologist, at the Round Table Conference. Nationalist India accepted Sections 52 and 92 of the Government of India Act as an insult to India's political capacity, and at the National Congress held at Faizpur (and again at Haripura) the most sinister motives were ascribed to the British Government. Provincial legislators condemned the arrangement in the strongest terms, and in a debate in the Legislative Assembly in Delhi, Mr. M. S. Aney, and Mr. N. M. Joshi condemned all anthropologists as desiring to keep the primitive races of India 'uncivilized' and 'in a state of barbarism' as raw material for their science and "in order to add to their blessed stock of scientific knowledge." About this time there arose the curious criticism of anthropologists that they wished to keep the aboriginal tribes in a zoo, a suggestion that can only have been made by people who had never met an anthropologist or visited a zoo. In a zoo, an animal is not protected ; it is restrained ; it is taken away from its natural environment and deprived of its liberty. But what the anthropologist desires for his people is the preservation of their liberty that they

retain control of their natural environment and grow to cultural and civic maturity in freedom, happiness and peace.

"As a matter of fact, the Partially Excluded Areas bear no resemblance whatever to the anthropologists' dream. They are very different from the National Parks of North America or the Reserves of Africa. They afford no real protection to the tribesmen, and their establishment has done little except that by irritating public opinion it has drawn attention to the aboriginal problem.

"In any case, it cannot be too often emphasized that the real business of social anthropology is not the collecting of exciting and curious customs and the recording of bizarre superstitions. It is the attempt to describe and to make real the entire living beauty of a culture in all its related activities. I do not believe that anyone can read the best productions of the Functional School without gaining a profound respect for whatever tribe has been described. Indeed, I would put this as one of the tests of successful writing in this sphere. There are few communities of human beings who, when fully and thoroughly studied and understood, do not excite our admiration and even our love.

#### WEAKNESS OF OFFICIAL RESEARCH

As we look back over the history of Indian ethnography and survey the meagre array of books upon its shelf, we can see, I think, why it is that our science does not hold a higher place in the counsels of India. We have been set some very bad examples. The Ethnographic Survey, for all the valuable information it collected, was too superficial, too Tylorian, too bureaucratic and too dependent on information provided by untrained subordinates. Unfortunately it has generally been forgotten that the volumes of the Ethnographic Survey were prepared primarily as works of reference for the officers of Government and that as Crooke said at the time they were written not so much in the interests of anthropological research, as indispensable aids to the work of civil administration. The result has been the establishment of a tradition of scrappy hurried work largely divorced from personal observation.

"Another bad example was set by the reports of the *Census of India*. Here again the impression was all too easily created that social anthropology consisted of a series of notes on interesting and curious subjects. It would be hard to imagine anything less like the productions of the Functional School than the material contained in these reports. Part of it is the obviously inaccurate record of tours in motor-cars. Part does not even enjoy this authority. I notice one writer in the 1931 Census frankly admits that his contribution is the result of a hasty perusal of the books available in the District Office."

Truth in anthropology demands a scrupulous adherence to the highest rules and standards of field-work. First and foremost I would put the length of time that an investigator should spend among his people. But here in India particularly where anthropological work has been mainly the hobby of persons otherwise busily engaged how short has been the time given by many investigators to their task. Ruben wrote his massive work on the Asurs after a stay among the tribe of less than a month. Indian writers whom I will not name have produced articles and monographs after a week or a fortnight's stay in tribal villages. My own book on the Baiga was published seven years after I had settled down in the Baiga country, yet I am still to-day discovering new facts about the tribe and points where I should like to modify my early conclusions.

#### KNOWLEDGE OF LANGUAGES ESSENTIAL

Westermarck very rightly stresses linguistic qualifications. A knowledge of the language he says is in my opinion an indispensable qualification for which no sociological training can serve as compensation. To be able to converse freely with the people without the aid of an interpreter should be the field-anthropologist's most serious aspiration.

One of the most important needs of social anthropology is that it should be firmly based on statistics. By no other means can we eradicate from our literature the baneful presence of the general statement. This is particularly necessary in questions of sex and marriage, about which writers in India have a passion for being discreetly vague. Thus Unwin laughs at such statements as that the girls are modest and beautiful, the majority chaste. A distinguished writer once committed himself to the opinion that no girl of a certain tribe ever came to her marriage as a virgin. By what possible means could this remarkable piece of information have been achieved except by direct revelation from Above?

In attempting to reach the realities of tribal life, I believe that tribal poetry

is of the first importance. There is a remarkable passage in Leigh Hunt which describes how poetry leads on from dry fact to living reality.

Poetry begins where matter of fact or of science ceases to be merely such and to exhibit a further truth that is to say, the connection it has with the world of emotion and its power to produce imaginative pleasure. Inquiring of a gardener, for instance, what flower it is we see yonder, he answers, A lily. This is matter of fact. The botanist pronounces it to be of the order of Hexandria Monogynia. This is matter of science. It is the lady of the garden, says Spenser, and here we begin to have a poetical sense of its fairness and grace. It is

"The plant and flower of light" says Ben Jonson; and poetry then shown us the beauty of the flower in all its mystery and splendour.

For anthropology must be established in its rightful place in India, it is urgently needed for the life and safety of the tribesmen. A whole world of Indian life and culture is rapidly passing away without proper record, because we are not doing our field-work properly. The collections in our Museums, the teaching in our Universities is equally inadequate to the task that lies ahead. A very great change must be introduced and I believe myself that that change will only come as we establish ourselves more and more firmly in the idea of Truth.

Mahatma Gandhi has set us all thinking again in terms of Truth. Above the changing flux of earthly existence there rises the Eternal Truth, in that Yonder which is the true home of man. And since man was made for Truth he is restless until his feet are on the highroad which will lead him to his home. For the Truth of science is no static thing, for his whole life man must pass from truth to truth. All Truth is a shadow except the last—except the utmost, yet every Truth is true in its kind. The scholar's life becomes a daily parting with shadows—and some of these will have become dear to him. Yet he knows that of all the adventures of which the world is full there is not one that can compare with his. For other ambitions and desires seek partial and imperfect ends, he alone has set out for the whole.

#### Theory of Quantum Mechanics

Speaking on "The Fundamental Equations of Quantum Mechanics," Mr. B. M. Sen in his presidential address to the Section of Mathematics and Statistics of the Indian Science Congress said that the theory of Quantum Mechanics was a new creation, which though not perfect, had achieved wonders in explaining the mysteries of the atomic structure. Before it came, atoms were regarded as indivisible particles and it was futile to try to discover their structures. They were the fundamental materials with which the universe was built. But Quantum Mechanics had entirely changed this outlook. Introducing some new physical principles, it had explained satisfactorily the structure of the elements. It had also explained many imperfectly understood phenomena of astrophysics. In fact, there were very few branches of Physics or Physical Chemistry which had not felt the impact of these new ideas.

It was, therefore, of utmost importance, said Mr. Sen, that the subject should be developed in a perfectly logical way. Though in recent years, it had attained a good deal of clarity and rigour of treatment, there were some gaps.

## The A. I. Muslim Educational Conference

### Annual Session—Jubbulpore—16th. April 1944

#### Sir Azizul's Presidential Address

The establishment of an institute of science and technology at Aligarh was recommended by a committee of which Prof. A. V. Hill, Sir Ziauddin and Sir Shanti Swarup Bhatnagar were among members, said Sir Azizul Haque, Industries and Civil Supplies Member, Government of India, in the course of his presidential address to the All-India Muslim Educational Conference held at Jubbulpore on the 16th. April 1944.

While the institution was primarily intended for Muslim research workers, he proceeded, it would also be open to other communities. It would give facilities for scientific, technical and industrial research and for the highest post-graduate science studies. The institution would not in any way be a burden on the Aligarh University; it would be an independent institution not receiving any financial assistance

from that university and therefore in no way responsible to the authorities of that university. It would be under the management of a governing body representative of Muslims of India and specially selected for that purpose. But it was proposed that the institution would work in close collaboration with the Aligarh University and that the staff, the laboratory, and other facilities of the institute would be available to that university to help them in their teaching and laboratory work. Its location at Aligarh would give an undoubted advantage to the Muslim University in the scientific and technical side of its activities while it would also gain by its proximity to the Muslim university with all its ideals and traditions. It had been estimated that a non-recurring fund of about Rs. 10 lakhs, a recurring fund of Rs. 3 lakhs and a sum of Rs. 2 lakhs in the reserve fund would be required. A committee of experts had already been appointed to draft the scientific and technical side of the scheme, and another committee was now engaged in drafting its administrative and financial details.

#### REFORM OF MUSLIM EDUCATION

Sir *Azizul Haque* went on to suggest, firstly, a replanning and reorganisation of the conference and the setting up of a statistical and report section which should note the factual position of Muslim education in India. Secondly, steps should be taken to organise provincial and state branches of the conference to keep watch over the conditions of Muslim education which, as experience showed, suffered in all provinces including even some of the Muslim-majority provinces. Thirdly, a few boards should be constituted by the conference to deal with such questions as the suitability of existing text books, particularly history text-books for Muslim students. Fourthly, a central Islamic research organisation should be established for India as a whole. Fifthly the conference should arrange inter-provincial and international contact of Muslim teachers and students, organise holiday camps, travel parties and special study tours in India and abroad. Sixthly, the conference should lay down what the type and pattern should be of a true Muslim school. Lastly, the conference should organise an oriental education board to establish oriental scholarship and co-ordinate the activities of the various oriental institutions and organise also special lectures in Islam.

Dwelling on the "cross-currents of politics," Sir *Azizul Haque* criticised those who seemed to think that India would be worse off if she did not retain her political unity as one State. To these critics, he pointed out the existence of about 400 Indian States, each more or less with an autonomous government, and said that they did not seem to affect the unity of the country. Independent, sovereign States had been political partners and allied in matters of common policy and common interest, he emphasised. They might have a common currency and enter into a custom, shipping, railway or tariff union. They might pool their economic and natural resources without jeopardy to their political sovereignty.

"But," he went on, "one must not consider these possibilities. It does not matter if Europe minus Russia comprising almost the same area and population as India is divided into many national States. It does not matter if the racial and cultural problems of Central Europe forced the creation of many small States after the last war. India at any cost must be one political unit and in the name of democracy, a country of 400 million people must be governed as one country with all its multiple cultures and languages with people in different strata of evolution.

#### THEORY OF MAJORITY RULE

"The majority must rule the minority, and a hundred million people must accept the scheme of things as may be decided by the majority, whether it is to the interest of the minorities or not, whether the minorities agree to or accept the scheme or not. There need be no effort to take the minorities with the majority and to create a sense of security among them. They will not look at any other scheme if thereby the majority has not a minority to govern and to rule. They will not try to understand the others' point of view or know the reasons behind the attitude of those who differ. They will allow the present system of government to continue, and yet if anybody in the face of the existing realities of acute economic difficulties and disorganisation in the country, with enemy trying hard to cross the frontiers of India, desperately struggles to bring about some ameliorative measure to the hungry and the needy millions, he must be a traitor to the country for his contact with the existing governmental machinery. I cannot think of a greater tragedy in human affairs. I do not wish to give any moral verdict on the different aspects of political attitudes in the country. I have just mentioned them as factors creating more difficult problems for us in the sphere of education.



# Convocation Addresses

## The Lucknow University Convocation

Sir C. V. Raman's Address

The following is the text of the Address delivered at the Annual Convocation of the University of Lucknow by *Raja Sahabashana Sir C. V. Raman*, Kt., M. A., Ph. D., LL. D., F. R. S., N. L. on the 15th. January, 1944.

Allow me, Sir, in the first instance, to express my high appreciation of the honour of being asked to address this Convocation. Even the most hardened politician in India would have felt it an honour to be present here on this most colourful occasion and to address this vast and distinguished gathering. Being myself just a student of Science and a teacher of youth, I feel that honour all the more highly and regard it as a great privilege to address the graduates of the year on this occasion.

The climate of Northern India in winter is perhaps the most beautiful climate in the world : sparkling blue sky, sun-shine, a cold nip in the air and this wonderful panorama of colour is enough to stir the pulses of even the most hardened scientist. I am still young enough to be thrilled at the sight of youth, to feel their joys and their sorrows as my own. I should like to say a few words about the topic of colour. I refer to the colours of these gowns, the colours of the saris worn by the ladies, the colours of the pandal and so on. I have only to enter an apology for the colour of the gowns worn by the proud possessors of Doctor's degrees and perhaps you may be interested to know why it is that Doctor's gowns have these colours. It is the privilege of women all the world over and all the time to wear colourful dress. We mere men are compelled by the force of inexorable custom to be dressed in drab, whites, grays and blacks. Once in a while, and by virtue of the authority vested in the Vice-Chancellor, we are permitted to flit round in gayer colours, which not even a lady would wear (loud laughter).

Allow me, Graduates of the year, to congratulate you on this occasion in your lives. It is no small privilege to have been a student of the University of Lucknow, to have trodden the halls of this beautiful centre of learning, to have sat at the feet of teachers of great distinction and to have achieved what the heart of young India regards most highly and that is the honour of a University degree. It is a great pleasure to me to have come here and to be asked to speak to you on this occasion and one thing urges me very specially and that is to find that this privilege has not been granted to the mere men amongst you. It gives me great pleasure to find that amongst the recipients of degrees, amongst those who have walked off with medals and diplomas and distinctions, are also a fair proportion of the young women of this province. To them specially I wish to express my heartiest congratulation. On this occasion, however, I feel a certain note of sadness coming over me, and referring to the women graduates of the year, I cannot but recall that to-day, one of the most charming and one of the most beloved figures among the women of India is smitten by sorrow : I am referring to Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, and I am sure the hearts of all of us will go out to her in her great bereavement (silent sympathy).

It is often the case that those who are called upon to address University convocations take it upon themselves to criticise and to speak ill of our Indian Universities. They think they are privileged to address an audience of University men and women and to tell them that Indian Universities are no good at all, that they are stamping machines, that they produce innumerable graduates year after year who are no good at all, who are out of contact with the realities of life and who are not capable of rendering service to the country and so on. I do not traverse all those statements made by these people, because the intensity of their vituperations is only matched by the impregnability of their ignorance about this subject. I take pride in the fact that I am a University man, that I am a teacher and that it has been my privilege over more than a quarter of a century to come into contact with the youth of India—to live their lives, to share their joys and sorrow. I would like to say this, that there is one thing above all things which I should like to see uppermost in your minds to-day and during the rest of your lives, and that is a feeling of gratitude to the institution and to the teachers with whom you have spent your lives during the past few years. There can be no



greater loyalty, no stronger feelings in the mind of youth, than a feeling of gratitude for those who have set them on the right path towards life.

I regard the Indian Universities as institutions of the highest possible importance in the life of our country. It is quite often that you hear speakers talking about education in India, to talk of Primary education, the lower grades of education as the basis of education, and they talk of University education as the apex of the pyramid of education. That picture, I think, is entirely wrong. Those who have given thought to the subject will realise that the true foundation of education is mostly furnished by the Universities. We require a strong, broad foundation to bear the weight of the pyramid and that foundation, in my view, is furnished by the Universities of India. You, young graduates, as I said, you can rightly feel proud of having been privileged to spend a few years within the walls of this institution and to learn at the feet of your teachers. I am not paying an exaggerated compliment to your University when I say that you have no reason to feel ashamed of your teachers. The University of Lucknow has made itself felt in the educational world of India. The roll of its teachers includes many men of distinction in many subjects who have kept alive the name and fame of your institution, and if I may single out one name, because it rises uppermost in my mind and it is a name of one who is universally acknowledged in scientific circles in this country and outside, and is regarded by the outside public also as one of our great national figures, a man who is one of the foremost of the living biologists of the world, it is that of Dr. Birbal Sahni. (Applause).

What is the message I would like to give you, what is the message which you are going to carry back from the University into the walks of life? I should like to suggest to you that the spirit of University education can be expressed most briefly in the form of a phrase: it is the "restless human spirit." I mentioned the name of Dr. Birbal Sahni just because I happen to know your distinguished Dean of the Faculty of Science. In a short phrase I would refer to him as the "restless human spirit." What I mean by this is the spirit that does not satisfy itself by just inactivity in finding a position and just discharging the duties of it in a routine spirit. I mean the spirit which is always reaching out, which is always searching for something new, always moved with the spirit of endeavour, always athirst with the glory of achievement, always seeking for newer and newer fields to conquer—that is the "restless human spirit." And if you look back over 3,000 years of human history, who are the human beings whose names shine across the mists of time? It is the "restless human spirit"—men like Archimedes of the ancient Greeks, men like Leonardo da Vinci of the Middle Ages, men like Newton, men like the late Lord Rutherford. I mention these names as of men whom no honour, no glory, no success ever succeeded in sinking back to idleness, who to the last day of their lives were athirst with the same vigour and the same energy as they were when they were young men. I would like to suggest to you, my young friends, that one thing which you can take away from the halls of this seat of learning is that "restless human spirit." A University, I think, altogether fails of its purpose if it does not in insufficient measure impart that restlessness of spirit to its alumni. You no doubt have succeeded in passing the University examinations. Some of you have succeeded in walking away with one, two, three six or more medals, but pray do not think for a moment that you have achieved the supreme success of life. Please remember that what you have done to-day is just a small earnest of what the country asks of you in the future. If that restless human spirit has not been stirred, if that desire to do something, to achieve something, to prove yourself worthy of your country, has not been kindled when you leave the gates of your University, then I say the University has failed of its purpose. You should go out into the world, filled with the desire to do something worth while; to glorify not yourself, but your *alma mater*, your country, the province that has given you birth, the land of which you are the son or the daughter. If that feeling has been roused in you, if that feeling does not remain dormant, but takes impetus, then I do not despair of the future of our country. I regard it as the purpose and function of the University to create the "restless human spirit," not in this or that field of knowledge or activity, but in every field of knowledge and in every field of activity. It is these "restless human spirit" who will create and lay down standards of achievement in the world, and who will build the India of the future. I ask you to bear these words in mind.

I say to you that you cannot show your gratitude to your *alma mater* in any greater way than by your future life and activity and by showing yourselves worthy sons and daughters of the University of Lucknow of which you have the

honour to be graduates. Allow me also to say something more. I feel that the loyalty of the graduates of Indian Universities, and of your University in particular, should be the greatest tower of strength to the University. A University in my view is not and cannot be a static structure. We either go forward or backward. There is no standing-still in the world of learning and of knowledge. We either move forward or slide back. How is this dynamic ideal of a University to be achieved? It can only come through the continuous enthusiasm and support of the alumni of the University. Hundreds of University graduates pass out of the University every year. If each of you sends out thoughts of affection, love and gratitude at least once a year to the *alma mater*, just imagine what the collective power of those thoughts can be. The most powerful things in this world are not tons of aeroplanes; they are powerful thoughts and ideas, and if your thoughts and ideas are filled with the desire to serve and strengthen the glory of the *alma mater*, nothing can stop the progress of the University. The more you appreciate what the University has done for you, the more you should demand and insist upon the rapid progress of the University. You should all make it your earnest desire to see the University of Lucknow rise from strength to strength, to see that her fame and her lustre should not stop at the boundry of the United Provinces or of India, but that it should spread throughout the whole world. The lamp of learning should shine brightly; the air of learning must waft its breezes all over the world, and if fame is to be achieved it can only be through you and others like you have been in this institution and who have received the benefits of it. It is up to you to see that your *alma mater* grows from strength to strength and reaches the very greatest heights of fame and name. I am not one of those who constantly tell us that our Indian Universities are inferior editions; that our graduates are worth nothing. So long as we have that feeling in our hearts, we shall not be able to rise to the heights of achievement that we are capable of. The day is long past when we had to compare ourselves unfavourably with the institutions of other parts of the world. I have a different message to give you: let us be proud of our institutions: let us demand of them the highest achievement. The more you ask of your teachers, the more they will give. That is the rule of nature: the more you ask of man, the more he will give: and the less you expect of him, the less you ask of him, the less he will give.

And here lies a great burden on your teachers. When I address the graduates, it follows as a matter of course that I am also addressing the teachers. I know, and some of us may feel sad that the profession of teachers is not honoured, is not supported. Nonetheless it devolves upon us as teachers to hold our heads high. I do not mind saying...though I might be criticised...that I regard the position of a University professor as good as or even greater than that of the governor of a province or the Viceroy of India. His is an empire of love; and empire of service. He loves his empire and he is firmly established in the hearts of his people. He spreads the light of learning and what greater thing can there be than to create an empire of love? Great men whose names slide through history in letters of blood and fear have been forgotten; but the names of those like Asoka, like Jesus Christ, like Buddha, who have built an empire of love, shine for ever and will continue to shine. I say, a teacher, a humble teacher, even though his work lies in the fields of learning and does not lie in the fields of philosophy or religion, he also is building an empire which can never die. I would like to suggest to my fellow-teachers of this University, that the higher the ideal they have of their profession, the nobler the ideals that move them in their daily thoughts, the greater the University. Ultimately, I have no doubt, that the honour of this great country, the future of India, depends, with ever-increasing measure, on the strength of our Universities, on the strength of our teachers, the energy and the devotion which they bring to their task and which they impart to their pupils within the walls of the University. I say once again that the real bases of the education pyramid are the Universities, these men trained here as teachers, who are to go out into the world and who have to spread the light of knowledge and learning, more and more, whose work will reach out far and near, until 10 or 20 years hence we might hope to realise the vision which has been held forth before us—the vision of a universally literate and educated India. How is that to be accomplished? It can only be accomplished if our Universities prove themselves worthy of the task. It is not the knowledge of the three Rs.; it is not the spread of elementary knowledge throughout the length and breadth of the land that is going to make India a great, self-sufficient nation. I say that it is the work of the University professors and teachers, that is going to build the nation, that is going

to strengthen our position in the various walks of life, so that we shall have the resources, the strength and the energy to spread the benefits of education over the largest possible number. To imagine that you can neglect the universities, that you can starve the universities and leave them to carry on their work, and that in 50 years you can make India educated, full of learning, I think that is a chimaera. We must support the universities and strengthen them. We must build the foundation and send out from the universities great numbers of highly qualified and highly gifted teachers, and it is they who are going to build the new India of the future, to which we all look forward.

Well, I have put before you my vision of the India to come, and my vision of the roll which you, my young friends are going to play in it. Let me once again say that I am not only referring to you young men? I am addressing myself particularly to the young women graduates of the year. I have lived long enough to know that men make up not only half this world, but less than half this world. The real world of India is the world of the women. Why? Because they determine what we shall do. The influence of the women-folk of India is hardly realised by any except by those who have had the good or ill fortune to be subjected to that influence. They determine the outlook of our children. The mother, for example, has a much greater influence over her children, over the mind of youth, than the mere father has. The father is out all day and busy earning his livelihood. The mother is the first, last and everything; and therefore if any body imagines that the promotion of education of the young men of India, to the neglect of the uplift of the young women, is going to solve the problem, he is utterly mistaken. I say this once again, that there is nothing more heartening to my mind in the progress of education than the desire of the young women of India to shoulder the burden, to improve themselves and to show themselves fully worthy of their country, in the same manner and to the same extent as, or perhaps even more than, the young men of India. Last year I was addressing the Convocation at Madras. I then recalled what I had seen 32 years earlier. Then a single woman graduate was a sight to see—I am not using that term in any uncomplimentary sense. And now what do you find? Half the Convocation hall is occupied by women graduates. You, women of the United Provinces, have not demanded such a large measure in the Convocation hall. Some day you will. But let me assure you that India is as high as its women are. It is they that ultimately determine the fate of the nation. It is their influence, their outlook, their virility, their strength, which will strengthen the masses of India in the tasks that lie in front of them. I see no future of Indian which does not also include a great and glorious future for our women.

Here I should like to say a word. There are some who think that for the women of India the proper place is in the household; that their proper duty is to prepare *kichri* or *laddu* or whatever it is for their husbands and children. The domesticity which, for example, is insisted upon, I understand, by the Nazi regime as a special virtue of the German women; that domesticity is also, I know, regarded by many people in India as a proper virtue of women and they think that they should not try high, that, for instance, they need not traverse the fields of Physics or Chemistry; that they should leave it to the mere men. Well, there was a time when I thought so myself. I do confess it, but I have changed my mind. I have changed my mind because I have actually seen that the women of India when they set their hearts to a job, they are just as good as or better than the men. There is nothing to stop them. There is no field of knowledge, be it even Mathematics, be it Physics or Chemistry, in which, so far as I can see, the women of India cannot equal men or excel them. It may be that in digging the earth or in some other physical work, men are superior. But if it is a question of acquiring knowledge, if it is a question of strenuous devotion to work, I do not think that women are in any way behind the men of India. It is true, and I hope it is true, that the women of India will regard culture, art and all the beautiful things of life as their special privilege. That is a privilege which we men shall not deny to them. It is the privilege of women to make the house beautiful, to make her dwelling place and the dwelling place of men something worth going to and worth looking at. While art, in the fitness of things, is the special privilege of woman, other things should not be denied to her. I should like to impress upon the young women of India, that while it is quite right and proper that they should regard themselves as equals of men in the men's sphere, the men cannot by any manner or means successfully regard themselves as the equal of women in the women's sphere, and that is in making the home beautiful and worth living in (hear, hear),

I should like to say one word before I finish. Let me tell you, young friends, that this world is a hard world. I have been through it myself. The path of life is not strewn with roses or jasmynes all the way. It is also strewn with thorns, with stones. You have to struggle through life as best as you can. If you think that success will come to you unasked, you are mistaken. There is nothing in this world which is worth having, which will ever come unless it is earned by the sweat of your brow. Success is achieved by blood and tears—I would not say, blood; tears, certainly. Let me also tell you that you will not appreciate success if it comes to you unearned, undeserved. The only true successes that a man really enjoys and appreciates are those that he knows in his heart of hearts that he deserves. What is the good of a title, for example, if you know that it was given to you unmerited. The things, as I say, you will appreciate most are those that come unsought for, but come because they are deserved and deserved by hard work. This is a truth, so obvious, but nevertheless one which I hope you will bear in mind. I say this because, it is just as well to be prepared for difficulties in life. You must be prepared to find people infinitely more unsympathetic than even your more unsympathetic teachers. You must be prepared to find people who make you work and give you no credit. Do not imagine that you will find the same treatment outside as you find in the University; but do not let that dishearten you. I should like to say to you, for I have lived long enough in this world to realise, that life is not worth living if you make yourself miserable all the time, if everything makes you down-hearted. If that is the case, it is much better that the whole humanity make up their minds and die and disappear like the extinct Brontosaurus and find a place only among the zoological specimens you find in the museums. Why is life worth living at all? Because there is something worth while in it. There is something in it which brings you happiness. The greatest possible fault is to seek happiness blindly. Many of you may not perhaps understand what is the real secret of happiness and let me tell you this as a message coming from my heart after long experience of life. I have been through good and bad; I have been through many trials. The secret of happiness is just the sense of awareness of the beautiful surroundings amongst you. Many of you have come into this hall today. How many of you have cared to look at these beautiful domes, the lovely sky, the trees and so on? You take it all for granted. You have seen these before and you find nothing new in them. I would like to tell you this; that it is a habit of mind that is worth cultivating to find joy and beauty in the commonest things of life. If you have nothing else to do, please look at the grass on the ground and see how green it is: I would like you to cultivate this habit. This is a thing which unfortunately disappears with the growth of human civilization. The really civilised beings, let me say, are those who do not live in towns, but live in villages, close to the heart of nature; who live the life of nature; who sow the seed and see the plant grow; who live in daily contact with nature's life. There is the civilised life. The artificial life of the towns and the cities is such that we are blind to our surroundings. As somebody remarked, we even forget that there are stars in the sky; there is no time to look at them, or to see the many beautiful things about us. India is still one of the most beautiful countries in the world. You have only to open your eyes.

Wherever I go, I go in search of Mother India. I gaze at Her fair face. I am never tired of gazing upon her fair face any more than a child is tired of gazing at its beloved mother. Remember always that India is your beloved mother, and there is no greater joy, no greater happiness that you can find than in just gazing at the face of Mother India, and vowing yourselves to Her eternal service (long applause).

## The Osmania University Convocation

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari's Address

The following is the text of the Convocation Address delivered by Mr. C. Rajagopalachari at the annual Convocation of the Osmania University held at Hyderabad (Deccan) on the 27th. January 1944.

It is a great honour done to me by the authorities of the University that I have been invited to speak at this Convocation. I tender my grateful thanks to His Exalted Highness and to the University for conferring on me this privilege.

The University has worked for 25 years and qualified for its Silver Jubilee this year and I am happy to tender my congratulations to the Chancellor and the Government on their achievements. The last time I was on these grounds your late Chancellor was alive. It is too sad for words that I come here to fill a place in this function after he is gone for ever. I am proud of the love and regard which he chose to bestow on me. This is no occasion for referring to private friendship however insistent be the memory. Sir Akbar Hydari gave of his best to Hyderabad. May his soul rest in peace, and that of his dear wife who lies interred here as a sacred relic of Sir Akbar's connection with Hyderabad.

I congratulate you graduates who have just received your degrees, especially those who have received them with distinction. You are part now of the precious stream which must water, nourish and maintain the living culture of our people. As graduates of a relatively young University you have a more particular duty than those who are sent out by the older Universities. By your love of learning and continued application and more than that, by your enlightened conduct, you should bring credit, distinctive credit to your University. Remember that you are the products of an important experiment, *viz.*, the imparting of the highest modern learning through an Indian language. You will be rigorously judged by critics who have received their own training through the unnatural, though may-be-at-present richer medium of a foreign language. Not only is there no reason for you to feel inferior, but you have every cause for just pride and confidence. If you maintain your habits of study and regard for truth, and keep your faculty for right judgment whetted with daily practice and verification, if you are weary and keep your sense of values unspoiled, you will not find it difficult to do your battle of friendly rivalry with others however industriously trained through a foreign language. You can go about it with complete confidence.

I referred to culture and indicated that you formed part of the body of trustees for India's culture. What I call Indian culture is one and indivisible. I take it that this is the creed of this University. Separate cultures referred to in controversy are hypothetical ideas framed *ad hoc* for the purpose of a stage in investigation and reasoning. We should not confound religion or religious practices with culture. The culture of India with all its varieties is in fact one. It is single and indivisible, even as the climate of India is one, with all its varieties. The composition is itself a distinctive unit, as old as English culture. You do not analyse the colour of a peacock or of a spotted deer or the tiger's gorgeous coat but apprehend it as one whole. You do not understand it as a conglomeration of several separate colours. So it is with what I call the culture of India, and it is of that you are trustees.

On behalf of the assembled gathering here, I congratulate you and give you our best wishes. I hope that you will fulfil with honour and efficiency the duties cast on you in return for the special concern which the State and learned men engaged for the purpose have spent on you through the period of fifteen years of Brahmacharya which you have finished today.

The Osmania University is unique in all India in that the highest scientific education as well as the teaching of the Humanities are done through an Indian language, the rich joint product of Muslim and Hindu contact. It is unique because every other University throughout India uses the English language and from what one can see has no intention of using any other medium within a measurable distance of time. The teachers established in the Universities and the books in vogue form a conservative fortress of exceeding strength. The place of English in the administrative machinery of India and of almost every state and province in India completes the apparent impregnability of the fortification. Yours is an achievement of which not only you but all India should be proud. The only language that can claim to be an all-India language is Hindustani and that is the medium of instruction in this University. Yours, then, is the true Vidyapith, the Swadeshi University of all India.

Let us hope that all difficulties will be overcome as are being overcome here, and that there will soon be various Universities scattered over India where the highest branches of knowledge are dealt with in one or other of our ten great languages. The smallest of these languages is spoken by populations larger than that of Portugal or of Scotland and Ireland combined, and many of them are spoken by larger numbers than the population of Spain. Each one of them possesses an abundant literature of its own, prose, poetry, song, drama and fiction. Unfortunately as yet even the Universities born in the new-found consciousness and renaissance of India, the Andhra University, the Mysore University, and the Annamalai University have not taken steps to impart University education of the highest

type in Telugu, Kannada or Tamil nor is there any chartered University that has adopted or is preparing to adopt Marathi or Bengali as its medium. The great University of Benares has not yet resolved on any adventure in the direction of adopting the lingua franca of India as the medium of instruction for the higher University courses. I am not indulging in cheap criticism without realising difficulties. It is because I know the difficulties, that I admire the courage, the patient industry, and the achievement that the Osmania University has shown to its credit as a shining example for all India. Let us hope that the Osmania experiment will enable all of us throughout India to overcome the difficulties and set aside the illusion, which is the greatest of the difficulties, that there is anything insuperable in giving the highest instruction through any one of the great languages of India, be it Hindustani or be it Telugu or Tamil or Kannada or Marathi or Bengali or Gujarati.

Sir Akbar Hydari on whose advice His Exalted Highness issued his *firman* in 1918 and founded the Osmania University laid all India and all Indian languages under debt by the bold recommendation he made and the courageous execution of the plan laid down. The Bureau of Translation which was founded along with the University became naturally the chief feature of the work that was inaugurated twenty-five years ago. All instruction in the University was to be through Hindustani, English being given its proper place as a compulsory language subject. Quoting Mr. Vincent Smith, the historian, Sir Akbar Hydari pointed out in his memorandum about Hindustani that its syntax was simple and flexible as was claimed for English, its vocabulary was rich with an abundance of words drawn from Western Hindi, Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic, English and other sources, and it was capable of expressing ideas on any subject, literary, philosophical and scientific.

I have referred to the medium of instruction in this University as Hindustani though the official name adopted is Urdu. It is a paradox, but none the less true that in a world dominated by prejudices, small differences cause wider gulfs than very big differences. The difference between Urdu and Hindi is insignificant, almost microscopic, compared with the yawning gulf between any Indian language and English. But we are able more easily to reconcile ourselves to getting all our schooling, not to speak of higher instruction, done through English than to overcome the prejudice against Hindi or Urdu. Yet if what is spoken and understood under these two names be written in one script, the difference will not be greater than that which marks the language of Johnson's *Rasselas* as compared with that in which Goldsmith wrote the *Vicar of Wakefield* or Charles Lamb his essays. We do not call the one English and the other by some other name. While we are quite able to swallow the English camel—language, script, idiom, phrases and all—we strain at the gnat of Hindi or Urdu because of the difference in a certain measure of vocabulary. It has been conceded that it is possible even to adopt a third script, Roman, without damage to the identity of the language. Indeed large numbers in the Civil and Military services are today learning through the medium of Roman script what we all recognize as the lingua franca of India. As regards the proportion of Sanskrit borrowings as against words taken from Arabic and Persian, is it really a great point when there is no difference in structure, idiom or grammar or in the main bulk of the vocabulary of the language? If our ultimate goal is the enrichment of the vocabulary of Hindustani and the use of it as a medium for every variety of higher knowledge, the difference between Hindi and Urdu based on present vocabulary is bound rapidly to vanish. The enrichment of the language that is yet to be achieved by use in the teaching of modern knowledge will leave present differences in vocabulary far behind. Wealth and variety are advantages and not a cause for quarrel. The suitability of Hindustani as a lingua franca consists in the very fact that it has been handled by and modified to suit the requirements of the elite both among Hindus and Mussalmans, and has been for long written in both Urdu and Nagari scripts. The enrichment of vocabulary from Hindu as well as Islamic sources, far from being a difficulty or cause for quarrel is the very proof of its competence for common service. There is and can be no compulsion in choice of words.

There is no University that has made Hindi as such the medium of instruction qualifying for degrees in Sciences and Humanities. Hyderabad has rendered signal service to the lingua franca of India by its bold and successful experiment in Urdu. The name Urdu should not be a cause for underrating this achievement.

I am one of those whose confirmed opinion is that the students' mother-

tongue is the best and most fruit-bearing medium of instruction. As I said already we ought to have at least one efficient University in India for every one of the great languages spoken by the people of India, so that students from all parts of India may choose where to go according to what their mother-tongue is and get instruction in the highest branches of arts and sciences. The question of what is the most effective medium is placed beyond controversy by the recorded opinion of the All-India Universities Conference that held its deliberations in Bombay in March 1939. They passed a resolution that in their considered opinion the medium of instruction at different stages of education up to and including the Degree course should be the mother-tongue of the students and that with a view to attaining this end, the Universities of India should take steps to enrich the literature of the respective Indian languages. No University has made an adequate or perhaps even an honest endeavour in the fulfilment of this urgent educational object. The Osmania University took up the task 25 years ago and its achievement is such that it should serve as a beacon-light to others whose duties in this direction centre round the other great Indian languages.

I have said so much about the achievement of the Osmania University in respect of the lingua franca of India. But I am not unaware of what may be called the skeleton at the feast, the medium of instruction in Secondary education. The announcement of the invitation extended to me to deliver this Convocation Address was a signal for several public workers to open correspondence with me on the State policy in respect of the medium of instruction for Secondary education. I made it clear to my correspondents that it was not my intention to use this occasion for entering into any discussion of Hyderabad policy. I am too keenly alive to the difficulties of administration specially in the formulation and working of educational policy in an area composed as Hyderabad is, of people speaking four different great languages each with affiliations abroad and literatures of which they are justly proud. Any light-hearted and hasty criticism or advice can be exploited to increase existing difficulties. But I do not wish to minimise the importance of the issue involved. I have already stated in explicit terms the fundamental creed of education through the mother-tongue to which I adhere. Sir Akbar Hydari and His Exalted Highness have both clearly laid down in unambiguous terms that the student's mother-tongue is the only effective medium for the acquisition of knowledge and for the complete conversion of what is acquired into a part of one's own being. But our loyalty to a creed should not result in blind passion or a refusal to see facts. On the one hand, uniformity of rule and procedure is the normal aspiration and consequence of every modern unified administration. This cannot be ignored or belittled. It is absolutely true that the claim of the mother-tongue is one that cannot be neglected without serious injury to the cause of education, which means injury to the State itself in the long run. But it is equally true that when more than one language claims this natural and indefeasible right of the mother-tongue, the problem becomes complicate and calls for the exercise of patience and compromise all round. I have no doubt the question is receiving the continued and open-minded consideration of His Exalted Highness' Government. The happiness of the Sovereign is bound up with the contentment and progress of his people and there is no short-cut for progress eschewing the path of true and effective education. The conditions of modern education are, however, complex, and State policy has to cover a wide ground. Peace and toleration create as great difficulties as their opposites. Several peoples have come together, several faiths live together, several languages flourish side by side in the same State as a result of peace and toleration. The problem of positive service on the part of the State to the composite population thus placed together under its care becomes very complex and difficult.

Not only this, but there are other difficulties arising out of the complexity of modern developments in education. Almost the whole burden is thrown on the schools run by the State, the family contributing but little towards the preliminary education of the child. The divisions of education into Primary, Lower Secondary, Higher Secondary and University courses are not water-tight. They are not isolated courses. In no one stage is the training quite so independent of the requirements of the next stage as the authorities dealing with the matter would wish it were. Each stage is for the most deserving and for a large number of hopefuls, a preparation for the next stage as much as it is an independent course by itself for the others. Differentiation of those who can and ought to go up to the next stage from those who cannot do so is not practicable. As a result of all these causes, the perfect organisational conditions required for one stage are complicated by the



requirements of the next stage. This affects not only the subject-matter of the instruction given but also the question of medium of instruction. Those who are responsible for the organisation of Secondary education cannot shut their eyes to the fact that the best and a large number of others among the students in High schools legitimately look forward to go to the University courses, and that it cannot be decided beforehand who may be permitted to aspire to it and who may not be. We should not forget that University education has not been undertaken through the medium of Kannada, Telugu or Marathi in Hyderabad or anywhere in India for that matter. The English medium prevails everywhere in Universities and this queers the pitch for any reform in Secondary education.

The fact that the Osmania University imparts instruction in the highest courses through Hindustani directly affects the medium to be adopted for Secondary education. If up to the last point in Secondary schools, the instruction should be given through the medium of the mother-tongue other than Urdu, it may be feared that a large body of the students would be ill-equipped for the University course to which they may legitimately aspire. If the Government of Hyderabad made the apparently good rule that in the Kannada, Telugu and Marathi areas Secondary education shall be imparted through these languages respectively, what would the parents of the best boys and girls say as to the necessary consequence of this, *viz.*, that they would be practically excluded from higher courses available in the Osmania University and from the chances in life open to the Osmania graduates. The problem is complicated everywhere, and more so in Hyderabad. We may not get ideal solutions but must be content at present with compromises and experiments. One compromise regarding Secondary education would be that of enforcing Urdu as a language subject while imparting instruction in all subjects through the medium of the regional language but accompanied by a liberal use of the terms of science and art used in the Osmania University for higher courses in the same subject. But I should not trespass into this problem any further. I hope that the passage from English to Indian languages may not be rendered needlessly difficult by the development of passion and prejudice, and by stressing the theoretical advantages of administratively impracticable alternatives.

I have not touched politics so far. I do not propose to do so here because I have very recently put down my views on the present situation in very clear terms in a booklet written for that purpose and I have nothing to add to it. I would like however to say one thing from this platform to this gathering of the most enlightened section of Hyderabad people. I hold the view that it is an erroneous belief that is carelessly spread that the citizens of Indian States are politically inferior or backward compared to the citizens of British Indian Provinces. National consciousness has spread all over India at one and the same pace everywhere. The citizens of Indian States are as fit and as ready, or as unfit and as unready, for democracy as citizens of the British Provinces are. Our princes can today without disturbing the efficiency of administration grant representative institutions and constitutional governments on a basis of parliamentary democracy as was done in the British Provinces and themselves occupy the royal and exalted position that Governors enjoy in those places, with the great and significant addition of a personal affection that they will always command in the hearts of the people. If the princes trusted the capacity of their subjects for democracy, it would be the greatest moral contribution for the attainment of freedom for the motherland as a whole. I shall not detain you any further.

I thank you for having listened to me so patiently.

## The Gurukula University Convocation

Pt. Amarnath Jha's Address

The following is the English rendering of the Address delivered at the 42nd Convocation of the Gurukula University by Pandit Amaranatha Jha, Vice-Chancellor, Allahabad University on the 8th. April 1944 :—

I am very happy to be able to accept your kind invitation and to find myself in an atmosphere reminiscent of the ancient centres of learning which were remote from the madding crowd and situated in beautiful natural surroundings, where nature contributed as much as man to the shaping character and training the



emotions. Here one finds abundant means for the acquisition of knowledge, for meditation, and for the high thinking which is induced by simple living. Here, preceptors and pupils alike can pursue learning undisturbed by the distractions of the world, in close proximity to the sacred Ganges.

The Gurukula is based on the lines of the old Universities of India. It is meet that changes due to altered times and circumstances should be introduced, but in every civilisation there are certain fundamental principles that must be preserved, essential elements that no nation can afford to lose. In the civilisation of India there are some features that have ensured its continued existence, though civilisations contemporaneous with it are extinct and can be seen only in archaeological ruins: and these features will remain if we prove worthy of them, if we follow in the footsteps of those who have gone before, and if in moments of doubt and indecision we hearken to the voices that float across the centuries.

The system of education which prevails in the country today has many admirable aspects. The study of the sciences, of history and geography, of psychology and modern philosophy is of very great value. We have an opportunity of learning the languages of the West. But the underlying mental attitude of those responsible for introducing this system was wholly unsound. Did not Macaulay declare that one shelf of European books enshrined more knowledge and wisdom than was contained in the entire literature of Asia? This attitude has vitiated the whole educational fabric. We venerate everything Western and look down upon everything that is indigenous. The greatest defect of the system is that the medium of instruction is an exceedingly difficult foreign language at our incorrect use of which we are laughed at and our proficiency in which is regarded, as our highest educational achievement. Even our ability as a good soldier is measured by our skill in the use of the English language! I am no opponent of this language; I read it with great pleasure; I enjoy its literature; I take delight in teaching it. English has now become a world language and it will and should continue to be used in this country. But that is no reason why it should be the medium of instruction in our educational institutions. It is the right of every child to receive education through its mother-tongue; it can only thus be properly educated. It is unfair and unnatural that he should be compelled to receive instruction through a language that is not his own. There will probably be practical difficulties in the middle schools in arranging for classes in all languages; the major provincial languages will have to be used in preference to those of smaller areas; but by then the student will have become fit both physically and mentally to bear this strain. At the University stage, too, it is desirable, as soon as may be, to use the languages of the country as media of instruction. This will add to the cost; arrangement will have to be made for the use of more than one language. Thus in the Bombay presidency, it will be necessary to have lectures in Gujarati and Marathi; in Madras, in Tamil and Telugu; in the Punjab, United Provinces and Bihar, in Hindi and Urdu. But the gain will be incalculable, alike in comprehension, thought, and expression. In order that the Universities should use these languages it is necessary that books of the highest standard should be written and published in them. How one wishes that our literary and academic institutions could abandon the barren path of controversy and concentrate on this essential work! The Gurukula has from its inception used Hindi as the medium of instruction.

Another defect in our system of education is that religion is severely excluded. In state institutions one realises that for historical reasons it was not possible to provide for religious education; but the consequence has been that for several generations Indians have grown up ignorant of and indifferent to religion. Our earlier institutions had religion as their foundation. A true knowledge of religion, acquaintance with religious truths and the history of religions, familiarity with the main tenets of the faiths of the world—all this is necessary before anyone can lead a full life. Religion is of great value in the formation of character. Many of the riddles of the universe, many of the problems of the world, religion can solve; it can destroy many undesirable tendencies in our nature. It will enable us to realise that we are part of one creation, to destroy many of our brute instincts, induce in us feelings of sympathy and piety, make us aspire to get closer to our Creator, and inspire us, by word, thought, and deed, so that we may attain the good and the true. It is gratifying that the several committees on educational reconstruction set off by organisations and states in the West have all placed the utmost stress on religious education. At the Gurukula you have adequate provision for it. A truly religious person is one who is not narrow, who is tolerant, who recognises

that everyone has the right to believe in any faith that he chooses. He looks upon all as his brother.

A further handicap from which modern centres of education suffer is that almost all of them are situated in large cities and are therefore cut off from the nerve-centre of the country—the villages. Impressive and costly buildings, comfortable and even luxurious hostels, expensive living—these have made the educated man a stranger in his own home. A person of ordinary means finds it impossible to provide for the education of his children. It is desirable that more and more educational institutions should be started in the villages, so that they may not be alienated from the life of the people.

What should be the aim of education? Why do your teachers teach you? Why are you here? Do you ever ask yourselves what your education is intended to do for you? According to our traditional view, education is intended to produce piety and sense of reverence; to train the intellect and memory; to make one fit to have healthy progeny; to enable one to gather riches; to make one long-lived; and to bring immortality within reach, Filial devotion, modesty, freedom from conceit, sense of discrimination, the building-up of a healthy body, purity of character—these also education should seek to produce. Knowledge for the attainment of wisdom and not for mere word-chopping; wealth not for luxury and comfort, but for relieving the distress of others; power not for domination but for helping the weak—these ought to be one's objectives. It is not necessary to come to a University if your sole aim is the amassing of wealth. It is not necessary to come here if you are to spend all your time in the contemplation of life after death. Nor is it necessary for you to be here if you are only interested in your physical development. You are here because after your training is over your face should glow with health and with the radiance of a blameless character, your mind should be filled with the determination of being socially useful, your intellect should be able to distinguish between right and wrong, good and evil, your body should have strength to prevent iniquity, and your heart should arise in adoration of the Creator. In the *Chhandogyaopanishad* we are told of Narada who, on approaching Sanatkumara for further instruction, said that he had studied the Vedas, had acquired a knowledge of the stars, had been trained in mathematics and biology, in serpent-lore, in the science and art of offence and defence, in astronomy, in the fine arts. About twelve hundred years ago, Bana, in his *Kadambari*, while describing the education of Prince Chandrapida, says that he had acquired proficiency in language, in logic, in ritual and religion, in the science of administration, in physical feats, in archery and swordsmanship, in chariotry, in horsemanship and management of elephants, in music and musical instruments, in dancing and dramaturgy, in the understanding of omens and prognostications, in the testing of gems, in architecture, in the use of medicines, in the digging of mines, in history and legend and poetry, in various scripts and languages. What a comprehensive scheme of education, designed to train all one's faculties and turn out a young man with a really liberal and many-sided education!

Graduates of the Gurukula, you are children of this land and by your conduct you should prove yourselves worthy to be called Aryas. From our books we can gather what qualities one has the right to expect in Aryan youths. Remember Devavrata, the son of Shantanu, taking the vow of perpetual bachelorhood, sacrificing his worldly prospects for ensuring his father's happiness, living so that all, friends and opponents, came to him for precept and guidance, fighting for his King with such valour as to compel Krishna to break his vow of not using arms in the Great War. His is a noble example of one who never swerved from the path of duty. Remember Rama, heir to the throne of Ayodhya, willingly going on twelve years' exile, suffering every kind of hardship, bearing troubles with unexampled fortitude, enduring separation from Sita. He defeats Ravana and returns victorious to Ayodhya, but pain and suffering are still his lot, and in order to satisfy his subjects has to part with Sita again. In the fulfilment of his duty he has to undergo so much suffering that pain seems his sole portion in life. But he remains the embodiment of ideal manhood. Remember Bharata and Lakshmana who represent ideal brotherly love. Remember Harishchandra who sacrificed everything so that his plighted word be kept. Remember Yudhishtira, who declined to enter heaven if his dog could not accompany him; Kunala, who took out his own eyes in order to carry out his mother's wishes; Rana Pratap, who was willing to give up his life for the sake of liberty; Bhoja, who in his generosity gave gifts of rare magnitude to poets and scholars. They are the models by following whom you will be entitled to be called Aryas.

The world today is in a conflagration. Civilisation is in dire danger. All that we prize is at stake. Peace is far off. Intolerance, greed, anger are in the ascendency. What is your duty in this crisis? Firstly, that you should not forget your ideals and secondly, that for their defence you should do all in your power. If you have to take up arms, if you have to go into the field of battle, you should be ready to do so for the preservation of the ideals of civilisation. Have faith that they are necessary for the good of the world. Peace and goodwill are the watchwords of all religions, and by their establishment alone can the world march on the path of progress. The effect of your education should be to produce within you a sense of peace, of calm, freedom from fear, freedom from envy. May you have fortitude, self-control, self-discipline; may you be truth-loving, averse from wrongdoing, and full of fellow-feeling. May your words be sweet, your conduct noble, and your desires pure!

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## The Calcutta University Convocation

Sir S. Radhakrishnan's Address

The following is the text of the address delivered by *Sir S. Radhakrishnan*, Vice-Chancellor, Benares Hindu University at the annual Convocation of the University of Calcutta on Saturday, the 4th. March 1944 :—

May I say how grateful I am to the University authorities for their kindness in asking me to speak at this Convocation? It is a pleasure for me to repeat, on some excuse or other, my visits to this University, where I spent the best part of my life. I should have addressed this Convocation last year but an unfortunate illness stood in the way. Thanks to the kind care and attention of your Vice-Chancellor and another member of your Senate Dr. Sivapada Bhattacharya, I speedily got over it. It is indeed very kind of the University to have renewed its invitation this year and given me this opportunity.

It is my agreeable duty to offer warm greetings and good wishes to the young men and women who have had degrees conferred on them today. They are going out into the world at a very critical time which is dynamic with great possibilities. University men, along with others, have had a testing time. This province is not yet free from the effects of one of the worst famines within living memory; the country is drifting into a broken and helpless condition and is in a mood of sour disillusion and the world convulsed with the agony of war has much fear for the future. It is my fervent hope that the education which you have received in this University and its colleges may help you to play your part effectively in the remodelling of our life and society in the years to come.

This war has exposed the weakness of our Government, our economic life, and our system of education. The death, in conditions of peace, due to famine, even if we accept the figure given by the Secretary of State for India in the House of Commons, is not essentially different from or less costly than the death of a million people in any other part of the world. If we realise what this means in terms of human suffering and sorrow, we should be filled with shame and resentment and a burning desire to wipe out the conditions which make such things possible. The British Government has not yet divested itself of its responsibility for the Government of India. The country is richly endowed by nature with manpower, skill, talent and material resources. The example of other countries demonstrates that it is possible to increase the productivity of the soil, to control unemployment and destitution, and to raise the level of life. The diminished vitality of the people who live on a bare subsistence level, with no margin at all to provide for the failure of crops and other contingencies, who are largely without education, and suffer from low standards of public health and sanitation, points to the economic and political degradation of the country. A well-planned and vigorous economic expansion, involving the introduction of modern technical and industrial methods of producing goods and services, an all out development of education and public health alone can give relief to a long-suffering people and restore national vitality. We are not revolutionary by instinct but may become so by necessity. Revolutionary plans are apt to gather force, if the general community feels that serious attempts are not made to redeem the people from conditions of poverty and squalor.

Burke said : "Revolutions are produced not by those who lack power but by those, who holding power, make bad use of it."

We require to transform the habits of people and their ways of thinking. A social revolution means an educational revolution. Education should have priority among the schemes of reconstruction now being considered. Social security, communications, health and sanitation are all important, but education which is concerned with the making of men is the most important. If we do not have the right kind of citizens none of the other schemes will work successfully. No political arrangement can enfranchise a people, no industrial expansion can enrich them, no social privileges can assist them, if we do not have men and women with free minds and upright characters. An educational system which believes in the freedom of the mind and the validity of character is the most important part of any sound national planning.

Mr. Sargent's report gives us a comprehensive scheme of education for all stages from childhood to maturity and attempts to make the educational system organic to the community. It proceeds on the principle which is accepted by all civilised governments that it is the fundamental obligation of the State to provide all its citizens with compulsory education from the age of 6 to the age of 14 at least. It makes provision for different kinds of instruction for children of different aptitudes and temperaments, and provides large scope for choice. It is a long term national enterprise and its full realisation will take at least a generation and demand the sustained efforts of the community and effective co-operation between the Government and other agencies. If India is not to lag behind other progressive countries the scheme must be put through. The usual excuse for doing nothing, poverty is urged against it. Addressing the Annual meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce in this city on the 20th December, 1943, His Excellency the Viceroy said : "I think it is clear, that from the practical point of view the full realisation of a scheme such as that outlined in the Sargent Report, must wait on other developments. India at present simply has not the money for such a scheme." How can the national wealth of the country be increased if we are not given the education which alone can equip us to increase the wealth ? The expense must be incurred and the money found. In a speech which Lord Wavell gave in London just before he left England for India to assume the Viceroyalty, he said : "It has always seemed to me a curious fact that money is forthcoming in any quantity for a war, but that no nation has ever yet produced the money on the same scale to fight the evils of peace—poverty, lack of education, unemployment, ill health." It is a pleasure to know that in his address to the Central Legislature, he remarked that "the vital matters of health and education will not be allowed to stand still." But this negative assurance is not enough. Educational expansion is the foundation of all reconstruction and the money for it must be found.

An Indian Government with the confidence of the people will be able to raise the sums essential for the national effort of educational and industrial expansion. The Viceroy tells us that the present Government of India is "mainly an Indian Government". The presence of a number of eminent Indians does not make the Government a national one. Who lays down the policy ? Who wields the power ? The Viceroy stated that the aim of His Majesty's Government is to see India a united country, enjoying complete and unqualified self-government as a willing partner of the British Commonwealth. But a mere declaration of principle does not right a wrong. We sometimes believe that when a thing has been said it has been done. The complacency with which the British Government falls back on the disagreements among Indians is a distressing feature. Speaking at the East India Association Lord Erskine said : "Parliament is responsible for the good government of the Indian Empire and it would be a betrayal of our trust were we to allow the difficulties of the situation to turn us from our declared purpose of leading the Indian peoples to full self-government." Surely if the difficulties do not embarrass the Government in the effective prosecution of the war with this province as the chief base for operations against Japan, are they so formidable as to prevent the establishment of a national Government in India, with effective safeguards during the period of the War ? We do not deny that the progressive forces of the country spar between themselves for shadowy differences in ideals and they lose the benefits which might be won for the people by concerted action, but is co-operation among the parties facilitated by the helpful action of the Government ? The world looks upon India as the supreme test of British statesmanship and sincerity of purpose. The best answer to the Nazis is to stand up and perform according to the ideals we profess. The problem will become acute at the end of the war if full self-

government is not established by them. There are nearly two millions Indians in the fighting services with over 9,000 officers and another six millions are engaged in factories doing war work. Thousands are being trained as officers for the fighting services. They are getting into contact with the soldiers of Allied nations and are being imbued with the ideals of liberty and humanity, and when they return they should not be faced with bitterness and disillusion.

India is not indifferent to the issues of this war, notwithstanding her political differences with Great Britain. The ultimate issue of this war is not properly defined as a conflict between rival imperialisms due to the clash of economic interests between the Haves and the Havenots among the nations. It is not a conflict between rival forms of government, a duel between democracies and dictatorships. With Russia among the Allies such a claim cannot be sustained. It is really a conflict between the future and the past, between international order and justice and international anarchy and injustice. India knows that the victory of the Axis powers will mean fear and death and the destruction of all values, moral, cultural and social while the victory of the Allies has possibilities of hope and life. Millions in the flower of their youth have given up and are giving up happiness, health and life itself, they are suffering the pangs of separation from their homes, discomfort, exposure, torture in order that the world may be a better, kinder and juster place than it has been. While the phrases of Stalin's declarations, the Atlantic Charter and Roosevelt's proclamations about the four freedoms raise high hopes, the performances of the Allies do not measure up to the professions. The greatest surprise of the war has been Russia's heroic resistance to Nazi aggression but what will be the contribution to peace of a Russia which has grown nationalistic in sentiment, orthodox in religion and somewhat indifferent to the victory of the Proletarian revolution? The recent declaration of autonomy for the sixteen Soviet Republics, which will have their own armies and foreign representatives, is interpreted by some as an excuse, if not a justification, for annexing invaded countries without protest from their peoples and the Allied nations. I very much hope that this view is a misjudgment. What will be the attitude of America's Big Business? Will Mr. Churchill who is so insistent on preserving "traditional Britain" help to remove the fear of war from the heart of humanity? Even while we are marching towards victory, there are grave anxieties on the political field and many suspect that the war is once again yielding to its inherent cruelty and narrowness of vision. War exerts a constant lowering pressure on our ideals and makes us ignore them in practice. There is a tendency to fall back into the old system of power politics, aggressive alliances and rival imperialisms. Among the masses there is a deep sense that with victory will come disillusion. The Archbishop of Canterbury said on the 23rd of March, 1943, "Horrible as it is, we have to realise that multitudes of our people actually fear the return of peace more than the continuance of war." Think of that. If the military victory is to be followed by a post-war period of noble professions and craven deeds, as it happened in the last war, the enormous price we pay for it will be paid in vain and it will be a sacrifice of the best for the worst.

If this war which has no boundaries except those which God in His mercy has given to the world, results in a close searching of hearts, if it ends not only in a victory over the external enemies but over inner sloth, slackness and selfishness, it will mean a new dawn for mankind. We must be cured of our dangerous obsessions and distorted views. The forces that are to renew the face of the earth must spring from men's hearts. Deliverance does not come from outside. The sword can impose it but cannot develop it. We must learn the lesson that all mankind is one. The oppression, persecution of any race wounds and menaces all. Another country's distress or discontent is our country's danger. We must become great of soul and rid ourselves of race prejudice and love of power. The Atlantic Charter asks us to work for "a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries and which will afford assurance that *all men in all lands* may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want." Such faith is vain without works and works require that we should rid ourselves of the obsessions which are inadequate to the changing conditions of life. Our minds must be lifted out of the ruts of past habit. Only then can we build up a great human society fostering and developing the cultural resources of the different peoples. Wendell L. Wilke observes: "Brilliant victories in the field will not win for us this war now going on in the far reaches of the world: only new men and new ideas in the machinery of our relations with the peoples of the East

can win the victory without which any peace will be only another armistice." All our hopes will be frustrated if the statesmen who will work at the peace conference are not inspired by a spiritual purpose and love for the common man.

The world crisis is only superficially economic and political, it is essentially moral and spiritual. War is a symptom, not a disease. It can be removed only by curing the spiritual condition of society. "Without virtue," Aristotle said, "man is merely the most dangerous of the animals." By calling on men to be better, we cannot make them better. Through schools and colleges, through the social and political institutions they must be moulded into proper shape, and made new. The Nazi and the Bolshevist systems of education have been largely successful in engendering a radically new type of man. Education is the means to it. The world crisis means that there is a demand for a revision of aims. Sir Richard Livingstone in his work on the *Future in Education* sets forth admirably the nature of the present crisis: "Our present situation reveals the great need of the world. If the conventional stranger from Mars arrived in Europe this moment—after a journey through the air more hazardous than usual—he would not so much be surprised by the fact that a war is in progress, for war unfortunately is nothing new, but he would be struck by something far more serious, by the appearance of a new philosophy of life." He refers to the disappearance of moral and religious ideas of liberty, justice, mercy and truth which have helped us to tame barbarism. The essential aim of education, according to the ancient Indians and Greeks is initiation into the higher life of spirit. It is to be reborn. The whole soul must be turned round towards the light, Plato tells us, so that its eye may receive the truth. Only then can we have the right outlook on life. Where there is no vision, the people perish; for lack of restraint, the rule of law lapses and the community falls into chaos. While the power of controlling the forces of nature has increased enormously, our power to control human nature has scarcely advanced. In science and technology we have made tremendous progress but all these forms of progress do not relieve man of his burden of the inner world. The external march of things does not alter the inward struggle. The mechanical devices and even psychological techniques do not touch the inner depths. A pride in our own past has been our chief defect. A little humility will do us great good. Humility, it is said, is to know the truth about oneself. We must face the naked truth that we are prone to put the interest of our family or groups higher than those of the general country. We are inclined to exaggerate our own wrongs and secure our interests at the expense of other people. "Bear ye one another's burden" is spoken of nations as of individuals. True greatness is a quality of soul; it is humanity. The truly educated are those who are their own masters, whose minds do not fall an easy prey to half-truths, prejudices or interested propaganda, who have enough poise to distinguish between a rational argument and a mass appeal to passion. In a University we are members of a great company by whose law of compassion and justice we are protected and bound. *Dharmo raksati raksitah*. We should strive after a purified and ennobled patriotism which will disdain to use wrong methods even for saving a nation.

What makes a nation is not race or religion but a way of life. India is not a geographical expression, nor is it a collection of individuals. It is a tradition, an order of thought and manners, a loyalty to certain fundamental values, fostered by all races and religions which have found a home in this land. We should not be seduced from adherence to these great values by the bribes of comfort or pleasure. In a rapidly changing world, it is not easy to think or speak of things which do not change, the foundation of the good in us, the faith in spirit, the beauty of action and the endurance of life's charges. But ultimately, these are the forces which will forge the future of humanity. We cannot fight against the gods, India cannot and has no desire to lead the world by virtue of her military strength or industrial efficiency. Nations hereafter must think less about dominance and more about service and we believe that India and China have a special contribution to make in a period of political and social reconstruction. If you are to write with honour a new chapter in our history, you must develop respect for those values which are neither national nor international but universal. The future of humanity is bound up with the regeneration of the deeper foundations without which no political structure can last and the growth of a new loyalty to the world-community. India's present condition is a challenge and an opportunity. It is my hope and faith that you shall not be found lacking in vision, courage and strength to meet that challenge and use that opportunity.

## Dr. B. C. Roy's Address

What form of educational development post-war India ought to have was indicated by Dr. *Bidhan Chandra Roy*, Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University, in his address to the Convocation,

"This University," Dr. Roy said, is to-day the biggest in the world in point of numbers; our activities are manifold. I am now ready with a scheme for Post-Graduate studies in Medicine and very soon we hope to have similar arrangements for the Department of Engineering. In my opinion this is as it should be; the number of subjects, for the teaching of which the University should, directly or indirectly, take responsibilities, would increase simultaneously with the increased interests of the students and the public in the various departments of Arts and Science. If the University is to function effectively in a democratic world, it has to keep pace with the growth of ideals and concepts regarding the value of Education and functions of an educational institution.

There are, however, two difficulties in our way. Firstly, any expansion in Post-Graduate Departments necessarily implies increasing provision of funds. Large benefactions have come in for the purpose from private parties, Government also have provided funds, but the bulk of the expenditure in the Post-Graduate Departments comes from the fees of candidates for the different examinations. Critics have commented of this procedure and one may be inclined to agree; but the grim fact remains that money is needed—much more than the donors and Government have contributed. Secondly, the work of the University has become so huge and complex that one feels that the time has come when it should be relieved of the burden of conducting the Matriculation examination and all it signifies. The Calcutta University has repeatedly expressed its opinion that it would welcome any move for the establishment of a body to control education up to the Matriculation standard and to conduct this examination, provided the financial losses of the University, out of such transfer of functions, are arranged for; and provided further, that the University has—as it must—an effective voice in regulating the type of education and the standard of examination which the newly created Body would provide for the candidates for the Matriculation examination. This is necessary because the University should be assured that a student, when he is admitted to the University courses, possesses the requisite standard of knowledge to follow the lectures intelligently in the College classes and profit by them.

I understand that a Government Bill for the establishment of a Board of Secondary Education in Bengal has passed through the Committee stage, without the University even getting an opportunity of considering this Bill to find out if it is a suitable one from the general academic and the Calcutta University points of view. I hope and trust that the Bill will not be allowed to become an Act, without such an opportunity being afforded to us to consider its provisions. As I said last year, no academic measure should be made the bagatelle of political parties and their proclivities; it should be tested to find out how far it would satisfy the educational needs of the province and its people.

### FUTURE EDUCATIONAL NEEDS

"Talking of our future educational needs," Dr. Roy continued, I cannot refrain from referring to the present times. The world is witnessing to-day the progress of totalitarian war—a war not merely of individuals, nations or races but a war which is a clash of ideals, a war waged to find out which concept would be acceptable to the future dwellers of this planet. Every proposal which affects the activities of humankind, be they big or small, has to be examined on the basis of the prevailing acceptable concept. Even before the war, there was a dissatisfaction, all the world over, with the conventional educational methods. In this country also, we are aware of the same popular discontent with our educational systems. Moreover, even this system has been insufficiently provided for and indifferently worked. In spite of the fact that some educational plan has been followed in the country for nearly 80 years, in spite of the growth and multiplication of institutions to provide training to our children and our young men, we have to sorrowfully admit that to-day, only 10 per cent of the people are literate, that this literacy often tends to sink into illiteracy, that the nature and quality of education provided for our children do not satisfy their lives' requirements, that the teachers themselves are ill-trained, ill-paid and ill-equipped to guide and instruct our boys and girls, that there is a big hiatus between the instruction given and the subsequent



use that the students make of it. It is obvious that Education, if it is to be useful, should be more vocational and therefore utilitarian in character.

National Education must mean the reorientation of our fundamental concept of human existence, on the basis of which the superstructure or reconstruction can be erected ; it must mean improved type of teachers and if it is to be compulsory, free and universal, it must entail the expenditure of increasing sums of money.

We hear of Post-War Reconstruction in all spheres of life. I believe that in the future world-to-be, Education will have to be based either on the ideology of those who maintain that the State is everything, the individual is nothing, and according to which Education is conducted on a plan, with a realistic out-look, outlined by the Dictators of the totalitarian states ; or that Education will be based on the theory that every individual is free—free to think, free to teach, free to learn, free to sift evidence and facts, draw tentative conclusions, remain alert for additional information and revise conclusions in the light of new findings : he should be able to think constructively about the world around him. This, in the ultimate analysis, should be the attitude of the modern youth, because he is infected by the great ideals of democracy, which are contained in the words "Life, Liberty and pursuit of Happiness" Such a youth is not satisfied with the old type, the time-worn conventional planned syllabus of Education.

Teachers who prescribed these syllabuses are daily confronted with the following question from the students. "Why should I do this ?" Possibly three decades ago, the pupils were docile or had sufficient faith in their teachers or could bridge the gulf between the things they were studying and their possible usefulness in practical life a few years hence. Possibly there was a time when the teachers could, with some accuracy, predict the knowledge and skill which their pupils would need when they entered the world and the teachers could then provide for them. But in this complex world of to-day, neither an Aristotle can claim to be acquainted with all existing knowledge, nor could a King of Portugal publish a compendium of human knowledge in one volume.

"Hence", the Vice-Chancellor pointed out, "the present educational system, which takes no count of the pupil and the environments he grows in, is a misfit ; such an education will not provide the knowledge, the acquisition of which is the objective of Education."

"The learning process may be compared to a pyramid, the base of which is composed of facts. No worthwhile learning can take place without them. But facts are important not as an end in themselves, but in what we do with them. We must use facts in thinking situations, and the ultimate purpose of massing facts together in thought-situations, is to develop the correct attitude, which is the apex of the pyramid ; we cannot hope to get the right attitude unless we think straight with right facts. In appraising these facts, we find that the present type of Education has no relationship to the fundamental needs and the basic social structure of the community to which the pupil belongs. It is absurd to consider that rural education should follow urban models or that a girls' school should follow the same syllabus as a boys' school. Every school therefore should survey the neighbourhood and the type of students it caters for ; the curriculum should be founded on the local needs so that the children of the agriculturist, the artisan, the blacksmith, and the carpenter become better suited to their vocations in life, and so that the limitations of their parents do not hamper them. The job of the school is to get boys to farm more intelligently than their fathers, or to get young women to learn how to tend their babies, cook their food, keep their houses more intelligently and with a more scientific grasp than their mothers.

## H. E. The Governor's Address

Speaking at what he termed "almost my first public function", the annual convocation of the Calcutta University, the Chancellor, Mr. R. G. Casey exhorted the youth to work together in this period of stress and trial so that they might forward what should be the aim of all decent men—that of ensuring that, each year they might be able to improve the lot of the ordinary man. His Excellency observed : To-day I will not dwell long on the larger aspects of education and the peculiarly difficult problems with which it is confronted in Bengal and in India. But I feel that in the course of the last few years things that previously moved slowly have, strangely enough, been given sudden impetus by the war. I say strangely because war would not appear to be the friend of education. However the war has brought home to us, more clearly perhaps than any other of its lessons, the real need for a sound and constructive educational policy.



I think it witness of this fact that, during the war, so much thought has been directed to the educational field. I need only remind you of the Sargent Report on Education in India, the Secondary Education Bill in Bengal, the primary education scheme, and the scheme for post-war education in the United Kingdom.

Education on sound and constructive lines means, in my opinion, not only the development of technical ability—or even of scholarly attainment—it means the development of an attitude of mind, a mental outlook, favourable to the development of civilised democratic life.

We have long known that in Germany education even under Nazi tyranny, with its absurd racial dogmas, reached a high technical level: so also, but in lesser degree, in Japan. But clearly education in these countries has not fitted their peoples to take an honourable part in the civilised community of nations: Therefore I think that education does not realise itself to the full unless it emphasises such requirements of civilised social behaviour as fraternity, tolerance and sound cultural background.

In other words, I suggest that in the long view we come back to the old definition of education being that something which remains after we have forgotten that we have learnt. It is that indefinable something, that particular attitude of mind or mental outlook which remains and which should be our greatest strength and an enrichment of the life of the community.

I notice from the remarks of the Vice-Chancellor that the numbers presenting themselves for education in the law are declining and that the Sciences are on the up-grade. Speaking as one whose own training was on the scientific side, I cannot find myself down-hearted at this trend.

In this same regard, I share the Vice-Chancellor's views as to the linking up of science and industry, and of science and agriculture. I know no better investment for a Government or a people than that of the application of science to the solution of the problems of industry and of agriculture. The improvement of techniques, the elimination of pests, the improvement in quality of production bring large and continuing dividends to those who have the foresight steadily to pursue the application of science and research to the principal industries that go to make up the life of a people.

I have listened with interest to the description which you, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, have given of the development of the Indian Air Force Training Corps Classes. There is no doubt whatsoever that the astonishing impetus which the war has given to the development of our command of the air will lead after the war to the greatly increased extension of air transport.

As we all know, the Indian Air Force has an important part to play in the war; its expansion, already rapid, will certainly continue. In this lies a great opportunity for the educated youth of Bengal to take an outstanding place for themselves in the forces, and at the same time to fit themselves for careers in what will undoubtedly be the widely expanding business of post-war civil aviation. I have no doubt that many of you will seize the unique opportunities that are now presented to you in this regard.

The past year has been a bad one for Bengal. Reading a report the other day I was struck by this sentence: "All the four horsemen of the Apocalypse, war, famine, pestilence and death, have ridden hard over the plains of Bengal". Famine, pestilence and death have ridden—and we must and will stop them from riding again. The fourth horseman—war—has been held in check by the determination and valour of our fighting forces among which those of India have played so notable a part.

However, although this Province has mercifully escaped becoming a battle ground, it is war which is at the root of our troubles; but as the prospect of victory becomes increasingly brighter and nearer—and simultaneously as our administrative resources directed against scarcity and disease become increasingly effective, I feel that we may reasonably and confidently look forward to our final and speedy release from the shadows which have darkened the last year.

Looking back on the course of history I suggest that it is possible to pick out certain periods, some fairly long, some very short, during which the current of human affairs has seemed to flow more swiftly, more deeply and with more determined direction than at others. There have been such periods in the history of India—as you know better than I. I feel that in this our present decade we are in one of these rare periods of what I may call concentrated significance.

# India in Parliament

House of Commons—London—18th. April 1944

## Amery attacks Congress

Mr. *Amery* told Parliament to-day that the whole campaign for creating mass sabotage and for paralysing the activities of the Government of India was almost certainly one for which the Congress leaders were responsible. Mr. Amery was speaking during a short debate on the subject of India and Burma Orders which had already been approved by the House of Lords. The Commons adopted these motions after a short and spirited debate.

Mr. *Amery* began by explaining that under the Act of 1935 he was empowered by proclamation to take any or all functions of Government of certain Indian Provinces if the Governor of a Province found that Parliamentary Government in accordance with the provisions of the Act could not be carried on. He added: "That situation arose in October 1939 when the so-called High Command of the Congress Party ordered the Congress Ministries in eight Indian Provinces to resign their functions in order, in particular, to embarrass the general conduct of the Government of India and also to make it clear that they were dissociating themselves with responsibility for co-operating in the conduct of the war."

After saying that the resolutions affected only five of the eleven Provinces in British India and paying a tribute to the war effort and co-operation in the maintenance of law and order of the other self-governing Provinces, Mr. Amery declared, "I think it essential for the House to remember that when those very grave disturbances which were instigated by the Congress occurred in the Autumn of 1942 they were dealt with effectively in these Provinces not by the Central Government, but by the Provincial authorities."

When Mr. *Sorensen* (Labour) asked if Mr. *Amery* really suggested that these regrettable affairs were actually instigated by the Congress, Mr. Amery replied, "Oh yes, most certainly. The whole campaign for creating mass sabotage and for paralysing the activities of the Government of India was almost certainly one for which the Congress leaders were responsible."

## RESIGNATION OF CONGRESS MINISTRIES

Mr. *Amery* regretted that opportunities for developing the tradition and experience of self-government had been denied to other Provinces though not through the British, the Central or the Provincial Governments concerned. When parliamentary government was stopped in those Provinces by the order of the Congress High Command, there was no kind of deadlock or difficulty occurring within these parliaments or in the relations of the Ministries to the Governments. To the best of his information the Ministers concerned were reluctant to have to resign in obedience to the orders from without. "I do not think anybody can, therefore, describe the action of the Congress Party as an implementation of democracy. On the contrary, it seems to me to have been a clear assertion of totalitarian principles against democracy in the field of Provincial Government. Since then there has been no change in the political situation so far as that is concerned. Every opportunity during the next three years was given to the Congress leaders to come to some compromise or understanding both with the Government and, what is no less important, with other important elements in India itself. But none of these opportunities was taken advantage of." Mr. Amery mentioned the Cripps declaration which, he said, if accepted, would automatically have involved the resumption of parliamentary self-government in all Provinces. "Unfortunately the Congress did not see their way to accept those very generous proposals, proposals, which, I might add, still stand, in what the Prime Minister described as their whole scope and integrity and are indeed still, as the Viceroy reminded the Indian Assembly, only a few weeks ago, an essential part of the policy of the British Government." Nothing, however, that the Congress leaders have done would suggest a desire or disposition for a change.

Mr. *Amery* added: "I think it is obvious that those who consistently took up an attitude definitely allied to those grave and tragic disturbances of 1942, disturbances which might very well have endangered the whole fate of India in the face of imminent Japanese invasion....."

Here Mr. *Amery* was interrupted by Mr. *Cove* (Labour).

### "A WIDE AND CONTENTIOUS STATEMENT"

Mr. *Cove* protested that Mr. *Amery* was making a very wide and contentious statement at a time when opportunities of discussing an issue of this magnitude were curtailed.

The *Speaker* of the House suggested that the debate should, if possible, be confined to the resolutions. The general situation could be left over until another opportunity. 'We don't want to discuss the general situation of India to-night', the *Speaker* declared, adding, "I think Mr. *Amery* is following a wise course if he says we should have a full day for a debate on India."

Mr. *Amery* said he thought it was necessary to remind the House that the situation which led to the proclamations originally has not altered and that difficulties in the way of resumption of self-government in these provinces still continued. "The door of course is always open not only as a matter of goodwill on the part of the Governors concerned, but as a matter of constitutional duty and obligation on their part, because, if at any time it should appear to the Governor that there are prospects of sufficient Parliamentary support for a stable Ministry in any Province, it would be his duty to summon those capable of forming the Ministry and therefore, bringing back resumption of Parliamentary government. That situation has unfortunately not arisen.

Mr. *Amery* said: "Therefore very reluctantly we are compelled for another twelve months or at any rate for the time being to ask for the promulgation of these resolutions. I hope therefore, that on the understanding that there is to be a full debate in which broad constitutional issues will come before the House—and I did not mean to raise a controversial spirit just now—we may get through these resolutions without undue delay."

### "MOST PROVOCATIVE SPEECH"

Mr. *Pethick Lawrence* (Labour) thought Government and Mr. *Amery* had handled the matter in about the worst possible way he could imagine. He said Mr. *Amery* had made one of the most provocative speeches on the Indian situation he had ever had the misfortune to listen to in the House (cry of nonsense). Speaking with some heat, Mr. *Lawrence* added: "If Mr. *Amery* does not realise his speech as controversial and if his friends sitting beside him do not realise it, that completely convinces me he is totally unfit for the position he holds in Government. I say that after very great consideration because the fact that Mr. *Amery* does not realise that things which he has been saying are controversial and likely to arouse fierce feeling in India only proves he does not understand the psychological reactions which lie behind this tragedy which is going on at the present time."

Mr. *Godfrey Nicholson* (Conservative) energetically criticised Mr. *Lawrence's* remarks which he described as astounding. "I am sure he will regret the violent attack he made on Mr. *Amery* (cries of yes and no). I challenge him to say what Mr. *Amery* said which departed from a bare statement of fact—he cannot answer."

Mr. *Lawrence* replied that Mr. *Amery's* whole speech was based upon attacking Congress leaders which was unhelpful.

Mr. *Nicholson*: It was a plain statement of the actions of Congress; if that is an attack on Congress. Congress is responsible for that, Mr. *Nicholson* who paid a warm tribute to Mr. *Amery* said: "I feel in such extraordinary bad temper about it that I shall not say any more."

Mr. *Sorensen* said he entirely disagreed that the disturbances were instigated by Congress. There was no evidence that they were. He described Mr. *Amery's* remarks about totalitarianism in the Indian Congress as flagrantly contentious.

Mr. *Sorensen* said that whatever one thought of Congress it was a shocking state of affairs that for the third time in five out of eleven provinces in British India, including the most important provinces of Madras and Bombay, the House was to accept what virtually was despotic Government at a time when the Allies were waging a prolonged war for the reverse principles.

### "A NEW SPIRIT NEEDED"

Mr. *Graham White* (Liberal) hoped an effort would be made to escape from the chains which bound Indian discussions in the Commons. "We need a new outlook and a new spirit. In the forthcoming debate, I hope we shall escape from the shadows of the past" he declared.

Mr. *Harvey* (Independent) supported Mr. *Graham White* in this.

Mr. *Graham White* said Mr. *Amery's* speech was not one of a tyrant. If he wanted to impose alien rule on India he would not have introduced these provisions

"very reluctantly", Mr. Amery, he said, had re-emphasised Sir *S. Cripps* great offer. "That is a great thing we cannot re-emphasise too much," he declared.

Replying to the debate Mr. Amery said, "I would like to echo the appeal made by Mr. Graham White that when we come to a full discussion of these matters, we should look less to what he truly called threadbare discussions of the past than to the immense opportunities and possibilities which the future will bring to India."

Five Orders relating to the India and Burma Orders were approved by the House. Mr. Amery agreed with several members that the subject of Burma deserved more attention of the House than hitherto. He associated himself with their request which would have to be made to the proper quarters that part of a day should be devoted to the debate on Burma.

#### Lords Pass Resolutions

The *Lords* to-day formally passed without discussion five resolutions approving the continuance in force for a further 12 months, the proclamations issued under Section 93 of the Government of India Act in respect of the Provinces of Madras, Bombay, the United Provinces, the Central Provinces and Bihar and also a resolution approving similar continuance of the proclamation issued under section 139 of the Government of Burma Act.

The *Earl of Munster*, Under-Secretary for India and Burma, in moving the five resolutions said, "I understand that the noble Lords do not press for a discussion of these resolutions to-day. However, Labour peers have intimated to me that while prepared to let the resolutions passed without discussion they will do it on the understanding that, if a debate is called for during the summer months on Indian matters, Government will be prepared for such a discussion. I need hardly say that we are prepared to fall in with the views which have been expressed to me privately".

### House of Commons—London—21st. and 22nd. April 1944

#### Debate on Dominion Affairs

The House of Commons to-day discussed the future relations between Great Britain and the Dominions—a debate which has added interest in view of the forthcoming conference of Dominions Prime Ministers. The debate which was continued on the next day was regarded as an useful preliminary hearing which might assist the British Government in the presentation of their views to the Dominions leader. To-day's sitting was devoted to the economic aspects of post-war Commonwealth co-operation and unity.

There was a large attendance including Mr. Churchill, Mr. Attlee and Mr. Amery when Mr. *Emmanuel Shinwell* (Labour) moved. "That the United Kingdom should do its utmost by close co-operation and regard for different points of view of the nations of the Commonwealth to preserve in time of peace, the unity of purpose and sentiment which has held them together during the time of war".

Mr. *Shinwell* said that Britain's purpose was to raise the standard of life for all elements within the Empire whether they were black or white. "It has become fashionable in certain quarters to indulge in sneers at the British Empire. I readily admit that in the past mistakes were made. Our treatment of native peoples was not without blemish. Perhaps here and there our administration was far from perfect, but it does not lie in the mouths or other nations and other peoples to indulge in derogatory terms regarding our administration until they put their own house in order (Hear, hear). There was the native problem within the British Commonwealth of Nations. The United States had the Negro problem. In the sphere of acquisition of territory, even our friends of Soviet Russia, for sound and proper purposes in order to safeguard themselves against possible aggression in future, had sought to exercise—he put it no higher than that—protectorates for the defence of their territories.

After urging immediate inquiry into the possibilities of post-war expansion in the Dominions, India and the colonies including financial implications, Mr. *Shinwell* added: "The people of this country do not want a sham Empire but a real Empire and are heart and soul with those throughout the Empire who are anxious to promote a higher standard of life on the basis of economic expansion. But they must be prepared for certain sacrifices and I suggest as one that, we should from accumulated national savings invest a large proportion of these savings in those Empire countries which need them, particularly colonies, and that it would be much better to invest savings throughout the Empire than to invest them in South American countries from which in the long run we gather very little return".

## INDIAN PROBLEM ECONOMIC

Turning to India, Mr. *Shinwell* said : "It seems to me that the problem confronting us there and which confronts the people of India is more an economic problem than a political one. After all, what does it matter about Hindus and Moslems, if you can raise the standard of life of the 400 million in that country? By raising the standard of life of those 400 million, not only have we accomplished something that is worthy and desirable for those people, but we have provided ourselves with extensive markets, and indeed extensive markets for the whole of the Empire countries".

## ANSWER TO U. S. CRITICISMS

Mr. *Shinwell* added that there was nothing exclusive about this and nothing hostile to other countries associated with Britain. Referring to American and other comment on the British Empire, Mr. *Shinwell* said, I "propose to speak blunt, but I hope with courtesy to the peoples of the United States and elsewhere." Mr. *Shinwell* said he occasionally found himself in disagreement with the Prime Minister. "But I am in hearty accord with the view he expressed some time ago on the subject of the suggested liquidation of the Empire" (cheers). "We have no intention, anyone of us, of throwing the British Commonwealth of Nations overboard to satisfy a section of the American Press or indeed anyone else," declared Mr. *Shinwell* amid cheers.

On the subject of war organisation which he understood would be under review at the coming conference of Dominion Prime Ministers in London, Mr. *Shinwell* said : "It is important to vanquish the enemy in the Pacific as it is to destroy the enemy in Europe (cheers). This is a total war. We cannot engage in hostilities on a piecemeal basis and it would afford poor consolation to our friends in Australia and New Zealand, if having vanquished the enemy in Europe, they find themselves in a precarious plight because we had not taken adequate steps for their protection in that theatre of war."

After stating that the call for closer Empire co-ordination had not come from Britain in recent times but emanated from Australia and Canada, Mr. *Shinwell* said : "Therefore there can be no question of domination by the motherland. In a free and independent and co-operative commonwealth such as we envisage, all parties without exception and not on the basis of population alone, must have the right and privilege, in relation to the affairs of the Empire as a whole, of conserving to themselves those privileges which in fact belong to the States of the United States or the States of Soviet Russia."

## EMPIRE MARKETS FOR BRITAIN

Regarding the post-war economic position, Mr. *Shinwell* said that facts had to be faced. Unless this was done on the basis of enlightened self-interest by the Commonwealth, not only would Britain's plight be precarious but that of the Dominions would be more precarious still. The great problem was one of markets and he hoped that this would be discussed at the Prime Ministers' conference. Mr. *Shinwell* did not believe that secondary industries in the Dominions would harm British industry. Mr. *Shinwell* added : "There is a strong case in relation to Empire collaboration, particularly in the economic sphere for the bringing of the whole of the Empire countries into the picture and allowing them to exercise something in the nature of supervision over the whole of the Empire countries including colonies.....There should be established an economic council for the whole Empire which can consider first of all an inventory of Empire resources and what the Empire has at its disposal in raw material, land, fertility and all the rest. It is a task which should be undertaken almost at once."

On defence, Mr. *Shinwell* said that if the Empire countries 20 years before this war had collaborated for defence, it was very doubtful the war would have occurred. Mr. *Shinwell* ended by asking whether all these problems would be dealt with independently or would the task be undertaken in co-operation. The answer must come from the Dominions. If they preferred co-operation and recognised that although there were virtues in independence, some renunciation of sovereignty were to the advantage of the whole Empire and subsequently to the whole world it would profoundly affect the fate not only of Britain and the Empire but the world at large.

Mr. *Shinwell* said that Britain should avail herself of economic possibilities within the vast Empire market. The problem for America after the war would be how to dispose of surplus products. Was she to find markets "in our market?" There were sections in the United States who would like to make an agreement

with the Dominions one by one. Mr. Shinwell regarded that as disastrous for Britain and the Dominions.

#### IMPERIAL PREFERENCE MUST BE MODERNISED

*Sir Alfred Belt* (Conservative) suggested that development and modernisation of Imperial preference was one of the factors which would contribute towards the unity of the British Empire as also the expansion of the sterling area in the economic sphere if the negotiations going on in Washington did not bring about a world trading area.

#### DOMINIONS' FEARS SHOULD BE ALLAYED

Mr. *Vernon Bartlett* (Independent) said that Dominions were still worried and frightened by the idea that Britain was trying to impose upon them some limitation of their independence and sovereignty. They did not want the United Kingdom to have so predominant a voice in their affairs. Changes in the Commonwealth machinery and development were desirable and necessary. Mr. Bartlett thought that the more Britain looked upon itself as one of the Dominions on an equal footing with the other Dominions the better. He suggested the abolition of the Dominions Office and replacement of the existing High Commissioners by Ambassadors. It would then be easier to replace the present officials by some permanent secretariat with personnel recruited from Britain, the Dominions and some colonies. Mr. Bartlett declared that the Commonwealth must not become a bloc of states in rivalry to the Soviet Union, the United States or any other great power that might arise.

Mr. *Spearman* (Conservative) said that they should not let a rigid adherence to Imperial preference stand in the way of world prosperity. He was in favour of the Empire co-operating with the United States in a multilateral currency plan.

#### A COMMON EMPIRE BROADCASTING POLICY NEEDED

Mr. *Edgar Granville* (Independent) said that Australia, Canada, India, South Africa and the Middle-East had all now in some form or another begun the process of building up war industries and a committee of Imperial defence of the future would have to give a great deal of its time not to ordinary strategy but industrial strategy throughout the Commonwealth. Mr. Granville hoped that the meeting of Dominion Prime Ministers would consider the suggestion that a Commonwealth Development Air Board would be set up in order to plan Empire routes for civil aviation. He also hoped that they would consider the whole question of Empire broadcasting. There should be a correlated Empire broadcasting policy.

#### GOVT. ACCEPTS MOTION

Accepting the motion on behalf of Government, Mr. *Hugh Dalton*, Minister for Trade, said that Government would not take final decisions on any matters discussed to-day until after there had been an opportunity of discussing them with the Dominion Governments representatives. "We shall seek to achieve, in respect of all matters referred to a united Empire policy in peace as we have achieved it in war."

Dealing generally with economic purposes, Mr. *Dalton* said: "We must aim at achieving full employment in each part of the Empire and we must take whatever steps are necessary to bring that about—full employment and, I would add, a full standard of life. We must aim at raising the standards of life throughout the various colonial and other territories for which we are responsible and we must reap the largest possible value of beneficial exchange of goods and services throughout the world, coupled with reasonable stability of price movement." Mr. Dalton said that it was generally agreed that Imperial preference had been of quite definite advantage, both to Britain and the Dominions. "We shall—and I say this on behalf of Government—not alter any of these preferential arrangements as they now exist except after discussions with and agreement with the Dominion Governments". None the less, the Dominions would say that Britain could not seek to confine her trade within the Empire. The United States market was enormously important. With South America, Russia and China too, there were very great possibilities and there was also the continent of Europe.

Mr. Dalton said that the discussions with the Dominion Prime Ministers would be conducted in a most frank and friendly manner and no doubt certain broad conclusions would be reached.

Mr. *Churchill* replying to the debate said:—"Great as our responsibilities are, no reasonable person could expect us to solve all the problems of the world while we are fighting for our lives".

"The question before us is how can we make things better. The forces under our unity are superior to any temporary short-comings." Mr. Churchill said, the British Commonwealth and Empire was never more united. It would be quite easy to have meetings of Prime Ministers or Imperial Conferences every year or more often on every serious occasion when we get the times of peace and we will encourage them at any time during the period of war. It was not necessary that these meetings should always take place in London. At the end of his speech Mr. Churchill said: "When peace returns—and we should pray to God it soon may—conferences of Prime Ministers of Dominions among whom we trust India will be reckoned and with whom the colonies will be associated will become, we hope, more frequent and regular facts and festivities of our annual life."

#### A COMMON EMPIRE BROADCASTING POLICY NEEDED

Mr. Arthur Greenwood (Labour) said that he thought the Conservative Party had idealised the growth of the British Empire. "They think it was a short of development of truth and beauty and we all know it was loot and booty." He said that in the past Britain had shamefully exploited the Colonial Empire. She had been a race of absentee landlords but in recent years had tried honestly and in all sincerity to develop the resources of the Colonial Empire with a view to developing the sense of independence of the colonial people.

He did not believe in the idea of an Empire Cabinet although he would welcome frequent consultations by the Prime Ministers of the Dominions on matters of major policy.

#### INDIA SHOULD BE REPRESENTED AT THE CONFERENCE

Sir Percy Harris (Liberal) said that he was rather surprised at the little mention of India the previous day. Mr. Shinwell had said that their problems were more economic than political. "I wish that were true", commented Sir Percy Harris.

"I am sure Mr. Amery wishes that were true. There is a feeling in India that economic problems will not be solved until the people are provided with a Constitution. We have definitely promised that after the war India shall be a Dominion. It is a genuine promise and represents the real and sincere desire of the British people and of this House of Commons. I want to see after the war—the earlier the better—India becoming the sixth Dominion. I would like to know that in the discussions which are to take place between the Prime Ministers of the British Commonwealth, India will be represented. I understand she will be represented by at least one distinguished Indian statesman. It would be unfortunate if they were not present at these Councils because the British Commonwealth will not be complete until we have India, friendly and co-operating with us in our common problems."

Sir Percy Harris said that the gesture of passing the Statute of Westminster had been justified in the light of experience. He agreed with Mr. Vernon Bartlett's suggestion yesterday that the Dominions Office was something of an anachronism. What was really required was some form of a Dominions Secretariat with its own civil servants, experts and trained officials from all parts of the Commonwealth.

Mr. Wedderburn (Conservative), a member of the British Parliamentary Delegation which recently visited China, said that he had opportunities of seeing the possibilities of economic expansion there. It would be an excellent thing to send capital exports to China but clearly there must be some limit to what Britain did. "We will not be able to scatter British capital broadcast all over the world as we did in the 19th century. We must discriminate, we must select, we must control."

Mr. Hore Belisha advocated more non-political functional institutions such as the Middle East Supply Centre, which more effectively controlled the economic life of the Middle East than any of the separate Governments concerned except possibly two. The advantage of this functional control was that it was flexible. On this basis it was possible to achieve a closer functional union with the Empire while at the same time retaining the co-operation Britain had with other countries, notably America. "The Empire is not a sick body. It is Europe that is sick" Mr. Hore Belisha added.

Captain De Chair (Conservative) said: "We must count more heads if we are to hold our own. Whether white, brown or black they are all citizens of the Empire who owe allegiance to the King-Emperor. What part the 300 millions of India will play in the British Empire when they attain to a greater measure of Self-Government it will be rash to prophesy but we should never forget amid the babblings of party politicians in India the silent fearful tread of those Indians

millions who have volunteered to fight and who have fought with such valour for England in two successive wars. I have had the privilege of serving with some of them in the Middle East."

*Sir Herbert Williams* (Conservative) referring to *Sir P. Harris's* remarks about the promise of Dominion Status for India after the war said: "How can you make a Dominion of a country which will be tyrannised by the worst aristocracy in the world—the Brahmin class? You can promise anything you like; there is no one to give it to. Are you going to hand it over to the Brahmins to exploit the untouchables? Is that Dominion Status? Let us be honest about this matter. Of course the Cripps Mission failed. It was bound to fail. I rejoice it did fail because it brought the truth home to the people. How can you have a democracy handing over power to a people who are so prejudiced that if the shadow of a certain man falls over their meal it cannot be eaten?"

*Sir Percy Harris* intervening asked if *Sir Herbert Williams* was suggesting that the House proposed to go back on the offer of Dominion Status.

*Sir H. Williams*: Of course we are not going back on anything but when you say you offer something to somebody there must be somebody who can take delivery.

*Earl Winterton* (Conservative) referred to the criticisms in the United States about the treatment of Indians and native people in British colonies. He said, if people in the United States thought it right to interest themselves in indigenous races it would be only proper for Britain to say that she claimed the same right and ask what was the position with regard to coloured men in Southern United States. He thought that ought to be stated in the House of Commons.

*Earl Winterton* paid a tribute to Mr. *Churchill* as "Captain-General of the whole British Commonwealth" the flame of whose courage had never flickered or faltered.

Winding up the debate, Mr. *Churchill*, said: When we planned this debate together it was well understood that its main purpose was to enable the House to express its opinion and that the Government would not have any far-reaching declaration of policy to make. Indeed it has been everywhere recognised that for us to commit ourselves to hard and fast lines of policy or even to the advocacy of particular suggestions or proposals would not be appropriate on the eve of the first meeting we have been able to arrange, after many attempts, of all Dominions Prime Ministers since this war began.

It will be almost universally admitted that the debate has been a great success and of far-reaching usefulness and that the resolution on which the debate is founded is acceptable to all that there is an All-Party agreement on the most fundamental issues and that the discussion has been worthy of the breadth of the subject and distinguished by speeches of statesmanlike character such as I heard yesterday from Mr. *Shinwell* and to-day from Mr. *Hore Belisha* and *Earl Winterton*. I sat up until half past two reading the full report last night—every speech—and I crave the indulgence of the House for not having been constantly on the bench during this debate on account of the other things which you know it is my duty to look after (laughter).

What struck me most out of the speeches was the great number of enormous topics some of which have been formerly matters of heated controversy and may be again which Members have found it necessary to take for an airing. A great number of these questions concern our future and they have been raised directly or indirectly—what changes are to be made in the political, economic and defence structure of the British Commonwealth and Empire, in what way will the ever more closely-knitted British Commonwealth and Empire become also at the same time more closely associated with the United States. How will this vast bloc of States and nations which will walk along together, speaking to a large extent the same language, reposing on the same body of common law; how will they merge in a Supreme Council for the maintenance of world peace? Should we draw closer to Europe, aim at creating under a Supreme World Council a living unity, an entity in Europe, a United States of Europe? Or should we concentrate upon our Imperial Commonwealth organisation or upon our fraternal associations with the United States and put our thrust in the English Channel, air power and sea power?

It is easy to see from the recurrence of these topics in so many speeches the way in which the modern mind in the House of Commons moves, when other topics crop up like free trade versus protection. Imperial preference versus greater develop-



ment of international trade, international currency in relation to the policy of the United States and the existence of a vast sterling area.

Mr. *Granville* said yesterday that the main lesson of the war was that the world was one and indivisible. I should myself have thought that the most obvious fact before our eyes is that the world is very seriously divided (laughter) and is conducting its controversies in a highly acrimonious manner (renewed laughter). Certainly it seems to give peace-makers quite a considerable task to weld it into one common mutual living whole at the peace table. I cannot pretend to have provided myself with all the answers to these questions which would give satisfaction to all parties here at home and cause no complication in our relations with foreign States. We must be generous, we must be fair to the future, we must leave something to be done by our descendants to provide for their safeguards (Laughter).

#### SAFEGUARD IN ATLANTIC CHARTER

Mr. *Wedderburn's* laudable desire to probe into the distant past is not always accompanied by historical precision. He quoted a speech which I made forty years ago against Joseph Chamberlain's policy of protection and Imperial preference. It does not, whatever might be thought about it, reveal to me as a very ardent supporter of those policies and certainly makes it very odd that I should for the time being have the honour of leading the Conservative Party. I have no intention of passing my remaining years in explaining or withdrawing what I have said. (Laughter). What I am concerned about to-day is to show to the House and also to the members of my own party how strictly I have during my stewardship safeguarded the structure of Imperial preference which we have built up out of the controversies and achievements of the last forty years against any danger of being swept away in the tumult of this war. At my first meeting with the President of the United States in Newfoundland at the time of the so-called Atlantic Charter and before the United States entered the war a meeting on very anxious and critical matters—I asked for the insertion of the following words in the Atlantic Charter which can be read in that document. 'With due respect for their existing obligation.' These are the limiting words and they were inserted for the express purpose of retaining to this House and to the Dominions the fullest possible rights and liberties over the question of Imperial preference. Again in February 1942 when the United States was our closest ally, I do not agree to article seven of the Mutual Aid Agreement without having previously obtained from the President a specific assurance that we were no more committed to the abolition of Imperial preference than the American Government was committed to the abolition of their protective tariffs. (Hear, hear).

I am convinced myself that there should be a careful searching and a far ranging discussion on the economics of the post-war world and a sincere attempt made to reconcile conflicting interests wherever possible. There must be whole-hearted endeavour begun in good time to promote the greatest inter-change of goods and services between the various communities of the world and to strive for that process of betterment of the standards of living in every country without which, as Mr. *Shinwell* pointed out, expanding markets are impossible and without which world prosperity is a dream which might easily turn into a nightmare. Mr. *Hore Belisha* made a remark which I particularly liked when he said that the Empire is not a sick body. I cordially agree with that but even I can look back to the days when it was considered to be moribund. When I was young great statesmen whose names were honoured who spoke of the colonies as burdens and the dominions as fruit which would fall from trees when ripe. I did not live myself in the days when those speeches were made but I remember well the times of great anxiety about the British Empire about the end of the last century.

#### FIRST WORLD WAR AND EMPIRE

I have never thought that the Empire needed tying together with bits of strings. I agree with Mr. *Hore Belisha* that natural development, natural forces, mysterious natural forces will carry everything before them especially when those forces are fanned forward as they will be by the wings of victory in a righteous cause. Then came another phase. Looking at the British Empire thirty years ago in 1914 on the eve of the first Great War all foreign nations, especially German opinion, were convinced that this vast structure of empire, created, coming into full life in Victorian times, had reached a condition of ricketiness and looseness when a single violent shake would bring it clattering down and lay it low for ever. Then there came upon the world the most frightful war, a slaughter so far as we

were concerned incomparably greater than anything we had ever known and a slaughter far greater than which, thank God, we have suffered so far in this struggle.

I remember coming out of the Cabinet on an August afternoon in 1914, when war was certain and the Fleet was already mobilised with this feeling: How are we to explain it to Canada, Australia, South Africa; how are we to explain it to our people in short? But when we left the fierce controversy of the Cabinet room and came out into the open air, the whole people of the Empire, of every race and clime, had already sprung to arms. Our old and recent enemies, Generals Botha and Smuts, were already saddling their horses to rally their Commandos to attack on Germany (cheers) and two great Irishmen whose names I always bear in my memory with regard—John Redmond and his brother with others of the old Irish Parliamentary Party which fought us so many years in this House and pleaded the cause of Ireland with such eloquence and parliamentary renown—there they were making those speeches of absolute support and unity with this country until people said everywhere that the brightest spot in the world is Ireland. It may be that an opportunity was lost then (cheers). We must always keep our eyes open. I always keep mine on the Irish question.

We had a pretty dreary time between those two wars. We have great responsibilities for the part we played all of us and so have the Americans in not making the League of Nations a reality and not backing its principles with effective armed force (cheers) letting this deadly and vengeful foe arm at his leisure. But underneath, the whole empire and ourselves in this land grew stronger, our resources multiplied. Little was said about our growth and little was visible of our closer union, yet the forces which had sent the Anzac Corps to the Dardanelles and afterwards to the Hindenburg Line which carried the Canadian to Vimy Ridge, were all growing unseen, unnoticed, immeasurable, far below the surface of public life and political conflicts. Those are the natural processes to which Mr. Hore Belisha so aptly referred.

#### MOTHER COUNTRY

Then this war broke out. The mother country—I must still ask leave to use this name—I think it is rather dangerous to plunge out into a new nomenclature. I am not sure that anything like 'elder sister country' would be a very great success (laughter and cheers). There was an old song which I remember in my youth. 'A boy's best friend is his mother' that seems to me to be worthy sometime of humming again. The mother country geographically involved once again in the struggle of Europe found it right and necessary to declare war on Germany because Germany had invaded Poland and we had guaranteed to defend Poland. Instantly from all parts of the British Empire, save one lamentable exception about which we must all search our hearts, came the same response. None of the disillusionments that followed the 'War to End Wars', 'Homes for Heroes' and so forth, all good slogans in their day, none of these had affected the living, growing, intensifying, inner life of the British Commonwealth and Empire. From the poorest colony to the most powerful Dominion the great maxim held 'When the King declares war the Empire is at one'. It was the darkest moment but no one flinched. Was there one cry of doubt, or terror? No. Darkness was turned into light and into a light which will never fade away.

"When peace returns—and we should pray to God it soon may—Conferences of Prime Ministers of Dominions, among whom we trust India will be reckoned, and with whom the colonies will be associated, will become, we hope, more frequent and regular facts and festivities of our annual life."

The Prime Minister observed: What is the miracle which brings men from the uttermost ends of the earth, some taking twenty days before reaching a recruiting station and some armies having to be sent 14,000 miles over sea before reaching the battlefield? What is this force, this miracle which makes governments as sovereign as any that have ever existed to cast aside immediately all their affairs and set themselves to help the old land and the good cause and to beat the common enemy? We must look with the eye of the spirit. It is then that you learn that human beings are not dominated by material things but by ideas for which they are willing to give their lives or their life's work. Many and various forces have held the British Empire together—and I don't object to the expression of an Honourable Member yesterday—'enlightened self-interest'. But make no mistake that in front of those deeper influences are more mysterious forces which cause human beings to do the most invaluable, improvident and from the narrow

point of view, profitless things. It is our union in freedom and for the sake of our way of living which is a great fact reinforced by tradition and sentiment and it does not depend on anything that could be written down in any account kept in some large volume. We have had the Statute of Westminster which some thought would involve a breaking of ties. Here was a lot to be said about that on either side. But it has not impeded in the slightest degree the onward march of the Commonwealth and Empire. It has not prevented the centripetal force of our vast organisation from exerting its full strength. Here after our failures—we are not the only nation who made failures between the two wars—here, after the Statute of Westminster, here, after getting into this war and dragging in the Empire, so unprepared and they themselves no better prepared than others in arms, into this great struggle, here, amid a wreck of empires and states and institutions of every kind, we find the British Commonwealth and Empire more strongly united than ever before. In a world of confusion and ruin the old flag flies. We have not to consider how to bind ourselves together more closely. It would pass the wit of man to do that. It is extraordinary what business it has become to sneer at the British Empire. Those who have tried it in the United States have been discredited. Those who have tried it in the Dominions have found no public backing although there is perfect freedom of speech in all those nations. Those who decry our Commonwealth of nations and the mother country have very little support. The question before us is how can we make things better? Can we improve the already close ties? How can we gain better results I should say from our already close ties? I do not think we should embark upon that task with the short of feeling that if we do not do something, everything is going to crash. I do not understand that I do not feel like that. The forces underlying our unity are superior to any temporary shortcomings that any of us may have or be responsible for.

#### NEED FOR IMPERIAL "FAMILY COUNCIL"

We have to consider practical steps and to consider them coolly and sanely. The world is in a crisis but the British Empire and the Commonwealth within itself was never more united. Rudyard Kipling, that remarkable fountain of British Imperial ideas, speaking of the Dominions said, 'Daughter am I in my mother's house but mistress in my own.' We have to take steps beyond that now. There is a family council. Methods must be devised without haste to bring the nations of the British Empire into an intimate and secret council upon the march of world events not only during this war—because that is done with great labour and efficiency, but after the war so that they may know fully our position as we know theirs in regard to the march of events and the action that might have to come from them. Mr. *Hore Belisha* spoke wisely and suggestively about what he called functional within the British Empire and also others applicable to the world at large.

The question has been raised: Should we have a permanent machinery like the Committee of Imperial Defence rather on a larger scale—a kind of extension of the principle which is embodied in the name of the Chief of Imperial General Staff which Lord Haldane created by a farseeing decision, a sort of continuance in imperial form of the machinery which I at present direct as Minister of Defence—to set up something like this by a standing, a perpetual committee of the British Empire. This is no more than an application on a much greater scale and with much more precise detail of the work which was hitherto done by the Committee of Imperial Defence. But should it extend into spheres of maritime affairs, of economic affairs and of financial affairs and how far? These are obviously matters which we must begin to explore together when we meet informally our colleagues from the great Dominions. There are others who would choose a machinery of union with ministerial authorities. Others would have it extended to both economic and military spheres. Speaking for myself I see very little difficulty about the first—about the functional bodies being developed and made more perfect. We have of course, representatives of all the Dominions on the bodies which function under the Minister of Defence now. I see very great advantage in the second. There must be frequent meetings of Prime Ministers; they must be attended by those they choose to bring with them to discuss all aspects of Imperial policy and Imperial safety. Here as in so many cases, time marches forward with friendly step. The vast developments of air transport make a new bond of union and new facilities for meeting which will give the councils of the British Commonwealth of nations a unity much greater than ever was possible before.

When the war is over and when command of the air has turned from the most horrible form of destruction to the glories of peace it will be quite easy to

have meetings of Prime Ministers for Imperial conferences—whatever you like to call them—every year or more often on every serious occasion and we will encourage them at any time, during the period of the war. It is not necessary that these meetings should always take place in London (cheers). They may take place in other centres of our united commonwealth—although I am still old fashioned enough to consider cockney London the heart of the Empire. I am quite ready that we should take wing in the future. This we have already had apart from the conference with the President of the United States, a conference in Quebec where I sat for several days with the Dominion Cabinet and where we were all guests of Canada which I may say it is a very agreeable thing to be.

It is very likely that when Hitler and Hitlerism are finished and blasted from the face of the earth we shall have conferences of the British Empire and the United States in Australia about all those matters in some of which all certainly find causes for complaint against Japan (laughter and cheers). When peace returns—and we should pray to God it soon may—conferences of Prime Ministers of the Dominions among whom we trust India will be reckoned, and with whom the Colonies will be associated, will become, we hope, frequent and regular facts and festivities of our annual life. Some assume that there must be inherent antagonism between a world order to keep the peace and a vast natural federal organisation which will inevitably be in existence. I do not believe this is true (cheers). Both the world order and the great organisation may be so fashioned as to be but part of one tremendous whole. I have never conceived that fraternal association with the United States would mitigate in any way against the unity of the British Commonwealth or Empire or breed ill-feeling with our great Russian ally with whom we are bound by a twenty years' treaty. I do not think we need choose this or that. With wisdom, patience, vigour and courage we may get the best of both. We have often said of our own British Empire. 'In my father's house there are many mansions'. So in this far greater world structure which we shall surely raise out of the ruins of a desolating war there is room for all generous free associations of a special character so long as they are not disloyal to the world cause nor seek to bar the forward march of mankind.

The motion for Commonwealth Co-operation was unanimously agreed to.

## House of Lords—London—16th. February 1944

### Big States to Swallow Small States

Moving the second reading of the India (Attachment of States) Bill in the House of Lords on the 16th. Feb. '44, *Earl Munster*, Under Secretary for India, said the bill was intended to place beyond all manner of doubt the right of the Viceroy to provide for the most suitable administration of a large number of small and very small states, or really estates. Particularly was it concerned with the position of some 400 petty states in Kathiawar and Gujerat.

"I hardly think it is necessary for me to emphasise the disastrous effect produced upon the 800,000 inhabitants of these states by the present multiplicity of jurisdictions and fragmentation of their territories. That, I believe, is obvious to every one" he said. The Chiefs of these states have been accorded certain personal privileges and these will be maintained to them under the new arrangements. Political officers had neither the time nor the administrative machinery to ensure that the Chiefs, or Taluqdars as they are commonly known, employed their resources to the best possible advantage."

Referring to the Crown Representative's declaration of April last year, Lord Munster said that by the arrangements then proposed the inhabitants of these states would secure administrative benefits normal in British India and larger states and which up to now the Crown Representative had been unable to extend to petty states through lack of financial resources and personnel. Law and Order had been assured but public health, education and communications had not been established on a really modern basis. Lord Munster referred to court action in last August by a Taluqdar who had been attached to Gondal State, alleging that the attachment order was illegal. The court had allowed the appeal. The new bill only affected those states not named in the first schedule of the Government of India Act of 1935. It would, therefore, only apply to very small states which lacked administrative resources. The Crown Representative might give such direction as he thought fit in his relation with states and in fact would always be deemed to have had that authority.

He continued: "The Bill, as drafted, takes nothing away from Taluqdars which they have possessed in the past. I venture to think that the beneficial forms of Government in operation in such states as Nawanagar and Baroda to which the majority of these small states will be attached, are well known. To attach these petty states to a British province is utterly impracticable from the geographical point of view alone."

*Lord Samuel* (Liberal) said probably the best solution would be to group smaller states together among themselves but very frequently there were local prejudice which had rendered that impossible. The only other course was that they be absorbed in states of which they were geographically neighbours.

#### DANGEROUS POSITION

*Lord Faringdon* (Labour) said he did not view anything like equanimity the handing over of these states to neighbouring states. Baroda and Nawanagar both had as Indian states quite admirable records of administration but they were absolute Governments, and it was yet to be seen whether, for example, the present Maharaja of Baroda carried on the admirable traditions of his grandfather, and whether the new Jam Sahib carried on the equally good traditions in his state. The smaller states would be removed from the fairly direct administration of British officers, and would be put in the hands of state officials. These officials might be admirable, but they were officials of an absolute monarchy and one saw at once danger in this position.

*Lord Faringdon* added: "I cannot view this bill with anything but alarm and despondency, and that is the attitude which is shared by the inhabitants of these tiny principalities. When we are all, including the Government, committed to the policy of Indian progress, it would be correct surely to give these states advantages of representative administration. I suggest that before the Bill is proceeded with further the peoples in these tiny states should be consulted and their wishes taken into consideration. This is a dictatorial act. It may be a beneficial one. Certainly some such provision is clearly necessary in these cases, but I cannot believe that at the present time it is wise, proper or just to hand over a considerable population to an absolutism, which is completely in control."

#### LORD HAILEY'S VIEWS

*Lord Hailey* said there were as many people in this country as he thought there were in India who shared the apprehension expressed by *Lord Faringdon*. One reason for the apprehension was that though many Indian states had lately made great advancement in liberalising their constitution, they had not brought themselves within the orbit of those democratic institutions we in the last generation endeavoured to establish in British India. Another reason was that some Indian states had not in the past had a record marked by progressive administration. There had been instances in which the Paramount Power had to remove some rulers for gross cases of misrule. It was fortunate that some states to which it was proposed to attach minor units were among the most progressive.

Discussing alternatives to the Bill's proposals *Lord Hailey* said that the areas might be annexed into British India. There was nothing in the treaties or obligations in past relations which would remain the original problem caused by their geographical detachment. In the second place they could cancel the order of attachment that had been made by the Representative of the Crown and restore the position which existed before. That would still leave unsolved the problem of improving the position of the inhabitants. In the third place they might withdraw any attempts to maintain elements of order in these units and leave the people concerned to make their own attachments with neighbouring major states. That was a proposition so undesirable that it carried its own condemnation. They had to consider the welfare of the 800,000 people concerned and he felt the proposals in the Bill offered greater possibility than any of the three alternatives he had suggested.

The Bill was given a second reading.

# The Natal Indian Congress

Durban—20th. February 1944

Mayor of Durban's opening Address

A conference of the Natal Indian Congress—the first meeting of the Indians united in one common body—was opened by the Mayor of Durban, Mr. R. Ellis Brown in Durban on the 20th. February 1944.

Senator D. G. Shepstone and Mr. J. H. Basson, Commissioner of Immigration and Asiatic Affairs, attended on behalf of the Union Government.

Mr. Ellis Brown said: "There have been signs that the disputes we have been trying to settle in S. Africa are likely to have international repercussions, and unless we are careful, things that have happened may upset the hitherto friendly relations between S Africa, India and other nations. It will be nothing short of a calamity—and a very great calamity—if any divisions are allowed to creep into the British Commonwealth of Nations. To allow such things to happen would be to play directly into the hands of the enemy."

Mr. J. W. Godfrey, in his presidential address, said that the blame for the friction existing today between the Indian and European in Natal lay not with the Indian but with the Durban City Council and the Union Government. The former had "criminally" neglected its responsibilities and the latter sacrificed Indians on the altar of a general election.

Dealing with the "Pegging" Act he said that it was "unnecessary," but the situation was used by Government to secure a majority in Parliament. This Act flouted the spirit of the Capetown Agreement which laid down that the Indian community should adopt European standards of living. "It is an insult to our honour as Indians: it proclaims racial discrimination of the lowest and vilest type. Even the sponsors of the Bill are now ashamed of it."

"Political expediency was the central motive of the Act, while a vociferous minority cried 'save us from Indian penetration.' The Act takes away our inherent right to progress and expand economically and industrially. We are denied our right of acquiring and occupying properties anywhere we please."

He emphasized that at present the Act was restricted to the city of Durban, but other municipalities could apply it.

"We demand and claim the right to acquire and occupy land for commercial and industrial purposes," he declared.

As regards property acquired for residential purposes, they had a mutual interest to consider—that of living beside the European. Many difficulties had arisen because of the neglect of municipalities to afford suitable sites where Indians could reside. The Durban City Council's failure in this direction might be said to be "criminal, and its attitude has left our middle class people no option but to buy land in the localities we have bought."

"Also, it was an act of deliberate injustice on the Union Government to insist upon retaining provincial barriers. It is our considered opinion that if the provincial barriers were removed and the Indian community allowed freedom in commerce, industry and agriculture, very little would be heard of any 'Indian' question."

"We have been criticized in this country for appealing to India when we are in difficulties. We are told that these are S African matters and the Union Government will brook no interference from outside. We do not share that view, for so long as the Union Government fails to give us the right of representation, so long will we consider it our right to invoke the aid of India and other countries."

He emphasized that while the Indians wanted franchise, they would not be satisfied with communal representation, because communal franchise had been tried elsewhere and had proved a failure.

## Resolutions

Later, the Congress decided that it would co-operate with the Judicial Commission only if the political status of Indians was included in the terms of reference.

When the Congress gives evidence before the Commission, it will deal with full franchise. Representatives will also lead evidence calling for the repeal of all repressive laws militating against the progress of the Indian community, with particular emphasis on the Pegging Act.

The Congress empowered its committee to hold mass meetings in Natal against the "Pegging" Act.

It ratified the policy of co-operation carried out in the past concerning alleged Indian penetration. There was considerable division of opinion on this issue, and the Congress rejected an amendment seeking to abandon negotiation by declaring that Indians once and for all opposed segregation in demarcated areas.

A motion describing the "Pegging" Act as a negation of the most elementary human rights and the violation of the principles of democracy and the Capetown Agreement and calling on the Union Government immediately to repeal "this most obnoxious legislation" was passed.

#### Messages

*F. M. Smuts*, S African Premier, sending greetings to the conference, said : "The conference meets at a time when difficult issues once more are under consideration. My earnest wish is that your deliberations may be guided in a spirit of mutual accommodation which may help towards finding a way out of the present difficulties. We have had difficulties before, and have from time to time been able to overcome them, and, I trust, the same will be the case again. The Broome Commission, in which I trust the Indian community will participate, will explore important issues which will be referred to it and possibly pave the way towards a satisfactory settlement of these issues. In that spirit, let us all grapple with the task which I believe is not beyond our power to achieve. Your Congress may thus become an important link in the whole process of finding solutions for difficult problems."

*Dr. N. B. Khare*, Member for Indians Overseas in the Viceroy's Executive Council, in a message said : "Indians in S Africa should speak with one voice and wish for a common cause. May the conference maintain sobriety and wisdom."

*Sir B. Rama Rao*, in a message said :—"India will never let you down."

Messages were also received from *Mr. P. N. Sapru*, *Sir Chunilal Mehta*, *Sir Padampat Singhania*, *Mr. M. R. Jayakar*, the *Mayors of Bombay and Madras*, and *Raja Sir Maharaj Singh*.

## The South African Hindu Conference

Maritzburg—8th. to 10th. April 1944

### Proceedings & Resolutions

There was an atmosphere of religious revival in the City Hall on Maritzburg on the 8th. April 1944 when the S. African Hindu Conference held its opening meeting under the auspices of the S. African Hindu Mahasabha. It was attended by 300 delegates representing all Hindu religious and educational institutions throughout the country.

In a message, the Administrator of Natal, *Mr. G. H. Nicholls*, referred to the harmonious instinct of Hinduism.

He said that great progress was being made in education and within a reasonable period it should not be said that any Indian child in Natal was growing up without proper education.

The chairman of the reception committee, *Mr. S. R. Naidoo*, said that the Hindus formed the largest group of the Indian population in S. Africa and it was essential that there should be a central organization to direct and achieve unity of purpose. He suggested that the conference should devise a scheme by which the services of Hindu missionaries could be secured from India.

The President, *Mr. R. B. Chetty*, said that they owed a debt of gratitude to this country which was the place of their birth. Their gratitude could not be better expressed than in founding a Hindu College where cultures of Western and Eastern civilizations would meet and opportunity provided for Indians and Europeans to further the cultural advancement of the country.







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